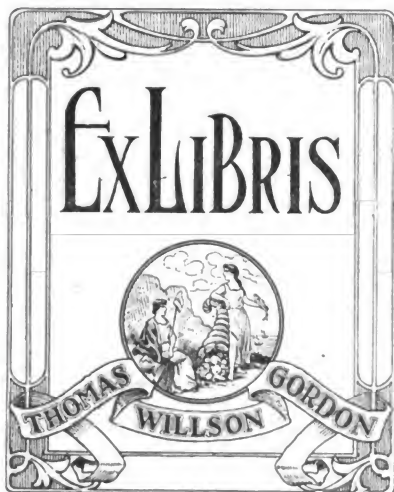




A
CATHOLIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE ANGLO SAXON PERIOD.

COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

A
CATHOLIC HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM BERNARD MAC CABE.

PART I.—ENGLAND; ITS RULERS, CLERGY, AND POOR, BEFORE
THE REFORMATION, AS DESCRIBED BY THE MONKISH
HISTORIANS.

VOL. III.

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PROSEQUENTES ORDINEM TEMPORUM, MIXTE CONFUSEQUE TAM
VIRTUTES SANCTORUM, QUAM STRAGES GENTIUM MEMORAMUS. NON
ENIM INRATIONABILITER ACCIPI PUTO, SI FELICEM BEATORUM VITAM
INTER MISERORUM MEMOREMUS EXCIDIA, CUM ID NON FACILITAS
SCRIPTORIS, SED TEMPORUM SERIES PRÆSTET.

S. GREGOR. TURONENS.

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PREFATORY DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

BERTRAM ARTHUR TALBOT,

EARL OF SHREWSBURY, WATERFORD AND WEXFORD.

MY LORD,

This volume concludes a portion of the task I had undertaken.

In the three volumes now published is contained a Catholic History of the Anglo Saxon annals of England.

It is not all that I intended to have done ; but other, more urgent, more indispensable, and far more uncongenial tasks preclude me from pursuing a work to which was devoted no inconsiderable portion of my life.

I have endeavoured to make known what the old monastic writers knew of Anglo Saxon history, and to illustrate what they had written, to the best of my ability.

I have told the truth—what, in my conscience, I believe to be the truth—certain that in so doing I must offend many long-established prejudices—purposely upheld by some, and sincerely believed by many.

Alone—unaided—unadvised, seeking neither for support from any party, nor patronage from any great man, I have given to these volumes the results of the writing and research of many hours : the only hours, for many years, that I had to spare from other and harder toils.

It was my intention *not* to have dedicated this work to any one ; so that it might be, if it were to live after me, a memorial of that humble but honourable independence I have ever maintained. The first thought of changing that intention occurred to me but very recently. It was suggested by your Lordship's kindness : by the zeal with which you carried out a proposition I ventured to make ; the trouble you imposed upon yourself ; the time, the labour, and the thought you gave to bring that which I wished to be done

A

CATHOLIC HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

ST. EDWARD, MARTYR.

STATE of affairs in England upon the death of Edgar. Persecution of monks by Ælfere and the Ealdormen. Intrusion of married persons into monasteries. Ailwyn and Alfwold oppose the intruders, and preserve from oppression Ramsey monastery. Monks expelled from the Mercian monasteries by Queen Elfrida. The lands of the church alienated by the new intruders. Dissension with respect to the election of St. Edward as king. He is consecrated by St. Dunstan. Conduct of Dunstan at the consecration. Ambition of Elfrida. . She desires to have her son Ethelred elected. The virtues of St. Edward . . His great tenderness and compassion for the poor. The malice of Elfrida excited against Edward. Gifts bestowed upon Elfrida by Edward. Elfrida conspires with some of the nobility to put the king to death. Great famine in 976. Banishment of Oslac. Death of Bishop Sideman. The government of the kingdom entrusted by Edward to Elfrida. The council at Calne. . Complaints of the secular canons against St. Dunstan

and the monks. St. Dunstan's piety vindicated by a miracle. Assassination of Edward by order of Elfrida. . The body of the martyr concealed by her directions. The sanctity of Edward made manifest by a miracle. Elfrida punishes Ethelred for lamenting the death of Edward. The crown tendered to St. Edgitha, the sister of St. Edward. . She refuses the crown, and prefers to it her vows as a nun. Edward's body removed. . " St. Edward's Well." Numerous miracles performed. Elfrida converted by a miracle. . Her great penitence for her guilt. . founds two convents. Penitence of Ælfere. Edward's relics transferred to Shaftesbury. . William of Malmesbury's praises of the nuns of Shaftesbury.

CHAPTER I.

ST. EDWARD, MARTYR.

A.D. 975—978.

EDGAR, in dying, left his son Edward not merely as the successor to his throne,—but as the inheritor of his virtues.*

By the death of King Edgar, the entire kingdom was thrown into confusion : a period of peace was succeeded by agitation, and the happiness that had been enjoyed during his reign was converted into tribulation, which seemed to arise from every quarter ;† and as the malice of men waxed in strength, the felicity of the nation decayed.‡ Then it was that Ælfere, a prince of the Mercians, and a great number of the ealdormen of the kingdom, blinded by the enormous bribes bestowed upon them, drove out

* “Filiūque suū Eadwardū et regni et morū hæredē reliquit.” F. WIGORN. a. 975. p. 607. vol. i. p. 143. (E.H.S.)

† “Cujus decessu totius regni status est perturbatus et post tempus lætitiæ, quod illius tempore stabat pacifice, cœpit tribulatio undique advenire.” F. WIGORN. a. 975. p. 607.

‡ “Ex tunc malitia hominū pullulante, felicitas regni immunita.” W. MALMS. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 161. p. 257. (E.H.S.)

from the monasteries in which the pacific King Edward had placed them, the abbots and their monks, and introduced into the self-same monasteries clerical persons with their wives.* Then, indeed, were the chants of the monks changed into lamentations, and the notes of the organ stilled amid the sighs and groans of mourners.† Then it was that two men both devoted to God, and each alike armed with a burning zeal in His defence; namely—Ailwyn, and his brother, Alfwold‡—grieved to see the institutions of their sanctified fathers thus uprooted and totally destroyed. They therefore collected together a valiant band of warriors,—boldly resisted the malice of the enemy, and by their manful defence saved the East Anglians from oppression and affliction. By their means the monastery of Ramsey was preserved in full possession of all its property; but, wherever no resistance was offered to the assailants, tyrants with power could do as they pleased, and the weak were compelled to fall helpless and unpitied before them. As to the afflictions, the miseries and the griefs, to which the monks were subjected at that time, their number, their nature, and their extent, would perplex the narrator to tell, and the time they would occupy in the narration would weary the auditor to hear.§

* F. WIGORN. p. 607. vol. i. p. 144. (E.H.S.) “Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ordine suo moveatur,” was a declaration of a council of the church, in the year 314. See LABBÆUS, *Concilia*. vol. iii. p. 1479.

† *Hist. Ramesiens.* c. 38. p. 412. (Gale.)

‡ F. WIGORN. p. 607. vol. i. p. 144. (E.H.S.) adds to these the ealdormen Byrthnoth, “vir religiosus.” See also *Hist. Eticensis*, lib. ii. c. 6. p. 493.

§ “Nec ipsa prolixitas audire, nec perplexitas permittet expedire.” *Hist. Rames.* c. 38. p. 412. See ROG. DE WENDOV.

It was by the favour and power of the Queen (Elfrida), that the monks were expelled from several of the Mercian monasteries, and that canons were substituted for them,—those canons taking care, the moment they were inducted, to bestow lands belonging to the monasteries upon the principal men of the country, so that the latter, being thus bound up in interest with themselves, might defend them against the monks.* Then were the monks of Evesham expelled from their monastery, and canons introduced; then the tyrants of the land, who were rewarded with the estates of the church, were those who were the adherents of the canons, and confederates with Elfrida in her evil designs, whilst King Edward and the holy bishops adhered

vol. i. pp. 417, 418. W. MALMS. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 161. The latter mentions that the monasteries from which the monks were expelled by violence were those which "Bishop Ethelwold had constructed in the province of Mercia." p. 257. (E.H.S.)

* INGULPHUS. *Hist.* p. 54. "Clerici sunt inducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria Ducibus terræ distribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defensarent." These words of Ingulphus are deserving of quotation, for, although few, they contain the secret of all the agitation against, as well as all the spoliation upon monastic property, at every age, and in every country in the world. The lands belonging to the church, intended for pious purposes, and applied to the sustentation of the poor, have been sought for, and seized by those who wished to convert those lands into private property, and apply them to their selfish purposes; and, wherever that object has been attained, the rich have been made more rich, and the condition of the poor has been rendered more miserable. The "reformation of monastic establishments," under whatever name disguised, will always be found, in fact, to be the application by "the reformers" of *public property* to *private uses*; and all who partake in the spoil, are of course interested in maintaining the necessity of the reformation, and of inventing, where they cannot discover, some specious excuse for it. The end, however, is the same: to use the words of Ingulphus—"terra tyranni de terris Ecclesiæ præmiati."

to the cause of the monks; but the oppressors being patronized by the favour, and sustained by the power of the queen, were able to triumph over the monastic orders; and then, indeed, were there dissensions and tumults in every corner of the kingdom.* Then did the most wicked man Ælfere destroy many of the monasteries which King Edgar and Bishop Ethelwold had built, and as this was done by the assent, and with the direct co-operation of several of the great men of the country, the Lord was moved to wrath, and decreed—that the plague which had previously afflicted this island, should again visit it.†

Whilst these proceedings were going on, a great dis-

* INGULPHUS. *Hist.* p. 54. This author states, (p. 52) that in consequence of Egelric, the successor to Turketul, as abbot of Croyland, being a near relation to Ælfere, the Prince of the Mercians, and the oppressor of other monasteries, Croyland escaped molestation. The good monk then states, with great pride, all the fine buildings in wood, and covered with lead, that were constructed by Abbot Elgeric; viz., an infirmary for the monks, a chapel, a room for guests, a brew-house, a bake-house, stables, a lodging-house for the poor; then Egelric tilling his marshy land in such a manner that it produced a hundred-fold; a great benefit to the monastery itself; but a still greater blessing to the poor, “confluentibus etiam enumeris turbis egenorum.” And we cannot refrain from adding, that Ingulphus boasts, that owing to the care of Abbot Egelric, “there was no such fine peal of bells to be heard in all England, as those of Croyland.” “Fecerat ipse fieri duas magnas campanas, quas *Bartholomæum*, et *Bettelum* cognominavit, et duas medias, quas *Turketulum* et *Tatwinum* vocavit, et duas minores, quas *Pegam* et *Begam* appellavit. Fecerat antea fieri dominus Turketulus abbas unam maximam campanam nomine *Guthlacum*, quæ cum predictis campanis fuit composita, fiebat mirabilis harmonia, nec erat talis consonantia campanarum in tota Anglia.” (p. 53.) See DUCANGE in verb. *campana* et *campanas baptizari*, and “*campanarum pulsatio*.”

† H. HUNT. *Hist. lib. v. p. 357.* The monk here intimates his belief that the sins of the nobles brought down upon them the renewed invasions of the Danes.

sension had arisen amongst the chief nobility of the kingdom as to the election of the monarch; for some were for bestowing the crown upon Edward, whilst others were in favour of his brother Ethelred.* In accordance, however, with the wishes of his father, Edgar, Edward was declared by Dunstan and some of the nobility to be the rightful king.† Even at the very moment of his consecration as sovereign, a few of the nobility arrayed themselves in opposition to the performance of the ceremony: which, as soon as it was observed by St. Dunstan, so far from having the effect of shaking his resolution, he laid hold of the standard of the holy cross, which was, in accordance with his general practice, borne before him,‡ and placed it in the midst of the assembly, and then, with other bishops of the nation, consecrated Edward as king, and, as long as Edward lived, he loved him with a father's love; for, from his most tender years, the youthful monarch had been adopted and regarded by him as a son.§

The step-mother of Edward, Elfrida, had endeavoured to have her son Ethelred, a boy scarcely seven years of age, placed upon the throne, in order that she might really govern the country, whilst her child could at best but seem

* F. WIGORN. p. 607.

† De S. Eduard. Reg. Ang. Mart. Comment. Præv. c. 3. § 11. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 642.

‡ "Vexillum sanctæ crucis quod pro more ante illum ferebatur, in medio statuit." This incident is alluded to by other authors. See BROMTON. 872. EADMER. vit. S. Dunstan. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 220. OSBERN. vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 45. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 378. Osbert in MABILLON. *Act. SS. O. B. Sæc. V.* c. 41. p. 690.

§ De S. Eduard. Comment. Præv. c. 3. § 11. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 642.

to reign over it.* On the other hand, a party of the nobility had opposed themselves to Edward's consecration, first, because they feared that one so strict in his morals as Edward would punish with severity the excesses which followed from their vices; and, next, because they declared it was within their knowledge, that though the mother of Edward was legally married to Edgar, yet that she had not been consecrated as a queen no more than Edgar as a king, at the time that Edgar was born.† Hence it was the Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, with all their fellow bishops, and abbots, and ealdormen, assembled together, and, in accordance with his father's command, elected Edward, and having elected, consecrated and anointed him as a king.‡

Upon Saint Edward being elevated to the throne, he proved, that he, as a king, was directed by the Lord and King of Kings in the paths of justice and of truth; and that, relying upon the aid of heaven, he daily increased in wisdom, and in the most sublime virtue of humility. § His pristine probity seemed to have received greater strength and additional energy from his newly-obtained honours; the fancies of youth, and the suggestions of the unwise, to be obliterated or unheeded, and his mind to be directed by the salutary admonitions of Archbishop Dunstan; for by the

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 417.

† OSBERT, as quoted by MABILLON. *Act. SS. O. B. c.* 41. p. 690, and *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 642. § 14.

‡ F. WIGORN. p. 607. R. DICET. *Abb. Chron.* p. 458. adds that the coronation of Edward took place at Kingston. See *Chron. Mailros.* pp. 150, 151. S. DUNELM. p. 135.

§ S. Eduard Reg. Ang. Mart. Pars 1. § 1. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 644.

counsel of that prelate and other remarkably religious men his judgment was guided in every circumstance of his life. Of the good and great example afforded him by his father he was an earnest and most fervent imitator. In all the virtues that become a soldier he was heroic, and in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs he was alike devout and diligent, using what might be termed a certain degree of cruelty against the obdurate and doers of evil ; whilst those who lived piously, and especially those who were in holy orders, were tenderly cared for, and, as he had been taught by his sanctified parent, carefully protected from the molestation of their foes. Besides this, it was a daily practice with him, (and observed by him as earnestly as if it were a religious rite,) to feed the needy, to cherish the poor, and to bestow garments upon the naked—regarding as a great gain to himself all the wealth that he expended in such an occupation.*

And there arose great joy amongst the English people, who in the possession of complete peace, and in the abundance of prosperity, beheld a king who was only in the first flower of his youth, commencing his reign with such excellent principles as Edward manifested. Affable to all classes, fair of form and cheerful in countenance, worthy of admiration for his wisdom and his prudence, he was also famed for the stainless purity of his morals. The devil, the foe to every thing that is good, was stung with envy against him, and desirous to destroy the entire happiness of the kingdom, excited the malice, and fomented the hatred

* " Præterea etiam quemdam quotidie consuetudinis ritum agebat, inopes alere, pauperes recreare, nudis vestimenta largiri: pro magno utique lucro ea computata, quæ in tali opere consummavit." S. Eduard. Pars 1. § 1.

of Elfrida, the step-mother of Edward. The result will show how much of evil can be accomplished by the audacious and execrable wickedness of a woman.*

Edward burned, it might be said, with the fire of charity, and he exercised it even towards his step-mother, whom he well knew was his enemy. Even for her his hand was filled with gifts. He bestowed upon her, with the name of a dowry from his father, the entire of Dorsetshire, and decreed that she should possess it with complete regal dignity, so as that she should not be responsible to any one, but that she might, as its queen and supreme mistress, dispose according to her desire of all things which otherwise pertained to the crown. This charity, this generosity was lavished upon a stepmother, and its only return was the poisonous malice of a stepmother.†

Elfrida burned with the raging fire of envy. It made her prefer that which is human to that which is divine, and led her to consider how, and in what manner, she might drive her stepson from the throne, and replace him by her own child Ethelred. Such were the thoughts that were long agitated in her mind, when she at length disclosed to some of the chief nobility, her councillors, the secrets of her heart, prayed and besought of them that they would aid her in her plans and devise the means by which they might be carried into execution. All that were thus appealed to agreed with her that the king should be put to death, and from thenceforward meditated by what frau-

* S. Eduard. Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars i. § 1. 2. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii p. 644.

† WALLINGFORD, *Chron.* pp. 545, 546.

dulent device his assassination could be most speedily accomplished.*

In the year 976 there was the great famine in England.† In the autumn season of the preceding year, a comet had appeared;‡ and it was then declared to be as a prognostication either of a plague amongst the people, or as portending a change in the monarchy. Its appearance was followed by the sterility of the land, the famine of men, and the death of cattle.§

In this year was the truly illustrious man, the ealdorman Oslac, unjustly banished from England. ||

"Then was driven Oslac beloved,
 "An exile far from his native land,
 "Over the ganet-bath,
 "Over the water-throng
 "The abode of the whale.
 "Fair-haired hero, wise and eloquent,
 "Of home bereft!" ¶

* S. Eduard. Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars 1. § 2. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 644.

† "Her on thys gere wæs se micla hungor on Angel-cynne." *Sax. Chron.* It is supposed that it was during this famine that St. Ethelwold disposed of all the treasures of the church for the purpose of feeding the poor, "thesauros et facultates ecclesie dispersit deditque pauperibus." Vit. S. Ethelwold, c. 3. § 30. *Act. Sanct.* (August.) vol. i. p. 94.

‡ "Cometes stella autumnali tempore visa est." F. WIGORN. a. 975.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. § 161. See R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 418.

|| F. WIGORN. a. 976.

¶ *Saxon Chronicle*, INGRAM'S translation, p. 162. See, in reference

There was held, a short time after Easter, in the year 977, a great council at Kirtlington, and Bishop Sideman, who was present at it, died there suddenly. He had been Bishop of Devonshire, and had expressed a desire that his body should be interred at Crediton, which was his episcopal residence. In accordance, however, with the command of King Edward and of Archbishop Dunstan, the remains of Sideman were borne to Abingdon, and they were interred with all due honour in St. Mary's Minster, on the north side, in St. Paul's porch.*

The Queen Elfrida, eager to carry out her plan of placing her son upon the throne, laboured by all the means in her

to the banishment of Oslac, the administrator of the affairs of Deira, for ten years, Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 146. Herr Lappenberg asks the question, "Who, if not Dunstan, had at that time the power to banish him? And if he possessed the power to exile and proscribe such men, would he not rather have exiled and proscribed Ælfhere?" We answer the question by saying, that the banishment of Oslac is probably attributable to Elfrida, to whom it will be presently seen St. Edgar confided too much of the power of the crown. It is also to be borne in mind that Elfrida about this time had the pious Abbot Brithnoth assassinated. See *Hist. Eliens. Lib. ii. c. 6.* pp. 493, 494.

* *Sax. Chron.* Florence of Worcester, who states that there were three councils held in this year, Kirtlington, Calne, and Amesbury, also mentions the death of Sideman as occurring at Amesbury. See, as to Sideman and his successor in the see of Devonshire, ALFORD, *Ann. Eccl. Ang.* vol. iii. pp. 388, 389. § 5. At the council of Kirtlington, we find St. Edward and St. Dunstan both thus uniting in directing that there should be pi'grimages in England.

"Ordinarunt jam nunc rex Edwardus, et Dunstanus Archiepiscopus ut homines rustici (religionis causa) ad ecclesiam S. Marie Abbandunensem peregrinarentur, quod et fecerunt." SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 493.

power to delude Edward by her flatteries. Edward, who beyond all things was desirous of imitating his father in his religious feeling and pious conduct, contented himself with retaining the mere name of a king, and this year (977) permitted his brother Ethelred, and Elfrida to regulate all the affairs of the monarchy.*

In the year 978, "all the oldest councillors of England fell at Calne from the upper floor; but the holy Archbishop Dunstan stood alone upon a beam. Some were dreadfully bruised, and some did not escape with life."†

The canons who had formerly been expelled from the monasteries, had excited frequent conflicts with respect to their expulsion; they had declared it to be a monstrous and most lamentable infamy "that strangers should have been able to eject their former inhabitants from those monasteries; and that it never should be supposed to be agreeable to God, who had given them these monasteries as their ancient dwelling-places; nor could it be sanctioned by any honest man, who seeing such dealings carried on with the property of others, might well fear that something similar might occur to himself and his own possessions." These clamorous outcries directed against Dunstan, served to excite the passions of the nobility especially, who felt as laymen, and who, deeming themselves to be prejudiced by the proceedings taken, joined in the uproar, and insisted, not only that the canons had been treated unjustly, but that more lenient

* R. WEND. a. 977. vol. i. p. 419, "solum nomen regis habere, illis cætera permittere." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. ii.* § 162.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 163. See F. WIGORN. a. 977. vol. i. p. 145.

measures should be adopted towards them.* It was on this account that many councils had to be held—the first of which took place at Winchester; but how and in what manner the dispute then was terminated is already fully narrated in another place;† that is, as to the manner in which an image of our Lord gave utterance to words, and covered with confusion the secular canons and the adherents to their cause;‡ still, however, that had not been found sufficient to pacify the minds of the canons, and a council was held at Calne, from which the king, on account of his youth, was absent.§

The canons had gone into Scotland, and had brought back with them, as a defender of their iniquity, a prelate named Heornelm, a man of indomitable spirit and interminable loquacity. || With him they went to Calne, and there with a haughty spirit they made their scandalous

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. § 161. The author here states the conduct of Ælfhere to shew that the nobility did not confine themselves to remonstrances; but expelled the monks from their monasteries by violence.

† “Quod ibi fuerit finis certaminis aliæ literæ docent.” W. MALMSB. See vol. ii. p. 573 of this work. As to the time at which the council of Winchester, at which the miracle of the crucifix took place, see HARDY, notes (5) to W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 257. (E.H. S.)

‡ “Dominicam imaginem expressere locutam clericos eorumque fautores confudisse.” W. MALMSB.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. § 161.

|| OSBERN. vit S. Dunst. c. 8. § 47. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 372. “Heornelm” is named by Osbert “Bernelinus,” c. 40. “Hector Boethius, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, Lib. vi., calls him ‘Fothad:’ and, ‘more suo,’ pretends that he was the victor in the controversy! An assertion which does not merit even the trouble of refutation.” BAERTIUS, *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 374, note c.

proposition. Dunstan, who was at this time broken down by years, and his mighty labours in the service of the church, scarcely attended to anything beyond his prayers. Lest, however, the party of wicked men, who had formerly been defeated by a miracle, should now boast that they had gained a victory over him, he launched against them, as his foes, this answer:—"Since," said he, "after such a lapse of time you allege nothing which can be deemed a hold for your calumnies, but merely strive to vent again your old complaints against me, now an aged man, and devoting my days to taciturnity, I do, indeed, confess that I am unwilling to be your vanquisher, whilst as to the cause of His Church, I commit it to Christ, our Judge." He spoke. And what he said the wrath of an angry God confirmed; for instantly the house was shaken, the chamber sank beneath their feet, the enemies of the saint were cast to the earth, and oppressed with the weight of the ponderous falling beams; but as to the place where the saint was seated with his friends, there no portion of it was overwhelmed by the ruins of the fallen chamber.* In this manner the vindictive proceedings of the secular canons were put an end to, and the monks left in undisturbed possession of their churches.†

* OSBERN. vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 47. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 372.

† OSBERT. vit. S. Dunst. c. 40. MABILLON. *Act. S.S. O.B. Sæc. v.* p. 689. See ROG. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 418. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* Lib. ii. § 161. EADMER. vit. S. Dunst. Pars ii. *Ang. Sæc.* vol. ii. p. 220. H. HUNT. 357. SHELMAN. *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 494.

Upon this incident in the life of St. Dunstan, a controversy has arisen. The enemies of the faith of St. Dunstan have not hesitated to charge him with, what Mr. Turner calls, the "premedi-

The venerated Edward had enjoyed that regal title, which he had duly inherited, for three years and eight months,* when it so happened, that he one day, for the purpose of enjoying the pleasures of the chase, proceeded with his horses and dogs to a forest which was near to a town named Wareham. The forest was at that time pretty extensive, but now there are only a few brambles and no trees to be seen in the wide and desolate plain which it formerly covered. Edward had been engaged here but for a short time with the chase, when he bethought him of his youthful brother Ethelred, and determined to go and see him; as his love for his brother was a pure and generous love. It was close to this forest that the step-

tated villany" of having the beams of the chamber of the Witenagemot loosened, so that he might murder his fellow-creatures, whilst pretending to effect a miracle! It is not necessary to characterize such a charge against a prelate of the life, the services, and the years, which St. Dunstan had attained, at the time the accident occurred at Calne. It will be found set forth by Mr. Turner, in his *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282—the accuser concluding his charge with a denunciation of Roman Catholics for their credulity with respect to miracles! Better, we say, a readiness of faith in the superabundant goodness of God, than a willingness to believe in the wickedness of our fellow-men. Dr. Lingard has condescended to notice the charges of Mr. Turner against St. Dunstan, and to expose their absurdity. See *Antiquities of Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. ii. pp. 302, 303, 304. Lappenberg, who states that accidents similar to that which occurred at Calne were numerous in the middle ages, disagrees from the Reformation-writers, as to the credibility of their charges against St. Dunstan. See *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.

* S. Eduard. Reg. Ang. Mart. Pars i. § 3. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 644. This is a mistake. St. Edward had not lived more than two years and eight months after his father. See Comment. Præv. c. i. § 3. p. 639; in the same volume where the mistake of Malmsbury and other writers on this point is demonstrated.

mother of Edward had a mansion, in which the youthful prince was nurtured—it was a place that was designated by the inhabitants “Corfe”—distant from the forest about three miles, and where a castle somewhat celebrated has since been erected. Edward proceeded towards this place accompanied by a few of his attendants; but he had not travelled more than half the distance when he found himself quite alone, his men having scattered in different directions in pursuit of their sports. He, however, although alone, was not the less resolved on going to Corfe Castle, which could be seen by him high topping over everything else in the distance.* On he rode towards it, as a most meek and gentle lamb; for he who had never given offence to a human being, could not be apprehensive that ought of evil could befall himself.

Upon his being observed approaching toward the house, it was announced to the most impious queen by her ministers that King Edward was coming to visit her; that he was completely alone; that there was not even a single servant following him. Elfrida was full of joy at this intelligence—the time, she believed, was most opportune for carrying into execution that wicked project, which had so long been deliberated and determined upon by her. She, therefore, with the ready executioners of her felonious purpose, hastened out to meet him, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to invite him with bland smiles and loving words to enter into the house and to become her guest. The

* “All the early authorities assert that Edward was murdered at Corfe; but the present narrative” (Gaimar’s *L’Estoire des Engles*) seems to imply that he was killed near the borders of Somersetshire.” *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. p. 813. note f.

invitation was declined by him ; for he declared that the only object with which he paid her a visit was to have the pleasure of seeing and speaking with his brother Ethelred.*

The truly impious queen then, directing her discourse to other subjects, and covering with false pretences her fell designs, desired that a potation might be prepared for him ; in order that, whilst he unsuspectingly should partake of it, a favourable opportunity might be obtained of carrying into effect the long-contemplated project. Meanwhile, one of her friends, more audacious and more wicked than the rest, imitating the feigned affection of the traitorous Jew for our Lord, bestowed upon the king the kiss of peace ; that by this demonstration of attachment he might not only dispel any chance of suspicion, but possess the readier means of destroying his intended victim. And as he had contrived so it came to pass ; for upon the king receiving a goblet from the hands of a butler, and as he touched the vessel with his lips, the villain who stood on

* A far different motive for the visit of Edward to Elfrida is given by Wallingford. He mentions that the power which Edward had confided to Elfrida was so much abused by her, that many and frequent complaints, "*multæ et frequentes querelæ*," were made to him—that Edward was not only obliged to remonstrate with, but to rebuke her ; and that finding his stepmother still incorrigible, he determined upon visiting her ; but in order that there might not be the appearance that this visit was made in an unkindly spirit, or for the purpose of inflicting punishment, he proceeded towards her residence accompanied with a few only of his attendants ; and that when he had remonstrated with Elfrida, she stabbed him. WALLINGFORD, *Chron.* p. 546. The statement of Knyghton, and of Henry of Huntingdon, agree with that of Wallingford as to Elfrida having with her own hand assassinated Edward. KNYGHTON, *Event. Ang.* Lib. i. c. i. p. 2314. H. HUNT. Lib. v. p. 357.

the other side of the sovereign rushed upon, and with a knife transfixing him, cutting sheer through his bowels.*

Wounded as he was, Edward rode away for a short distance from the spot where he had been stabbed, and then, on a sudden, fell from the horse on which he sat, down upon the earth. And thus did he, the beloved of God, as he fell, exchange earth for heaven—forsake a fleeting and friable crown to receive an undecaying diadem of everlasting happiness.†

With the death of the king, the hatred of the queen had not abated; for, upon hearing that he had fallen from his horse, she ordered his body to be instantly seized upon, and cast into a small house close to which it had fallen,

* “A long knyf yt was and small y nou, as me may gut yse Atte chyrche of Kauersham, as he ath gare ybe.”

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 289.

“And here I must caution the reader not to take this Casham,” (near Chippenham, in Wiltshire,) “to be the *Kaversham*, in the church of which place Robert of Gloucester tells us the long knife, that St. Edward the Martyr was killed with, was preserved in his time. For this was Caversham, commonly called Causham, and sometimes writ Cowsham, a village situated in Oxfordshire, but is not far from Reading, in Berkshire.” HEARNE, Preface to Robert of Gloucester, vol. i. xxxviii. xxxix. See BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iii. p. 366. According to Malmsbury, the actual murderer was Ælfere, the destroyer of monasteries, “qui superiorem regem occiderat.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 166. vol. i. p. 266. (E.H.S.)

† S. EDUARD. *Reg. Ang. Mart.* Pars 1, § 3, 4. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 644. See BROMTON, *Chron.* p. 873. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 162; R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 419, 420; KNYGHTON, p. 2313. These authors state that the course which Edward's horse took, upon the king being wounded, was traced by his attendants, from the quantity of the martyr's blood shed upon the earth. See also F. WIGORN. a. 978. CAPGRAVE, *Nov. Legend. Ang.* p. cxv.; S. DUNELM. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* p. 160; R. DICET. p. 459. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 451; Hoveden, p. 427.

lest that which had happened should be made public.* The wicked servants instantly put this sinful command into execution. They ran to the spot, took the sacred body, and treated it as if it were that of a beast; they dragged it by the feet, and cast it, as they had been desired, into a mean abode, where they concealed it by covering it over with straw. In the poor habitation in which the body was thus deposited, there dwelt a woman who had been blind from her birth, and whose only means of subsistence were comprised in the alms bestowed upon her by Queen Elfrida. Whilst this woman, upon the night succeeding the murder of the king, watched alone in the house with the body,—wonderful to say, at the darkest hour of the same night—the glory of God appeared in the house, and filled it with an indescribable splendour. The poor helpless creature was at first stricken with great terror; but then bethought herself of the mercy of the Omnipotent God: prayed to him to bestow that mercy upon her,—obtained the grace she sought for, and, through the merits of the man of God, obtained the sight she had so long desired. In the place where this occurred, and as a testimony of the miracle itself, and for the perpetuation of the recollection of it, a church was built by the faithful, which has remained even to the present day.†

* S. EDUARD. Reg. Ang. Mart. Pars ii. § 5. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 645. "According to Ricardus Divisiensis, the horse stopped at Shaftesbury, which was afterwards called S. Edward's-slow; and there, he says, the saddle was still preserved." *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. p. 813. note *h*. See also same page (813) for Gaimar's account of the martyrdom of St. Edward, which will be found to differ from that given in other writers.

† "Quæ usque ad nostra tempora perduravit." S. EDUARD. Pars ii. § 5. The same words are used by BROMTON, *Cæron*. p. 874.

At the break of day, the queen was informed by the poor woman of what had occurred during the night; and conscious that her informant had been blind from her birth, and finding that she now had sight, her mind was distracted by the various and contending thoughts with which she was at once afflicted. Her great fear was that her execrable deed might at once become universally known, if the body of the martyr were not more carefully concealed than it had hitherto been. She, therefore, directed her satellites to remove it speedily, and secretly to bury it in some remote and marshy place, where it might be least liable to suspicion that any such thing had been deposited, and where there might be the least chance of its being ever again discovered. Such orders were unhesitatingly complied with. No commands could have shown a greater want of tenderness and feeling, for they proved the desire to prevent others from speaking of the deceased king, or lamenting his death; and thus as it were expunging his name from the memory of mankind.

As soon as her orders had been complied with, Elfrida instantly removed to a mansion at Bere, which was distant about ten miles, in order that no suspicion might attach to her respecting the events that had occurred.

As to Ethelred, so great was the grief with which he was afflicted on account of the cruel murder of his brother, that he would not receive consolation from any person, or any quarter; and he could not abstain, even for a moment, from loud lamentations and bitter tears. This grief of the son inflamed the mother with such a furious rage, that she inflicted a most frightful chastisement upon his person: the instruments of her vengeance being wax-candles, which she chanced to have in her hand at the moment that her

passion burst forth. She never ceased to beat her son, until the number of her stripes had terrified him out of his grief, and subdued his sighs into silence. From this circumstance, it is said, that during the remainder of his life, the sight of candles was so hateful to him, that he would scarcely even permit them to be lighted in his presence. Some of our chroniclers declare, that when Ethelred was an infant, he frequently saw his mother beating his brother Edward with candles made of wax, and, therefore, never would allow a wax-candle to be lighted in his presence, but ever had a species of horror against them.*

At the time that Edgar (the father of Edgitha) died, and that the youthful Edward had succeeded to the throne, the saintly maiden had a dream, in which she appeared to feel that her right eye had fallen from her head.† This dream she narrated to her sister nuns in the convent, and at the same time told what was the interpretation she put upon it. "This vision," said she, "seems to me to portend the "death of my brother Edward." It was a short time after she had this vision, that Edward was martyred; and when noblemen of the kingdom wished to take the sancti-

* S. EDUARD. *Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars ii.* § 5, 6. BROMTON, p. 873, 874. The last paragraph, stating the circumstance of a dowager queen whipping a young king with a wax-candle, may not, we fear, be deemed consistent with the dignity of history; and yet to omit it would be to exclude a statement which affords a curious insight into the manners of courts, if not the thriftiness of crowned queens in the tenth century. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 164.

† Vit. S. Eadgith. § 4. A circumstance nearly similar to this is stated by S. Peter Damian of himself. See BARONIUS, a. 1061. § 63. vol. xvii. p. 203.

fied maiden from her monastery, and to place her upon her father's throne, so that England might, as other nations frequently have, a female sovereign; and when they even attempted by force to carry this determination into effect, she told them that never could she give her assent to such a project; that more easily the rugged rock could be changed into the ductile metal, than a virgin be induced to revoke the vow she had made to Christ, or to withdraw from the service of God, to which she had devoted herself.*

About a year had passed away, from the time that the martyrdom of Edward had been accomplished, when it pleased heaven to make known to the world how great had been his merits, and to notify by celestial indications to certain faithful Christians, who devoutly sought for them, where his venerated remains had been deposited.† Around the place in which his body was hidden, a column of light, that seemed to be a blazing fire, appeared to have descended from the skies, and irradiated the neighbourhood around by its glowing flame. This was seen by some of the pious inhabitants of Wareham, and they congregated together, proceeded to the place, took up the body, and carried it to their village, deposited it in their church, which was dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mother of God, and then, on the 13th of February (in the year 979), with a tender devotion, interred it on the eastern side of the church, in a place on which afterwards a wooden church was

* Vit. S. Eadgith. § 4; MABILLON. Act. SS. O. B. Sæc. v. vol. vii. p. 624. The statement of the crown being offered to St. Edgitha upon the death of St. Edward, is not, we believe, to be found in any other author than Gotselin, the supposed writer of "the life" from which the above extract is taken.

† S. EDWARD. Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars ii. § 7.

erected by zealous Christians, and which place is still known, and can be pointed out. As to the spot in which the body of the saint was first laid, a fountain of sweet and pellucid waters sprung up from it, and has from that time to the present continued to flow there; and hence has it obtained the name of "St. Edward's Well;" and there, to the honour and glory of God, many infirm creatures are cured of their ailments.*

"He was buried at Wareham, without any royal honour. "No worse deed than this was ever done by the English nation since they first sought the land of Britain. Men "murdered him—but God has magnified him. He was in "life an earthly king—he is now, after death, an heavenly saint. Him would not his earthly relatives offend—but "his Heavenly Father has avenged him amply. The earthly "homicides would wipe out his memory from the earth—but the Avenger above has spread his memory abroad in "heaven and in earth. Those who would not before bow "to his living body, now bow on their knees to his dead "bones."†

The divine mercy exalted by miracles him who had been slain in his innocence.‡ Lights from heaven were seen to gleam constantly around his remains, and as men looked and wondered at them, the lame recovered the use of their

* S. EDUARD. Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars ii. § 7. "Ubi infirmis multa quotidie ad laudem Dei beneficia præstantur." *Act. Sanc.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 645; BROMTON. p. 874.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, INGRAM's translation, pp. 163, 164. See ETHELRED, *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 362, and AILRED. ABB. RIEVAL, p. 409; who incidentally alludes to St. Edward the Martyr, desecrating upon the merits of St. Edward the Confessor.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 420.

limbs, sight was bestowed upon the blind, speech to the dumb, and all afflicted by sickness were relieved from their pains, and endowed with that health which they had long sighed to enjoy. Crowds from all parts of the kingdom hastened to the grave of the martyr, and amongst the rest, there was one who presumed to think it would be permitted to her to visit it. This was the murderess herself. Her palfrey was brought forth, and she had mounted it for this purpose—she touched its side with the spur, and the animal which had previously borne her fleetly as the wind, and that seemed always ready to rush forward, rapid and unrestrained as her wishes, now, in obedience to the will of God, stood beneath her still and motionless, and not all the stripes and clamorous cries, and even goads, of the Queen's attendants could induce it to move a single step from the spot. The vain efforts of the Queen and her attendants were abandoned—another palfrey was procured, but the self-same result followed. Then, and not till then, did Elfrida recognize that there was in this circumstance one of God's miracles. Then was her heart filled with penitence—with a thorough and complete penitence, so much so, that her person, which had been nurtured in delights, and wrapped in luxury, was subdued and punished by sackcloth for many years at Wherwell. There, prostrated on the earth, it was afflicted by her during the day, and there it rested by night, and as long as she had strength, penances of various kinds were imposed upon her flesh.*

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 420. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 162. and *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 251, who not only states the miracle about the queen's palfrey, and the subsequent penance imposed upon herself by the queen, but also adds

She was a most beautiful woman, and as a wife chaste as she was beautiful; but because she had been guilty of so monstrous a crime, she was only fitted to receive condemnation and punishment.*

In consequence of her having slain the holy King Edward, Elfrida caused two convents for females to be erected, one at Wherwell, where her own body now rests, and the other at Amesbury, near Salisbury.†

Ælfere, the ealdorman of whom previous mention has been made, as having destroyed the monasteries of the monks, he too became deeply and anxiously penitent for the fault he had committed. He removed the sacred body of the king from the mean place in which it had been deposited, and placed it with all due and fitting honour in Shaftesbury;‡ but even so he did not escape a fitting vengeance upon him for his sins, for a year afterwards it is said that he died by his body being eaten away by vermin.§

these words, "cruces præterea quascunque posset corpori comminacens." See HIGDEN, *Polychron.* p. 269. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 646. § 10.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 162.

† S. EDUARD. *Reg. Ang. Mar. Pars ii.* § 13. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 646. Of Wherwell convent, and the motive for its erection, it is said by Malmsbury—"De Warewellæ scitur quod Elfrida uxor regis Edgari ædificaverit illum in honore sanctæ crucis compuncta privigni sui Edwardi nece indigna." *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 247. As to Amesbury, see lib. ii. pp. 251, 252.

‡ See *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. pp. 645, 646. § 8, 9, as to the removal of the relics of St. Edward to Shaftesbury, and the miracles performed through his intercession.

§ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 420, 421. F. WIGORN. a. 979, who mentions the fact, which is also stated by many others, of the body of the martyr exhibiting no signs of corruption or decay, p. 600.

At Shaftesbury there shines the splendid and refulgent proof of this king's sanctity ; for to his merits may it be ascribed that in that place is to be found a mighty community of females solely devoted to the service of God, and the brightness of whose virtues irradiates this earth, and rises up in bright corruscations even to the stars, for there are gathered together sacred virgins whose souls have never been dimmed by the corrupting knowledge of sin ; and there too are religious widows, whom the torch of Hymen has never lighted to a second marriage, and there are united together the blissfulness of modesty, with the rigid severity of unimpeachable and unsurpassable propriety of demeanour ; and there the person admitted to the presence of its inmates would hesitate to say which was more worthy of his praise, their untiring assiduity in the service of their Creator, or their meekness and affability in their discourse with their fellow-creatures ; and hence it is believed, (and not unjustly) that through their prayers the entire earth is upheld, which without them had long since sunk beneath the burden of its sins.*

* " Unde non injuria credulitas apponitur dicentibus, quod per illarum orationes totus sustentatur orbis, qui jampridem suis vacillat peccatis." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 163. See *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 251. The opinion here expressed as to the value and importance to the world of the prayers and good works of pious nuns is still retained by Roman Catholics. The monk of Malmsbury attached so much value to them, that he makes his account of them the conclusion to his narrative of the reign of St. Edward the Martyr. We imitate his example, and refer the reader for an account of the relics of St. Edward, and the miracles effected through them, to *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. de S. Eduard. Reg. Mar. Comment. Præf. c. i. § 4, 5, 6. pp. 639, 640. Pars ii. § 9, 15. pp. 645, 646. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 251. BROMTON, pp. 875, 876, 884,

KNYGHTON, *Event Ang.* lib. i. c. 1. p. 2314. See also as to St. Edward, SMITH, *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. iii. c. 13. § 1, 2, 3, 4. pp. 212, 213, 214, 215. CAPGRAVE, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, pp. cxvi. a, cxvii a. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. pp. 396, 398, 578, 579, 642, 688, 748, 749, 750, 808, 813, 814, 817.

CHAPTER II.

ÆTHELRED.

CONSECRATION of Ethelred as king. St. Dunstan's repugnance to perform the ceremony. The prophecy of St. Dunstan. Invasions of England by Danes and Norwegians. Ælfstan, Bishop of Wilton, when a monk at Abingdon, regarded "as a miracle of obedience." Servile works performed by monks. Birth of Edmund Ironside (afterwards king). Ethelred's dispute with the Bishop of Rochester. St. Dunstan purchases peace from the king : his letter to Ethelred. St. Dunstan visited by the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester : he prophesies the speedy death of both. Its fulfilment. The death of St. Ethelwold. The saint is mourned for by all classes, but especially by the poor. Contention respecting a successor to St. Ethelwold. Revelation made to St. Dunstan respecting St. Elphegus. The holy life of Elphegus as a youth and a monk. . he becomes a recluse at Bath. . his benevolence to the poor. . collects a community of monks. . spiritual and temporal advantages to the people of Winchester from his appointment as bishop. St. Elphegus's opinion as to the right of the poor to relief. In the days of Elphegus no poor man in Winchester permitted to feel want. Death of St. Edgitha, sister to St. Edward king and martyr. . her devotion to the poor, and especially the sick poor ; her constant austerities to herself.

. . her conversation with St. Ethelwold. . her incessant practice of making the sign of the cross. The death of St. Edgitha foreseen by St. Dunstan whilst engaged in prayer. Miraculous circumstance occurring at her death. Plagues in England in 986. . invasion of Danes in 987. Death of St. Dunstan in 988. St. Dunstan's last sermon to his people. . his last advice to his monks and clergy. The prayer of St. Dunstan upon receiving communion. . his death. Great and fearful calamities in England follow the death of Dunstan. Ethelgar and Sigeric the successors of St. Dunstan in the see of Canterbury. War between Ethelred and Richard, Duke of Normandy. The English invade Normandy. . their army annihilated by the Normans. Pope John XV. interferes to prevent further hostilities. . the treaty of peace between the King of England and the Duke of Normandy drawn up by a legate of the Pope. Battle with the Danes at Maldon. . death of Brithnoth. His character as a true Anglo-Saxon warrior and patriot described. . Brithnoth and the abbot of Ramsay and Ely. . curious circumstance connected with the burial of the body of Brithnoth. In 991, tribute paid to the Danes. Dane-gelt complained of by Henry of Huntingdon. The death of St Oswald . he expires at the feet of the poor. Death of Aylwin, the founder of Ramsay monastery. Alfric, the commander of the English fleet, treacherously deserts to the Danes. Sea fight between the English and Danes in 992. The Danes defeated. In 993 the English are betrayed in Northumbria by their leaders, when about to encounter the Danes. Alfgar, the son of Alfric the traitor, blinded by order of King Ethelred. In 994, the Danes and Norwegians defeated in an attack on London. Barbarities of the invaders in various parts of the kingdom. Large tribute paid to the Danes, and treaty of peace with them. Conversion of Anlaf, or Olaf, King of the Norwegians. Devastations of the Danes in 997, 998, and 999. Repeated treachery of the English nobility. The Danes in the year 1000 retire from England. Ethelred's expedition against

the Danes in Cumberland. Frightful ravages of the Danes in all parts of England in the year 1001. Translation of the relics of St. Ivo. A tribute of twenty-four thousand pounds paid to the Danes. Ethelred's marriage with Emma, the daughter of the Duke of Normandy. Reflections of Florence of Worcester with respect to this marriage, and its consequences to the Anglo-Saxons. Coronation of Emma in 1002. Treacherous massacre of the Danes by order of Ethelred. The death of Gunnildis, sister to King Swein of Denmark. The Danes massacred at the altar of a church in London. Swein's preparations for the invasion of England. Removal of the relics of St. Oswald. Death of Aldulf, Archbishop of York. Exeter taken and spoiled by the Danes in 1003. The English army betrayed by its general Alfric. Wilton and Salisbury burned by the Danes. The Ealdorman Ulfkutel's battle with the Danes. Famine in 1005. St. Elphegus removed from Winchester to Canterbury . . his journey to Rome . . a miracle. Elphegus honoured by the pope. Conduct of St. Elphegus as Archbishop of Canterbury . . his wonderful piety, and his charity towards the poor. The assassination of Ælfhelm. The evil deeds of the Danes in 1006, described by the *Saxon Chronicle*. A large tribute paid to the Danes in 1007. Taxation for the defence of the kingdom established in 1008. Conflict between Brithric and Wilnoth, and its disastrous consequences. Thurkill's arrival in England . . the English army prevented from fighting by Eadric. Oxford plundered by the Danes. Gallant conduct of the Cambridge men in the battle of Ringmere. Churches burned down, women and children barbarously put to death by the Danes at Thetford and Cambridge. Deplorable state of England in 1010. St. Elphegus by his works of charity excites the hatred of the pagan Danes. The siege of Canterbury by the Danes in 1011. Conduct of St. Elphegus previous to, and during the siege. The capture of Canterbury by the Danes . . the terrible cruelties practised. St. Elphegus appeals to the Danes to spare his

people, and offers his own life for theirs. Massacre of monks and decimation of the citizens of Canterbury. The martyrdom of St. Elphegus. The miracle of the dry branch. The remains of St. Elphegus removed to London. The prayer of Osbern to St. Elphegus. The treaty of peace with the Danes in 1012. Some Danes take service with King Ethelred. Swein returns to England in 1013, with the intention of conquering it. The Danish fleet and English hostages confided to Canute. Men, women, and children massacred, towns destroyed, and monasteries burned in 1013, by order of King Swein. The sad state of Croyland and its hospitable monks. The Danes impose tribute upon Oxford and Winchester. . they are repulsed at London. Whilst Swein is at Bath, the men of Devon submit to him. Swein saluted as king. Queen Emma and the Princes Edward and Alfred sent to Normandy. Ethelred retires to the Isle of Wight, and from thence crosses to Normandy. England ruled by two Danes. . Swein and Thurkill. The blasphemies of King Swein punished by a sudden and miraculous death. The Danes nominate Canute as king. Ethelred recalled to the throne upon conditions, by the English nobility and people. Return of King Ethelred to England. Canute defeated by Ethelred. Barbarous treatment of the children of English nobles by Canute. Massacre of Danes in 1015 ordered by Ethelred. Assassination of Sigefrid and Morcar by Eadric. Algive, the widow of Sigefrid, married to Edmund Ironside. Return of Canute to England. . ravages perpetrated by his army. Edmund Ironside prepares to oppose him . treachery of Eadric, who deserts to King Canute. Indecision of Ethelred contrasted with the activity of Canute. The policy of Edmund Ironside counteracted by Canute. The death of Ethelred.

CHAPTER II.

ETHELRED.

A.D. 978—1016.

ON the 14th day of April, and a short time after the festival of Easter, Ethelred, illustrious by his birth, and charming by his manners, fair of face and graceful in form,* but still endowed with more of the wickedness of his mother than the wisdom of his father,† was consecrated at Kingston as sovereign, by the Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, assisted by ten bishops.‡

The ceremony at which he presided was most disagreeable to Dunstan, either because the circumstance of Ethelred's elevation to the throne had originated in the effusion of innocent blood, or because the saint was conscious that

* F. WIGORN, a. 978. As to the date of Ethelred's accession, see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. pp. 397, 398.

† OSBERT. Vit. S. Dunst. c. 41. MABILLON, Act. S.S. O. B. Sæc. v. vol. vii. p. 690.

‡ F. WIGORN, vol. i. pp. 145, 146. (E. H. S.) Gaimar (v. 4081.) states that he was crowned at Winchester.

the young king was as destitute of prudence as of courage.* Despite of these feelings, he was aware that the Witan ought not to be resisted, especially in a case in which the claimant to the throne was the former king's son, and was regarded as the nearest in succession to the late monarch.† However, the day on which the king's coronation took place, and when the crown was placed upon the head of Ethelred, it is related of Dunstan that he thus prophesied to the king: ‡

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 48. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 372.

† The reluctance to place Ethelwerd on the throne is proved by the tender of the crown to St. Elgiva, (vit. c. 4. Mabillon, *Act. S.S.* vol. vii. p. 624. See also Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 150, note 3.); and there can be little doubt, from the language of Osbert, that it was a point which for a brief period excited some controversy, and was at length put an end to by St. Dunstan; "complevit ei jus regium, scien se inoffensis "legibus terræ atq ue principibus id non posse transferre in quenquam alium." (Vit. S. Dunst. c. 41. Mabillon, *Act. SS.* vol. vii. p. 690.) Care was taken by St. Dunstan, before placing the crown on the head of Ethelred, that as far as the king's oath could make them secure, there should be a guarantee for the independence of the church, the protection of the poor, and the due administration of justice to all. "We still," observes Mr. Kemble, in *the Anglo Saxon Kings*, "have the words of that" (coronation oath) "which was administered by Dunstan to Ethelred at Kingston:—

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, three things do I promise "to this Christian people, my subjects: first, that I will hold God's "church and all the Christian people of my realm in true peace: "second, that I will forbid all rapine and injustice to men of all "conditions: third, that I promise and enjoin justice and mercy "in all judgments whereby the just and merciful God may give us "all his eternal favour who liveth and reigneth." See KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. cccxlv. THORPE, notes to Lappenberg, vol. ii. p. 150.

‡ The expression of Osbert shews that the prophecy was spoken aloud, "severo quodam tonitru verborum."

“Since thou hast aspired to the sovereignty through the
 “death of thy brother—that brother whom thy mother
 “has slain—therefore hear thou the words of the Lord ;
 “for the Lord thus speaketh—‘The sword shall never fail
 “‘in thy house ; sharply shall it be employed against thee
 “‘all the days of thy life, slaying those who are of thy
 “‘generation, until at length thy kingdom shall become the
 “‘kingdom of a foreigner whose faith and whose language
 “‘shall be alike unknown to the people over whom thou
 “‘rulest, unless thou wilt by a long penance expiate thy
 “‘own sin, and the sin of thy mother, and the sin of
 “‘those men who aided and abetted her in her perfidious
 “‘plot.’”*

The prediction to which the saint thus gave utterance he did not live to see fulfilled : that all, however, that was thus foretold eventually occurred, and was but too faithfully realized, cannot merely be verified by the statements that are contained in the ancient chroniclers ; but their results are even to this day discernible.† Not one

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 48. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. pp. 372, 373. See INGULPH, p. 54. S. DUNELM. p. 172. R. DICET. p. 466. BROMTON, p. 877. GERVAS, p. 1647. KNYGHTON, p. 2314. The idea that the invasions and successes of the Danes were a punishment inflicted by providence upon England, for the martyrdom of St. Edward, as well as the crimes of the nobles and the people, will be found to be entertained by many pious writers. See *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 643. § 15. H. HUNT. p. 357. ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 397. § 14. The general belief is thus expressed by Malmsbury : “Creditum et celebriter vulgatum, “quod, propter ejus in Edwardum insolentiam, multo post tempore “tota patria servitutem infremuisset barbaricam.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 162.

† OSBERT. vit. S. Duns. c. 41. MABILLON, *Act. SS. Sæc. v.* vol. vii. p. 690.

word that passed his lips fell vainly upon the earth, but all were afterwards completely fulfilled.*

At this time too, were seen in all parts of England, and during the night, clouds that appeared to be at one time of the hue of blood, and at another to burst forth in the raging flames of an angry fire. These meteors, which the Anglo-Saxons in their language designate *blodgite*, always disappeared upon the approach of morning.†

In was in the year 979, that Ælfere, the leader of the Mercians, removed from its grave at Wareham to Shaftesbury, the holy corpse of the dear king and martyr, Edward. The corpse, when stripped of its grave garments, was found to be perfectly free from the slightest mark of corruption or decay.‡

In the year 980, Southampton was devastated by Danish pirates, and nearly all its citizens either slain, or taken away as captives, and shortly afterwards, the same band of marauders laid the island of Thanet waste. In the same

* *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 978.

† *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 978. See F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 146. "This same year," states the Saxon Chronicle, "was seen a bloody welkin (*blodig Wolcen*) oftentimes in the likeness of fire; and that was most apparent at midnight, and so in misty beams was shewn, but when it began to dawn, then it glided away." INGRAM'S translation, pp. 164, 165.

‡ F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 146. (E.H.S.) Sax. Chron. a. 900. De S. Eduard. Reg. Ang. Mart. Pars ii. § 8. "Ita illæsum ab omni corruptione inventum est, ac si eodem die tumultum fuisset." *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 645.

year, the Norwegians carried on their depredations in the province of Chester.*

In the year 981, St. Petrois-stow (now Padstow monastery) was plundered† by the same pirates who in the preceding year had devastated Southampton, and who afterwards committed frequent invasions on maritime places, both in Devonshire and Cornwall.‡

Ælfstan, the bishop of Wilton, died this year (981), and was buried at Abingdon.§ This Ælfstan had been originally one of St. Ethelwold's monks at Abingdon; and the biographer of St. Ethelwold introduces his name for the

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 146. *Sax. Chron.* a. 980. This was the renewal in England of invasions by the Northmen. It commenced with "seven ships, the precursors of the subsequent devastators of England." (H. Hunt. lib. v. p. 357.) It began with Swein, the King of Denmark, who was, to use the expression of Baronius, "an instrument in the hand of the Lord to inflict chastisement for the martyrdom of St. Edward." (vol. xvi. p. 254, § 16.) Whilst the incitement to do injury to England, which animated Swein, was caused by his having, in the days of his disasters, applied for permission to obtain repose, and a place of refuge in this country. A request that was refused, because of the resentment felt for the former injuries inflicted. The refuge refused in England to Swein was subsequently obtained in Scotland. ADAM. Gest. Hammaburg. Pont. lib. ii. c. 32. PERTZ, *Monument. German. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 318. See, with respect to Swein I. and his rebellion against his father, same vol. pp. 315, 316, 317. BERING, *Florus Danicus*, pp. 198. 205.

Alford places in this year (980), the death of St. Editha, the daughter of Edward the Elder. See vol. iii. p. 398. § 6. BARONIUS, vol. xvi. p. 274. PAG. § 7. MABILLON, *Act. SS.* vol. vii. p. 623.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 146.

§ F. WIGORN.

purpose of citing him as a miracle of obedience.* There was (says the biographer) in the community at Abingdon, a monk, "brother Ælfstan" by name, simple in his manners, and remarkable for his great obedience. He had been ordered by the abbot to look to the food of the mechanics who were employed about the monastery. The monk sedulously devoted himself to the service which had been assigned to him. He daily cooked the food, waited regularly and diligently upon the mechanics, carried water to them, and cleaned up the vessels they had used: the abbot all the time fancying that these things were done with the aid and assistance of some other person. One day, the abbot, according to custom, was going through the different parts of the monastery, when he came unexpectedly upon this monk, whom he found standing by the side of a boiling cauldron, whilst all the kitchen utensils were shining bright and clean around, and even the very floor, which had been swept by himself. The abbot, delighted with this, said to him, "Brother Ælfstan, you have stolen this obedience from me, for you have exercised it without my cognizance; but "if you are as brave a soldier as you seem to be, put your "hand into this boiling water, and take a piece of meat from "the bottom of the vessel." The monk obeyed; the glowing furious heat of the boiling liquid was less fervent than the unshaken courage of his faith; and he, therefore, did what he had been desired, and he remained unscathed!†

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 249.

† MALMSB. p. 249. Vit. S. Ethelwold. c. ii. § 14. *Act. Sanct.* (August.) vol. i. pp. 91. 92.

Ælfstan was not the only monk employed by Ethelwold in works of a menial description. A very interesting account is given of a miracle which occurred to one of his own monks when engaged

In the year 981, Ethelred became the father of a son, he named Edmund.*

Three ships of pirates reached the province of Dorsetshire in the year 982, and plundered Portland. The same year, London was destroyed by fire; and then departed this life Æthelmar, ealdorman of Southampton, and Eadwin, of the South Saxons, Herelure, the abbess of Shaftesbury, and Wlfwin, the abbess of Werham.†

with the mason at the top of his church, which was about being repaired,—all the monks being at the time similarly occupied—"jussit fratres frequenter laboribus una cum artificibus et operariis insistere;" Vit. c. 4, § 34. *Act. Sanct.* (August.) vol. i. p. 95. There are few saints whose miracles are more numerous than that of an humble monk, who acted as cook to a monastery. See *Processus de B. Jacob. Bectens. Append.* § 95. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. iii. p. 545; see also pp. 527. 544. St. Baldomer was a blacksmith, and St. Porphy worked as a shoemaker, after distributing all his wealth to the poor. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. pp. 646. 683, 684. The various nature of the labours in which monks were engaged, will be found fully illustrated in the life of St. John, abbot of Gorze, c. 9. § 72, 73, 74, 75, and § 76; where it is said:—"Ipsas latrinas fratrum frequenter purgasse." *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 704. Nothing was more strongly insisted upon by the great Saint Ægidius, than the constant manual labour of monks in their monasteries (vit. c. i. § 78); and that saint, we may observe, considered the monastic life so much safer than the secular, that he, upon one occasion, made use of this remarkable expression:—"mallem ego gratiam unam in monasterio, quam decem in sæculo." § 83. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. iii. p. 238.

* *ROG. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 422. This was the celebrated "Edmund Ironside," whose mother was the daughter of Toreth, "nobilissimi Comitis." *ETHELRED. Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 362. See *LAPPENBERG'S Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 163. *Coxe*, (*Rog. de Wendov.* vol. i. p. 422. note 3.) E.H.S.

† *F. WIGORN*, vol. i. p. 147. *Sax. Chron.* a. 982. *S. DUNELM.* p. 161.

Ælfere, the leader of the Mercians, and the relation of Edgar, King of the English, died in the year 983, and the office that he had held was conferred upon his son, Alfric.*

In the year 983, there arose a contention, for some cause that is not known, between King Ethelred and the Bishop of Rochester.† The king, for this, determined upon besieging the city of Rochester, to invade and to lay waste that which was the patrimony of the blessed apostle (St. Andrew).‡ The holy Archbishop Dunstan, upon hearing that such an expedition was contemplated, sent to the king to warn him respecting the folly of such a proceeding, reminding him that St. Andrew, who was prompt with the intercession of his prayers, had also placed at his command the power to avenge any sacrilege that might be perpetrated—that the king, therefore, should shrink from provoking the exercise of that power, by the wrongful invasion of whatever was the patrimony of the saint.

Dunstan and his warning were alike contemned by the king; but still the same reasonings and expostulations were urged by messengers of the archbishop, who at the same time were directed to offer to the king an hundred pounds. The king took the money; and then, and not till then, raised the siege.

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 147. As to the character of Alfric, his cowardice and treachery, see W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 264.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 423. As to the Bishop of Rochester here referred to, see *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 322. note (z).

‡ OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 50. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 373.

As soon as this was told to the bishop, he was astonished to hear that a sovereign could be at the same time so mean and so avaricious; and, therefore, he directed these words to be conveyed to Ethelred, in writing:—

“Since thou hast preferred gold to God, silver to the apostle, and thine own cupidity to my request, quickly shall come down upon thee those evils which the Lord hath spoken; evils such as have never before been seen from the time the Anglo-Saxons began to reign, even to the present hour. But whilst I live these things shall not be: for this, too, the Lord hath spoken.”*

And after the death of the saint—an event which occurred in the tenth year of the reign of King Ethelred—those predictions began to be quickly fulfilled, and the evils that had been foredoomed in words, hurried on to be accomplished by deeds.†

About this time, it happened that Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, with another prelate, the Bishop of Rochester, came to see the Archbishop of Canterbury.‡ Their visit afforded great joy to Dunstan, for he knew both to be great, illustrious and learned men, who, by their high and exalted virtues, had deservedly obtained the highest honours the Church can bestow upon her disciples.§

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 50. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 373. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 214.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 263. See F. WIGORN. a. 986. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 985.

‡ OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 49.

§ Ibid. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 373.

When the moment for parting amongst these three prelates came, and the two bishops besought of St. Dunstan that he might bestow his benediction upon them,* this sublime pontiff stretched forth his hand, that he might bless them both, as they proceeded on their journey; when, suddenly, he burst into a flood of tears, and his grief became so great, that his tongue could scarcely pronounce the words of the benediction. The bishops were terrified on beholding the unusual state of agitation exhibited by the archbishop. They eagerly asked the reason for it, and after a short pause, St. Dunstan thus answered them:—"I weep: I do, indeed, weep, because I know that "both of you will soon die." They then replied: "Nay, "say not so, most holy father, utter not so dire a prophecy "respecting us; we shall not die, but we shall yet live to "see you safe and well again and again." St. Dunstan then thus answered them: "That which I have said is inevitable; "you will die, die to this world, but you shall live with "God; you will die: that is, no longer to remain in this life, "but you go to God, and you shall have life with him for "all eternity." With these words the prelates parted from each other, grieving for their separation, and each solicitous with a pious fear for the great change which was impending over him. The Bishop of Rochester had no sooner entered his city than he was seized with a heavy sickness, and, as it had been foretold by a true prophet, shortly afterwards died, whilst Ethelwold was attacked with illness, before he returned to the metropolis of his see, and was thus

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 42. MABILLON, *Act. SS. O. B.* vol. vii. p. 690.

destined to receive the reward of his earthly labours in heaven.*

At the time when the holy Bishop Ethelwold was about to depart from this mortal life, and to receive from his Creator the recompense for his toils, he arrived at a town called Beddington, which is about sixty miles distant from the city of Winchester.† He stopped there but for a brief period, when he felt himself attacked by the sharp pains of a mortal sickness. He had himself anointed with the holy oil, and he strengthened himself for his death by the reception of the body and blood of the Lord. Then bidding farewell, and bestowing the kiss of peace upon those whom he regarded as his children, he, with the words of prayer upon his lips, rendered up his spirit upon the first day of August, in the year of our Lord 984, and the twenty-second year of his episcopate, the reigning sovereign of England at the time being King Ethelred. It has been testified to us by those who were present on the occasion,‡ that the lifeless corpse of this holy man was renovated by a sudden change; that the skin assumed a milk-white fairness, and the cheeks were suffused with the roseate hue of health, so as that there was in the entire countenance all those combined charms of beauty and of innocence that are to be seen in the face of a child seven years of age—so much so, that the perishable flesh of the mortal appeared to be impressed

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 49. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 373.

† WOLSTAN, Vit. S. Ethelwold. c. 5. § 41. *Act. Sanct.* (August) vol. i. p. 97.

‡ "Testati vero nobis sunt qui ibi præsentés aderant." WOLSTAN.

with the great glory of the body that has risen for resurrection unto life everlasting.

It would be most difficult to convey an accurate notion of the immense multitudes that collected together to attend the funeral of Ethelwold. From hamlets, from towns, and from castles, there rushed forth, all together, the rich and the poor, to bid a last farewell to their bishop. All in grief and with an anguished spirit followed the bier—in their regard a most precious bier, because bearing a most priceless treasure; because protected by the Holy Gospels, and by crosses; because adorned with rich vestments; and because encircled with lighted candles, and with holy hymns, and the pious harmony of psalms. Thus was the body of the dead conveyed towards Winchester, where the entire mass of the inhabitants came out to meet it. And when it was met, then might the spectator behold crowds of monks sobbing aloud their sorrow, and white-clothed bands of maidens, pale with grief; whilst there pealed over all their lamentations the rich melodious voices of the canons, as they chanted out the psalms. There were commingled together the sighs of the poor and the groans of the needy, who lamented the loss to themselves of that shepherd who had ever taken care of them. The tearful clamours of all seemed to ascend from earth to heaven, and thus were the remains of the man of God with such solemn obsequies brought to the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul; and there, at his own episcopal see, where vigils had been kept and the solemn sacrifices of many masses celebrated, Ethelwold was buried in the crypt on the south side of the holy altar, and in that very spot which he himself had, when living, told that he had been shewn in

a heavenly vision, as the place destined to receive his remains.*

Upon the death of Ethelwold, of blessed memory, a great contest arose as to the person who might be regarded as worthy to govern the see of Winchester.† It was a

* "Ubi eum requiescere debere, sicut ipse vobis retulit, olim sibi cœlitus ostensum est." WOLSTAN, Vit. S. Ethelwold. c. 5. § 41. *Act. Sanct.* (August) vol. i. p. 97. MABILLON, *Act. SS. O. B. Sæc. v.* vol. vii. c. 41. p. 610. "This year," 984, (states the Saxon Chronicle,) "died the benevolent bishop (*well willenda bisceop*) of Winchester, Athelwold, father of monks (*muneca faeder*)." For an interesting description of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, which is still in existence, see that valuable publication, the *Catholic Weekly Instructor*, vol. iv. pp. 464, 465, 466. (Richardson and Son, Derby.)

St. Ethelwold was a great benefactor to his native city. "Amongst other public works for the benefit of Winchester, one ought not to be forgotten, the benefit of which is still felt by its inhabitants. Great inconvenience being experienced from the want of water, which then flowed in one current only, at the eastern end of the city, St. Ethelwold made different canals, one of which begins near the village of Worthy; and thus distributed the water, at great toil and expense, throughout the greater part of the city.

"In tantum dilexit urbem Wentanam, quod aquam currentem suo studio et labore, sumtibusque largifluis benignissime introduxit." MS. Ibid. The monk Wolstan, in the epistle quoted above, speaking of the advantage of that part of the river called the Lock pond, which St. Ethelwold brought into the monastery of St. Swithun, and which still runs through the Close, says:—

"Hucque

Dulcia piscosæ flumina traxit aquæ.

Secessusque laci penetrant secreta domorum

Mundantes totum murmure cœnobium."

MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 121. See as to Ethelwold, HARPSFIELD, *Dec. Sæc. c. 8.* p. 199. *Ang. Sæc.* vol. i. pp. 130, 163—166, 213—217, 223, 290, 320, 323, 594, 600, 604, 607, 682, 799. *Britannia Sancta*, vol. ii. pp. 55, 56, 57, 58. PITSEUS, *Illustr. Ang. Script.* pp. 178, 179. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii. pp. 178, 179.

† OSBERN, Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. Mar. c. 2. § 8. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. ii. p. 633.

point on which considerable difference of opinion existed, some having their wishes turned in one direction, and others their desires tending in the very opposite way, whilst neither had the power to accomplish what he required. The reason for this was that the canons of Winchester had been spending a very wicked life, and in direct contravention of the statutes, and for this they had frequently been severely rebuked by the pious Bishop Ethelwold, who at length finding them incurably 'obstinate, had, with his sovereign's sanction, those men expelled, and their offices discharged by persons whose piety fitted them for the fulfilment of religious duties. The canons being thus expelled, and God-fearing monks filling their places, when the time for choosing a bishop came, the canons desired to have a regular clergyman, but the monks laboured to have the mitre bestowed upon a monk—each wished to have placed over him a person who was favourable to his views, so that the opinions entertained by him might find patronage and support. This contention continued for some time, and there seemed to be no human means available for putting an end to it. The difficulty, however, by the Divine wisdom and goodness, received a fitting solution, and in the manner which is now about to be stated : *

Upon St. Dunstan hearing of the death of St. Ethelwold, and of the great contention that had arisen as to the election of a fitting successor, he became fearful that the scandal caused by such a dispute might lead to the destruction of many souls.† He, therefore, availed himself of the gift of prayer, and humbly supplicated of the Al-

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 2, § 8.

† Ibid. § 10. p. 633.

mighty, in whom is the knowledge of all future things, that He would, in His mercy, be pleased to let him know who was the shepherd most fitted, at that time, to govern the church of Winchester. And when Dunstan had frequently repeated this prayer, for the purpose of putting an end to the contention, St. Andrew the Apostle was, as the Divine Messenger, before him, and addressed him in such words as these :

“ Wherefore, dearest son, art thou thus sad? Why weepest thou, or makest thou such doleful complaints? Arise—place thine hand upon Elphegus—anoint him with the holy oil, and make him the bishop of that which is now a desolate church. Nor let any human power prevent thee from doing this ; for the decree on which thou hast to act has not been pronounced by human lips, but is the command of Omnipotence itself. And now, that no doubt may fill thy mind as to him who thus addresses thee—know, that I am Andrew, the Apostle of the Son of God, and the most worthy guardian of thy salvation.”

Thus spoke St. Andrew, and as he spoke, disappeared. The archbishop was rendered most joyful by the oracle he had heard ; and that which had been said to himself he repeated to the nobles of the palace, and warning them to desist from their factious contests in such a case as this, he found them to be attentive listeners. A council was then held—all coincided in opinion with St. Dunstan, and all cried out with one voice, that what God willed, they willed also.*

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 2. § 10, 11. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. ii. pp. 633, 634. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 125,

The consecration of Elphegus, who was also called Godwin, took place on the fourteenth day before the kalends of November, and he took his seat on the episcopal bench at Winchester, on the mass-day of the two Apostles Simon and Jude.* Elphegus when elected as a bishop was abbot of Bath; he had previously received the religious habit at the monastery of Derherste.†

126. See Vit. S. Dunst. c. 8. § 50. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 373.

* Sax. Chron. a. 984.

† F. WIGORN. a. 984. vol. i. p. 147. "In monasterio, cui Deorhyrsta vocabulum est." "*Derhyrste*, a small abbey in Gloucestershire, which was afterwards given by St. Edward to the monks of St. Denis." *Britannia Sancta*. vol. i. p. 233.

The manner in which the election of Elphegus was effected, through a revelation of St. Dunstan, is denounced by Mr. Sharon Turner as "*a purposed falsehood*, or unworthy miracle." (Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, vol. ii. p. 275.) All such miracles, the same author affirms, if told by St. Dunstan himself, "we must suppose either that he had a diseased imagination, or that *he wilfully fabricated them*." (vol. ii. p. 281.) For the purposes of agreeing in the same conclusion to which Mr. Turner has come, it is necessary to believe that a pious man, with the sole object of benefitting another, and not himself, told "*a purposed falsehood*," and was guilty of a sacrilegious lie; and thus outraged Christianity, to make a bishop of a monk, who afterwards died a martyr for the sake of his religion, and of the poor! With all respect for the prejudices of persons of Mr. Turner's way of thinking, we find it easier to believe in a simple miracle, which is consistent with the characters, the lives, and the deaths of those who were concerned in it, than to believe in a combination of improbabilities, which are altogether inconsistent with the motives and actions of men who passed their days in prayers and in poverty, accumulating no wealth for themselves nor their families, and who on the point of quitting this world invoked those names which are synonymous with truth, with faith, and with charity. There is, in our estimation, no miracle greater than *the miracle of infidelity*, for it draws the most monstrous, the most wild, the most inconsequential, and the most debasing conclusions, from the simplest, plainest, and most edifying statements. We refer to the text for some par-

Elphegus, who was descended from parents of illustrious rank, had, from his earliest years, distinguished himself by his great wisdom and his extreme humility.* His intellectual capacity and his pious tendencies were alike admired by his parents, and seemed to them to presage his distinction in literature, in science, and in the church. The youth having read and re-read again all that seemed to him to be sufficient to win salvation, determined upon devoting himself to the service of God—to know Him, to love Him—to be as it were His slave. Fearing, however, that the love of his mother—for he was the sole object of a pious mother's love—might interfere with his desire for a religious life, he constantly prayed of God that His will might be done—for that once convinced of what His will, he promised that neither the affection of a father, nor the love of a mother, nor the attraction of this world's goods, should interfere with the fulfilment of his pious resolution.

Elphegus, by the divine goodness, was touched with this conviction: filled with the spirit of religion, he abandoned the inheritance of his family, and closing his ears to the grief of his mother, he deserted the world, and entered into the monastery of Derherste, put on the habit of a religious, and with the habit his entire life was that of a pure religious. And although the monastery itself was one in which there were but few inmates, still was it a place in which those who dwelt there proved themselves to be men of consummate virtue; for all that could please

particulars respecting Elphegus, in order that the reader may see what was the character of the man on whose behalf a modern author alleges "a purposed falsehood" was "fabricated."

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. Mart. c. i. § 1. *Act. Sanct.* (April) vol. ii. p. 632.

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or satisfy the senses was scornfully rejected by them, whilst every cross and suffering were willingly suffered, and patiently submitted to. The humble severity, and the severe humility of these monks, were wonderful incitements to the youthful Elphegus, and constituted inducements to him to sacrifice every wish he might entertain, and to mortify his will in every mode that could be devised. Their example led him to make himself the servant of every one else in the monastery—to be, if we may make use of the expression, as a mere mindless instrument in the hands of all—to serve God with a fervent and indefatigable spirit; to have in that place, in which the Divinity dwells, his sole joy—to fast much, to watch much, to pray much—to seek what was the convenience of another and not his own—nay, to seek out what might be pleasing to others, as if it were a thing desirable to himself; and to aim at attaining whatever might be grateful to some one else, whilst it was displeasing to himself, and to do this, as if what he struggled for was the accomplishment of his own inclination!

Some years were thus occupied in the incessant practices of a thoroughly religious life; but, when he conceived that the days of his youth had passed away, he deemed that he had as yet actually done nothing, and performed no fitting labour in honour of God. He, therefore, determined upon passing a more severe mode of life, and to wage single-handed war against the enemy of mankind. It was on this account that he left the monastery, resolved to go wherever the Divine Grace might lead him. In pursuance of this resolution, he arrived at a place which is called Bath, on account of the hot waters that rise out of the earth, and which are made to serve as baths for

those who choose so to use them. Upon Elphegus arriving at this place, he made a small habitation for himself, and as soon as it was finished, he shut himself up in it, and being so immured, he treated his body with a rigour that was almost incredible. He was not long there, until some nobles came to him to expose to him the wounds of their souls, and to receive heavenly consolation and advice from him;—and they, thus becoming cognizant with the truth of those facts respecting Elphegus, which they had formerly only known by report, bestowed upon him gifts of immense value, and these gifts were employed by him in protecting, to the utmost of his ability, all who came to him from the pangs of famine and the sufferings of cold.* At the same time, others laying aside all worldly ambition; and abandoning its costume, placed themselves under his command, and changed their habit and their life. Hence it happened that in a very short space of time there was collected around him a considerable body of monks. To teach them piety, to show them the rule they ought to follow, to instruct them in the way of salvation, it was not necessary for Elphegus to make his community read or study rules; all they had to do, was to watch his mode of life, and they at once must perceive what it was that every person ought to do, what he ought to imitate, and what he ought to eschew.†

* “Quibus tam se quam omnes sibi adhaerentes ab injuria famis et frigoris protegere posset.” OSBERN.

† OSBERN, Vit. S. Elpheg. Cantuar. Mart. c. i. § 2, 3, 4. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. ii. p. 632. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. Such were the merits that recommended St. Elphegus to St. Dunstan. We may here remark, that Osbern, the writer of the life of St. Elphegus, states all the circumstances mentioned in it he had received directly either from those who had witnessed them,

From the moment that Elphegus ascended the episcopal throne of Winchester, he conducted himself with such zeal and diligence, that no one could doubt but that he would prove himself as just and strict a ruler as he had proved himself to be in his former position in life.* Everywhere around him there arose the fear to do wrong, with reverence for religion. The oppression of the poor ceased; the unjust exactions of the rich abated;† whilst the individual who proved himself the most prompt in executing the behests of the bishop, was regarded by his fellows as the best and most happy man amongst them. The people were liberated from wrong-doers, and the word of God was preached abroad free from all restriction and impediment.

The virtue of the saint each day seemed to increase in greatness, and with its increase his renown extended, and with the extent of his renown, the number of the faithful flocking to Winchester multiplied. Those who had the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs exulted with a holy joy; because they saw bestowed upon them by heaven so worthy an associate in their labours,—a man whose profound learning was no impediment to his piety, and whose piety made him consider his vast extent of knowledge but as the scantiest share of scholarship. Illustrious bands of Christian heroes rejoiced in him, because they saw the

or had heard from others who had witnessed them, “Aut ab iis qui viderunt, aut a videntibus audierant.” Prolog. § i. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. ii. p. 631. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 122.

* OSBERN, Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. Mart. c. ii. § 11. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. ii. p. 634. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 127.

† “Nusquam pauperam oppressiones, iniquæ divitum exactiones nusquam.” OSBERN.

same man who felt the deepest compassion for the poor enjoying a considerable portion of the royal favour. Elphegus, who was ever ready to forgive the failings of others, who was most charitable to all men, and who never yet had excited the envy of any individual,—that which seldom happens amongst persons in this world, in their dealings with each other—but which was a happiness he was permitted to possess, because all were conscious that every word, act, and thought of his life were those of a good and holy man; and this feeling of respect rose into admiration for him, when it became known that he who was most tender, most kind, and most gentle to all others, was alone pitiless, unsparing, and cruel to himself. This is a fact, which the writer (Osbern) knows from those who were most intimately acquainted with the secret passages of his life,* viz., that in the winter season, and even when the earth was hardened with the intense rigour of the frost, and that all around him were buried in sleep, he used to rise secretly from his couch, and to seek some solitary place in the open air; and there, with naked feet, and wearing but a single garment, he would remain praying, until the smaller stars were lost in the rays of the rising sun, and he perceived that the light of day was about to break upon the world. As to meal times, he seemed to take his place as if for the purpose of dining, and yet he was known to rise from the table with a stomach almost as empty as when he sat down; so that those who sat beside him would find it difficult to say whether he had eaten or not. Hence it was that he became so thin, so spare, so attenuated, that

* “Ut enim ad nostram perlatum est conscientiam ab his qui secretorum illius scientissimi fuerunt.” OSBERN.

at the time of the Holy Sacrifice, and when, in accordance with the ecclesiastical practice, he had to elevate his hands into the air, the palms of his hands appeared to the spectator to be transparent, when it so happened that he stood opposite a window, and the sun's rays shone down straight upon, and, as it were, through them. This was a circumstance which, once noted, became in itself a spectacle to a few curious persons.

We do believe that it is not possible for the human mind to conceive, nor for the tongue of man to express, to what an extreme degree of perfection he carried the virtue of charity, combined with that of munificence. The entire of the human race was embraced within his generous heart, and formed the constant theme of his discourse. The best proof, however, that can be afforded of the philanthropy of his precepts will be found in his conduct; for he not only never would permit that any of his own flock should be under the necessity of seeking for the alms of the public, but he never would allow a poor man, who was a stranger to his diocese, to go away without receiving relief; for he deemed it to be a monstrous and horrible crime that that which nature has given to us all in common, any one man should usurp to himself, and make use of it as his private and peculiar property;* and hence it was that he constantly disputed that any person was a member of the Christian community, who was unwilling to aid in relieving the wants of the poor; for as he said, If one member of

* "—— neque parochialium quempiam publice unquam mendicitati servire siverit, neque alterius loci pauperem vacuum abire permiserit : immane horrendumque nefas reputans, si quod natura commune instituit, hoc velit homo usurpare privatum." OSBORN.

the body be suffering, all the other members of the body sympathize with it, and hence it was manifest that that could not be a member of the body, which, when another member was suffering, felt no compassion for it. The person who is suffering want, requires the aid of a member of Christ's community; and the member who does not compassionate him, is not by that act a member of Christ. * * * *

By such discourses as these, he animated the possessors of wealth to the bestowal of alms; for his words had on them the effect which is produced by the clangour of trumpets, and that tends to excite men to martial deeds. The result was, that in the entire of his diocese, there was not one person in a state of absolute want to be found, for the holy prelate either by himself, or by the great men of the land, was able to afford relief to all, of whom it was ascertained for certain by him, or by such noble individuals, that they were in want. And then, when that fund, which, according to the ecclesiastical law, was appropriated to the poor,* was completely exhausted, then the many treasures belonging to the church itself, and which he had himself procured, he ordered to be distributed for the relief of the afflicted, because his doctrine was, that those things which in a time of prosperity were to be regarded as an ornament and an honour to the holy place in which they were used,

* That is, one-third of the tithes. "And respecting tithe; the king and his witan have chosen and decreed, as is just, that one-third part of the tithe which belongs to the church go to the reparation of the church, and a second part to the servants of God; *the third to God's poor, and to needy ones in thralldom.*" Laws of Ethelred, A.D. 1013. § 6. p. 146.

were in times of necessity only to be regarded as the means of being employed to the general advantage.*

* OSBERN. *Vit. S. Epheg. Arch. Cantuar. Mart. c. 2. § 11, 12, 13. Act. Sanct.* (April) vol. ii. p. 634. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 127. 128. The concluding words of the preceding extract in the original, are: "docens ad hoc ornatissima quæque ecclesias possidere ut tempore felicitatis sint honestati, tempore vero necessitatis sint utilitati." In this respect St. Elphegus was like to his predecessor St. Ethelwold. There is no point in which the personal conduct of the saints will be found more strongly to resemble each other than in this inexhaustible feeling of tenderness and compassion to the poor. To cite all the instances that might be quoted on this subject, would be to re-write a volume as large as one of the Bollandists; but we cannot avoid taking the instances which we find in one page of an imperfect note-book, as suitable to be introduced here. Thus, in the fifth century, we find habitations for the blind poor built by St. Limneus. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 292. § 5. In the sixth century, it is stated of St. Leonorus, a Briton: "Multitudo populorum frequenter ad videntum eum veniret et multa munera ei deferret, quæ accipiens, egenis, orphanis distribuit, et nihil ad usum suum retinuit;" *Vit. c. 1. § 1. Act. Sanct.* (Julii) vol. i. p. 121. In the life of St. Roger, we have the meaning of the word *xenodochium* defined. "—xenodochium quoque in Marchia fundavit: ut videlicet dum semper, in illo loco de redditibus (quos facta solenni donatione ibidem delegavit) peregrinorum ac pauperum necessitati pro Dei amore liberaliter subventum foret; justitia ejus (ut canitur in Psalmo) maneret in seculum seculi;" *Vit. B. Roger. § 8. Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. i. p. 121. St. Robert, abbot of Chasse-Dieu, not only fasted and prayed, but built a house for the poor:—"Jejunabat propensius et orabat et quantum posset larga manu distribuebat pauperibus. Nam et domum eleemosynariam construxit in vico ut in velut sanctitas palæstra, pauperibus ministrans exerceretur assidue. Certe est illum, cum omnia pauperibus erogasset in usus eorum, sæpe chlamydem vel pallium adjecisse;" *Vit. c. 1. § 4. Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. iii. p. 318. To these we must add the example of St. Peter, Bishop of Luxembourg, who not only gave away his episcopal ring to support the poor, but who was known to distribute money secretly in charity by casting it from the windows:

In the same year (984), departed this life, and ascended into heaven, the most holy virgin Edgitha, sister of the saint and King, Edward.* The blessed maiden Edgitha was the daughter of King Edgar, and of Wlfridis, the daughter of a nobleman, allied to a royal family.† It had been the desire of the king to make Wlfridis a sharer in his crown and dignity, but she preferred a life of purity and religious exercise to all the attractions the world could present to her. She, therefore, received the habit of a nun in Wilton monastery, from the hands of the holy

“Unde semel contigit, quod deficientibus pecuniis, pauperibus erogandis juxta votum, annulum proprium, quem in beatis manibus suis gestabat, in cambiis Avenionensibus secretissime venundari procuravit. Ex quo decem florenos habuit, quos infra paucos dies pauperibus distribuit: non enim manus sua extenta fuit ad accipiendum, sed potius ad largiendum. Nam juxta posse omnibus venientibus læto animo et hilari vultu spiritualemente temporalementeque alimoniam erogabat: et in tantum quod sæpius indigentibus, per vicos transeuntibus, pecunias occulte ne ab aliquibus videretur, ipsemet per fenestram ad horam projiciebat,” &c.; Vit. c. 5. § 29. This benevolent man, we may add, was strict in the confession of his sins. “Et quia peccata venalia caritatem obnubilant, ipse assidue eorundem accerimæ habens amaritudinem contritionis, non procrastinavit ipsa confiteri. Sed et quotiescumque copiam non poterat habere sacerdotis, in quadam schedula defectus suos scribebat; et opportunitate accepta,” &c. “Et cum sæpe de nocte recordaretur, Creatorem suum in aliquo offendisse de lecto suo surgens festinanter, secrete ad cameram confessoris sui * * ut eum evigilaret, accedebat.” Vit. c. 5. § 27. *Act. Sanct.* (Julii.) vol. i. p. 514. See also BARONIUS, *Annal. Eccles.* a. 270. § 15. a. 330. § 28. a. 398. § 17. a. 590. § 4. a. 752. § 12. “De gli Spedali de Pellegrini, Malati, Fanciulli esposti,” &c. MURATORI, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiani.* vol. ii. pp. 456—479. VOLKEDING, *Thesaurus. Antiq. Christian.* vol. ii. pp. 174. 200.

* BARONIUS, vol. xvi. p. 274. § 9. See ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 405. § 9.

† Vit. S. Eadgith. seu Edith. c. i. MABILLON, *Act. SS. O. B.* Sæc. v. vol. vii. p. 623.

Bishop Ethelwold ; and advancing each day in virtue, and edifying others by her example, she was appointed to act as the spiritual mother of the female community that was there congregated. St. Edgitha was also educated in the same place, and there, with the assent of the king, she put on the monastic habit. Edgitha was instructed by her mother not to feel any pleasure in gold, or in jewels, or in a rich wardrobe, but solely in the acquirement of learning, and the practice of every virtue. Amongst other means by which the piety of the young saint was excited, was the knowledge imparted to her by her private studies, by the reading aloud of others, or by their oral narratives, of the lives of holy persons, and especially by the example of those who had been members or connexions of her own family, and of these the example that made the most deep impression upon her mind was the illustrious pattern of maiden modesty and mighty sanctity afforded to her by her aunt Editha, who was the sister of her father, King Edgar, and who at that time made the convent of Pottesworth, in Warwickshire, as illustrious by her sanctity, as she (the younger Edgitha) rendered Wilton by making it her place of residence.

In her attendance upon the sisters of the community, she shewed the diligence of a Martha ; in her devotion to her Saviour, she manifested the all-absorbing piety of a Mary. In the offices of charity, she was ever zealous, and ever toiling. All who sought for hospitality at her hands were received as a messenger of Christ. In abstinence she was so perfect, that she seemed to welcome the practice of it, as worldlings do the invitation to a feast ; and a feast, whenever she was present at it, seemed but to afford her another opportunity for being abstinent. The joys of the

world were avoided by her ; the ailing, the destitute, and the afflicted were so sought after by her, that it might with truth be said, she preferred those afflicted with leprosy to the members of the royal family ; and precisely in the same proportion as the miserable creatures were hideous with the deformity of disease, was she eager, prompt, affectionate, and kind in waiting upon and nursing them. She was, in sooth, an eye to the blind, a prop to the weak, clothing and food to the needy, and the comforter of the disconsolate.

Next to the naked skin she always wore a coarse hair cloth, and this was concealed beneath gorgeous garments. Upon one occasion, the blessed Ethelwold perceiving that she wore a robe that was richly embroidered, said to her : " It is not, my daughter, with such dresses as these that " one is fitted to approach Christ's bridal-chamber, nor " does the heavenly spouse delight in the external deco- " ration of the person."

Edgitha, conscious, however, of her innate integrity, thus replied to the bishop :—" Believe me, Father, that if " God be pleased, the soul is not in a worse nor more " dangerous condition under this garment, than if rested " beneath a rough goat-skin.* I have in my thoughts " my God, and he attends not to the garment we display, " but to the conscience that we bear." The man of God felt that the virgin spoke with the authority of divine grace, and he did not dare to dispute with her that which he believed to be God's judgment. On the contrary, he re-

* " Surius remarks that these words were justly and properly said by St. Editha, for her rich outer garment concealed from the eye of Ethelwold that inner garment, which was actually made of coarse horse-hair." Note by MABILLON, p. 624. See LINGARD's *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

joined to see the Lord moderate, and govern His saints as He willed, being sure that a pure mind must be pleasing to God, whether it be in purple or in sack-cloth.

In whatsoever place Edgitha appeared, the cross of Christ was her companion ; the sign of the cross was on her forehead and her breast ; she made the sign of the cross as she travelled, and she commenced every act of her life by making the sign of the cross. On one occasion, when she was, according to her usual practice, pouring out food from a dish into the lap of a beggar, a boy stood by her side, and asked her for alms. She presented them to him, making at the same time her usual sign of the cross ; but on the instant the boy disappeared, and was never again seen by her.* When Edgitha was fifteen years of age, her father, King Edgar, appointed her abbess over three monasteries ; but she could not by any means be torn from that convent in which she had first commenced being the servant of God ; still she exerted herself to have suitable, because spiritual mother-abbesses, placed in these several monasteries, all, in her estimation, more fitted for such a position than herself, while at the same time she gained that which was most gratifying to her feelings, to submit to another as her mistress, rather than as a mistress to

* “ Cum aliquando escas suo more in disco offerret, in sinu pauperis condendas, a latere puer accurrit eleemosynam petens. Porrexit ea cum solito crucis signo ; mox ille puer disparuit, ita ut prorsus ab illa non videretur ;” Vit. S. Edith. c. 4. This was believed by the monks to be a miracle ; but whether it was so or not, the picture of a princess thus feeding the poor, and thus making the sign of the cross as she bestowed alms, is one pleasing to the thought of a Christian to rest upon.

command others : for she wished to fear others, and not to be feared by them.*

A church in honour of St. Denis was founded (at Wilton) by St. Edgitha, to the dedication of which St. Dunstan was invited by her.† Upon that occasion the holy prelate remarked how constantly the sacred virgin extended the thumb of her right hand in making the sign of the cross on her forehead. Dunstan delighted with this, grasped the right hand of the virgin, and exclaimed : “ May this worthy joint of thy hand never perish ! ” A few minutes afterwards, whilst the truly pious prelate was engaged in the solemn ceremonies of the Mass, he burst into tears, and upon his deacon asking him why he wept, Dunstan, heaving a deep sigh, thus replied to him : — “ This princess, this “ soul beloved of God, this dazzling star-like gem is about “ to be removed from this filthy earth, and wretched life, “ and to be placed in the home of the saints. The wicked “ world is no longer worthy to look upon such a glorious “ light. The third-and-fortieth day from the present, and “ this shining star shall have shed its last ray upon the “ earth we inhabit. From our prison we behold the lumi- “ naries of the saints ; we, who sit in the darkness and “ the shade of death. She, with her few years, con- “ demns us weak and timid old men that we are ; for whilst “ we have been sleeping, she has penetrated even into “ heaven.”

As the hour approached at which she was to migrate to God, St. Dunstan attended her, and fortifying her spirit

* Vit. S. Edith. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. MABILLON, *Act.* SS. O. B. vol. vii. pp. 623, 624.

† Vit. S. Edith. c. 5.

with his exhortations and prayers, he commended it to the Lord, as it departed from the body. Meanwhile, a sister of the community, trembling with apprehension, ran from the church of St. Denis, in which the holy virgin had expired, towards the monastery, when she heard burst forth the voices of an immense multitude, as if singing in a choir together; and as she stopped, and hesitated what she should do, some one, fair in aspect, and richly adorned, approached, and thus spoke to her:—"Feel thou no fear in proceeding on thy way, for the holy angels are now bearing with them the good girl (*godam puellam*) to everlasting joys; and even now she enters with the triumphant songs of a celestial army into the palace of eternal felicity." And thus, in the twenty-third year of her age, and on the sixteenth day of September, she departed to Christ, in the year of our Lord 984; and was buried by St. Dunstan in the church of St. Denis, which she herself had built; and in that very same spot of earth which she herself had, with a prophetic mind, foreseen, frequently saying, "Here is my resting-place;" a place that she, therefore, had often bedewed with her tears. In the entrance to that monastery, a hospital was established by her, in which thirteen poor persons are now supported.*

* Vit. S. Edith. c. 5, 6. MABILLON, *Act. SS. O. B. Sæc. v.* vol. vii. pp. 624, 625. The concluding words of the last chapter are no longer applicable. We cannot now say: "in ipso atrio monasterii xenodochium, in quo hodieque tredecim pauperes reficiuntur, instituit." For further particulars respecting St. Edgitha, see same vol. of Mabillon, pp. 625, 656. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 252. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 218.

In the year 985,* Alfric, the son of the ealdorman Ælfere, was banished from England.†

The following year (786),‡ two plagues fell upon the English nation, such as it had never known before,—that is, a flux attacked the bodies of men, and there was a murrain in the cattle. Both plagues extended over all parts of England, and raged to such a fearful degree, that an immense multitude of men were destroyed, and most of the animals perished.§

In the year 987, the port of Natchet was plundered || by Danish pirates; by whom, (in the year 980) the thane of Devonshire, named Goda, and a most valiant warrior, Stenwold, with some others, were slain. A vast number of the Danes, however, were killed, and the English won the victory in a hard-fought field of battle.¶

BROMTON, p. 867. BARONIUS, vol. xvi. pp. 273, 274. ALFORD, vol. iii. pp. 405, 406, 407. § 9—16.

* *Sax. Chron.* "crudeliter exulavit." H. HUNT, p. 357.

† F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 148. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 424. a. 985.

‡ *Sax. Chron.*

§ F. WIGORN, a. 987. ROG. DE WENDOV. a. 987. The SAXON chronicle, in placing these plagues in the year 986, also states that Ethelred's invasion of the bishopric of Rochester occurred in the same year; and Roger de Wendover, who affirms the invasion of Rochester by the sovereign occurred in the year (986), adds that "Ethelred, who had extorted one hundred pounds from the bishop, had to pay sixteen thousand pounds for peace with the Danes;" an observation that is made from a knowledge of what subsequently occurred. See vol. i. p. 424. See also H. HUNT, p. 357.

|| *Sax. Chron.*

¶ F. WIGORN, a. 988. vol. i. p. 148. *Sax. Chron.* a. 988.

In the year 988, the holy Archbishop Dunstan departed this life.* This event occurred in the thirty-third year of his episcopacy, and when he was about seventy years of age—full, indeed, of virtues, and long pining with the desire of being permitted to behold his God.† The holy death of Dunstan had been foredoomed in manifold predictions. To him it was the cause of joy, but to others of deep and bitter anguish; to him of joy, because that which he had during his entire life hoped to obtain, he now expected to possess, and to possess for ever; but to others of grief, since they never could behold living upon this earth, one who so excelled in a knowledge of things both spiritual and temporal.

The festival day devoted to the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour was the third day destined to precede the glorification of St. Dunstan.

Upon the morning of so great a day as that of the Ascension, a certain priest, named Algar, a man remarkable for the purity of his faith and his conduct, (and who afterwards distinguished himself as Bishop of Helmham‡), was so diligently engaged in his religious exercises, that his mind became absorbed in a trance of devotion, and himself, as

* *Sax. Chron.*

† OSBERN, Vit. S. DUNSTAN, Ep. Cantuar. c. 9. § 52. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 374. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 116.

‡ "The appointment of Algar to the bishopric of Helmham is confirmed by Malmsbury, who mentions the vision respecting St. Dunstan nearly in the same words as those used by Osbern. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 135." WHARTON, *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 116. "Algar was Bishop of Helmham from the year 993 until 1021. The bishopric of Helmham was afterwards transferred to Thetford, and subsequently to Norwich." BERTIUS, *Ang. Sac.* (Mai.) vol. iv. p. 376. note c. See HARPSFIELD, *Undecim Sæc.* c. 17. p. 247.

well as all things that are in this world, forgotten.* Whilst Algar was in this state, he beheld Dunstan as seated in the archiepiscopal throne, and dictating canonical laws to his clergy. And lo! there came pouring in at all the gates of the church numberless bands of angels, all refulgent with snow-white stoles, and glittering with golden crowns, proclaiming themselves as the Cherubim and the Seraphim, and seeming to be the bearers of a message from on high. In duly-arranged ranks these stood before the still-seated archbishop, and thus addressed him:—

“Hail to our Dunstan! If thou art prepared, come now, and gratefully enter into that resting-place which has been made ready for thee.”

To this, Dunstan answered: “Ye know, oh! holy spirits, that this day Christ ascended into heaven; and it is our office this day to refresh the people of God, with the word as with the sacrament; and therefore, this day I cannot go with you.”

The spirits replied: “Be thou then prepared on the Saturday to pass with us to Rome, and before the Supreme Pontiff to sing the ‘Sanctus’ with us, for ever and for ever.”

Upon the day of his everlasting reward being proclaimed, Dunstan, led by divine faith, assented to it; and on the instant, the angels that appeared before him vanished. As to the priest who was an observer of all

* “Et mentem ad cœlestia contemplanda extenderet, seipso et omnibus hujus mundi rebus transcens.” OSBORN, c. 9. § 53. The state of mind here described will be frequently found referred to in lives of the Saints.

these circumstances, he stood looking upon them—his senses in an entrancement, and his mouth closed in silence.

When, amongst the other solemn and holy festivities of the day, the gospel appropriated to it was recited—that in which our Lord Jesus Christ is described as appearing after His resurrection to His disciples, upbraiding them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, and commanding them to go into the whole world, and to preach the Gospel to every creature—to announce faith and baptism, and salvation to those who had faith, and condemnation to those who would not believe; and when, to confirm the faith, He gave power to them to cast out devils, to speak with new tongues, to take up serpents, and to extinguish in them the power to hurt, and to lay their hands upon the sick and to restore them to health;—when, then, this Gospel had been recited, on which Christ having declared to whom such powers were delegated, ascended into heaven, the archbishop advanced out of the sanctuary for the purpose of treating more largely on these topics to the people, and of impressing more deeply on their hearts, and implanting more strongly in their memory, the mercy and the goodness of God.

St. Dunstan spoke upon this subject in such a manner as not even he himself had ever before spoken. He explained the reason why it was that the Son of God had taken upon Himself our flesh, why it was that He not merely completed the salvation of the human race by dying, but that He, in rising again from the dead, triumphed over the prince of death, and entered into heaven with the angels attending upon him. St. Dunstan next showed how much more incomparably precious the blood

of Christ was than all created things, and that so great was the confidence that the world should have in the effusion of His blood, that if there could be a single person who had in himself the sins of the entire world, still that person should not despair because of the multitude and magnitude of his crimes, if he had as his advocate Him who was the Mediator between God and man.

With such promises of salvation to the people, the archbishop was conducted back to the altar, and there changed by the omnipotent words of God the species of bread and of wine into the true substance of the flesh and blood of Christ.* And then, when the time for pronouncing his benediction upon the people had come, the Saint was again on the point of advancing towards them with the intention of announcing his departure from amongst them, but was restrained by his affectionate love for them as his children. He then exhorted all who listened to him, that they should devote their entire thoughts and efforts to gain that heaven into which Jesus Christ their Head had on that day ascended. He next bestowed upon them his Pontifical benediction, and prayed that the Holy Ghost might be always with them, as the Son of God had promised, and when a cloud from Heaven received Him returning to the Father: "I will," said He, "ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever." And when the venerable archbishop was giving utterance to these words, his face seemed to be as the face of an angel of God, as if all who

* "Transferens omnipotentissimis Domini verbis speciem panis et vini in veram substantiam carnis et sanguinis Christi."
OSBORN.

looked upon him should plainly and visibly see, and acknowledge, that when the Holy Ghost was invoked by him, the Godhead was pleased to demonstrate Its presence. But when Dunstan again turned towards the altar, the congregation sighed as they saw him do so, for they desired still to look at his long-loved face, and to enjoy his discourse ; it was as if they were, through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, apprised that they should never again behold him in the body.

Again, and for the third time, he addressed the people and besought of them to persevere in the love of the Holy Trinity ; and then, having bestowed the kiss of peace, he could not any longer conceal from them that the period for his entering into glory was impending ; he begged of them to bear him in their memory ; he told them that the day for his being called out of this world was at hand, and that he could not longer remain amongst them. When he said these words, there arose a tumult of grief amid the weeping people, mixed up with such lamentations from the clergy, and such doleful cries from widows and from orphans, that it seemed as if the day of judgment had been announced, and that the last hour for all mankind was at hand.

It was at this moment that the priest (Algar), who had in a miraculous ecstasy beheld all that had occurred in the church, now knowing what he had seen was not a creation of the fancy, but a real fact, told, amid the loud lamentations and bitter grief of all, the vision that he had seen. The reverend good father and archbishop did his utmost to console them all with his accustomed benignity, and then returned to the altar, where he received the Banquet

of Eternal Life, and commended himself, as well as all present, to the Everlasting Shepherd.*

St. Dunstan afterwards returned in a joyous spirit to the refectory, where all who repaired to him were abundantly supplied with food for the body and nourishment for the soul. After dinner, or rather after his last supper, he, in company with the monks, entered into the church, and there he pointed out the place in which should be his tomb—a place that was within view of all ascending to the altar of the church. He then went up into the supper-room to take a short repose, as it is usual to do in the summer season. The weeping family of the church surrounded him as he rested, and the awful sounds of heartfelt grief, whether arising from fear, or on account of his death, were heard on all sides. Whilst they were thus absorbed in grief, and that he was endeavouring to inspire them with courage, by his kind and ever rational discourses, and whilst he was exhorting them to look with hope to another world, they beheld Dunstan, as if by some invisible power from God, move from the earth, and rise up to the very topmost roof of the house! Those who a little before were near to him, terrified at this unusual miracle, all ran from their seats. They stood either leaning to the walls, or standing at the outermost limits of the masonry, and looking upwards, and anxious to see how this extraordinary spectacle would terminate. They fancied

* These particulars respecting the last pontifical mass of the great St. Dunstan, will, we are sure, be read with interest by Catholics. To those not accustomed to Catholic ceremonies, the narrative, we are afraid, may appear both confused and obscure.

that either, like to Elias, he might be bodily taken away from them, or that he might, in some other and equally supernatural mode, be removed from the world. Soon, however, he was again, and with the same gentle motion that he had been raised into the air, restored back to the earth;* and then he called together all who had in their terror fled from him, and in the following discourse thus sought to soothe away their fears:—

“My children,” he said, “you see—you yourselves see, “my dearest sons, whither it is that God calls me, and in “what direction the ineffable mercy of God invites me. “The path of life on which I have travelled is before your “eyes; so that there is not one amongst you who need “be distrustful of obtaining heaven, if he will be a diligent “and attentive follower of my mode of life. Hell shall not “hold my soul; the inextinguishable fire, the worm that “dieth not, and the dark and filthy obscurity of the profound “abyss shall neither seize upon, torture, nor possess my spirit. “Embrace then that cross that I have clung to, climb that “path up which I have struggled; be imitators of my life,

* “*Osbertus Sabbato ultimo id factum ait, et quidem cum lecto inquit, in quo jacebat usque ad domus superiora levatus est: sed trabibus ne ultra veheretur obsistentibus, lenitur est demissus . . . Iterum sicut prius ad trabes rapitur, eisque offensis ad locum demittitur. Hoc et tertio factum est. Quæ fere eadem leguntur apud Capgrarium.*” BAERTIUS, *Act. Sanct.* (Mai), vol. iv. p. 376. note *d.* A miracle somewhat similar to this is stated to have occurred to another Saint, who was the fellow-countryman of St. Dunstan. It is mentioned in the following terms:—“Sed et illud non prætereundem, quod sanctis altaribus insistens, sæpe visus est nonnullis, quasi cubitum a terra in sublime sublevari, Angelorum sine dubio manibus sustentatus; quorum vitam in terris positus imitabatur.” Vit. S. Petri Prioris Juliacen. c. 3. §. 19. *Act. Sanct.* (Junii), vol. iv. p. 613.

“if you would desire to reach the end of your journey like
“me; strive to learn and know what is the will of God, and
“when you do know it, let nothing in this world be pre-
“ferred to it; and if you should at any time discover that
“you have wandered away, no matter to how small an
“extent—by doing that which is not in accordance with
“the will of God—instantly turn back again, and pray for
“His mercy. Lose not your feeling of reverence, even for
“a single moment, for that which is His holy will, lest you
“be not merely as prevaricators, but as infidels. Be un-
“willing to appear good, yet not unwilling to be so; let
“not your care be so much to appear bad, as not to be
“bad: for this is the worst of evils amongst mankind, viz.,
“not that they wish to appear good, but they dislike to
“be good; whilst none wish to appear bad, and yet are
“not unwilling to be wicked. Seek peace at all times,
“and under all circumstances, and never cease in your
“pursuit of it until you have secured it in heaven; and,
“in order that you may be able truly and efficaciously to
“attain this object, have always in your thoughts your
“most sweet Saviour; give constantly thanks to Him,
“humbly obey His precepts, Who was pleased to im-
“molate Himself for all—a single sacrifice, in which the
“plenitude of every perfection was concentrated, and in
“which, through Him, all things were reconciled, He
“purchasing peace for all, whether in the earth or in
“heaven, by the blood of His crucifixion.

“I now predict to you that the English nation is about
“to suffer dire and long evils from foreign nations: but
“at last the mercy of God will descend as dew upon it.
“But with respect to you yourselves, it will be of benefit
“that you should remember these words, as tending either

“to the amendment of sinners, or as ancillary to the
“perfection of virtue, as well as an inducement always to
“subject your own souls to the Divine will; nor be like
“bad and obstinate children, who love the caresses of
“teachers, but who spurn the harsh tasks of learning.
“Of a verity, there cannot in this life be any affliction
“that can befall any man, nor can there be in any man
“such a degree of merit that can in itself avail him, so
“as to make him worthy of the vision of Almighty God—
“the vision of Eternal Truth—of the Father, and the Son,
“and the Holy Ghost. For if God did not attend to the
“beneficence of His clemency, there is no one thing that
“mortal has suffered, or can suffer, that he must not
“feel falls upon him through his own fault, as a just
“punishment upon him.”

Whilst the holy archbishop was giving utterance to these words, he perceived that his bodily powers were by slow degrees decaying. Serene in countenance, and composed in mind, he remained ever diligent in oral instruction during the remainder of that day, and the whole of the next Friday; and all who approached him, and recommended themselves to his prayers, and obtained his blessing, declared that they felt themselves greatly strengthened in the love of God.

At last, the Saturday, the day of his promised beatitude, shone upon the earth. The moment was felt to be fast coming when Dunstan was to rest from all his labours. An immense crowd of his children gathered together—of his children whom he had tenderly nursed in the bosom of Mother Church, and had educated to the highest attainments of spiritual grace. They met with clamours and with cries, to ask “why he should leave them as orphans, ‘wherefore he might not longer remain with them?’”

He, commending them into the hands of Almighty God, and confirming them with his gracious benediction, ordered the office of the Holy Communion to be celebrated before him. And when, with outstretched hands, he received it from the heavenly table, he began with this prayer to supplicate God :—

“ Glory be to Thee, oh ! Almighty Father, Who, to those
“ who fear Thee, hast given the bread of life from heaven,
“ so that we should be mindful of all Thy miracles, which
“ Thou hast worked on this earth, and sending to us Thy
“ only-begotten Son, as a mere man, born of a true virgin.
“ To Thee, oh ! Holy Father, we tender the thanks that
“ are due to Thee, who, before we were created, and whilst
“ we were sinners, Thou madest participators in this grace
“ through Thy Son, and our Lord, who with Thee and the
“ Holy Ghost hast made all things, and hast governed and
“ ruled over all things for ever and for ever.”

Whilst St. Dunstan, with all the powers of his soul, and with that intense piety with which he had devoted himself to God, the object of all love, thus pronounced these words, he saw the blessed angels assisting at the celestial banquet to which he had invited them, and preparing for his obsequies in heaven. By their ever-venerable presence his happy soul was greeted : joyfully it emerged from the habitation of his most holy body, and proceeded with the angels to the contemplation of the Charity of the Eternal Creator. Behold ! in what manner he is honoured whom God has deemed to be worthy of honour. Behold ! how he has entered into the joy of the Lord, who, with “ the talent ” of Christian doctrine intrusted to him, has been found a faithful servant. Oh ! how sweet and abundant to that holy man was the mercy of God ! Oh ! Dunstan’s was indeed a heart always ready to do the will of God, and he was one

who could say, "*My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready.*" And, lo ! he now sings those words, whilst in glory he is illuminated with the light of the vision of the glory of God !

The venerable body of the archbishop was taken up by the priests and carried into the great church of the Great King, Lord, and Saviour, and there was exhibited the unbounded grief of the weeping people, who thronged around his bier, and tore their faces, or struck them with their hands, and with anguished accents, and as if with one voice, cried out, "Alas, alas ! most dear father !" There, in that church, and in that place which he himself had two days before directed should be his grave, he was with all love and tenderness consigned to the earth. A monument of fair construction was afterwards put over that spot. It was a monument that was visible to all persons, whether they were singing in the choir or ascending by the steps of the altar, and ever recalled to their thoughts the memory of Dunstan—the memory of the lamented and the beloved Dunstan—lamented, because they had always before their eyes the tomb of him whose venerable countenance they should never again look upon—beloved, because though they felt the want of his presence visibly, still they knew that his invisible and incorporeal spirit was in possession of the joys of heaven, and that he earnestly prayed to God that His mercymight be bestowed upon them.

Upon the death of St. Dunstan—if death that can be called, which was the commencement of life everlasting—all things took a contrary direction from what they had before, as if they lamented his death, and could not bear his absence from this world. A profound state of peace was succeeded by an intolerable war, great joy by fearful mourning, an immense abundance of all things by a want

of every thing. In fine, the atmosphere itself seemed to experience a change; the seasons did not run their natural course—the sky refused its showers to the earth, the earth to fructify the labours of the husbandman; a hostile invasion dishonoured, degraded, and desolated the land, and by the invaders cities were overthrown, churches spoliated, altars cast down, and the priests of the Lord massacred.*

The immediate successor of Dunstan was Ethelgar, who had been appointed abbot of the New Minster in Winchester, by Ethelwold, and subsequently raised to the dignity of bishop of the South Saxons.† Ethelgar lived but a short period subsequent to his being made an archbishop, viz., that is, for not a longer period than one year and three months.‡

To Ethelgar succeeded, as archbishop of Canterbury, Sigeric, Bishop of Wilton, and by him the canons in Canterbury were expelled, and their places supplied by monks.§ Sigeric afterwards went to Rome for his pall.||

* OSBERN. *Vit. S. Dunstan. Ep. Cantuar.* c. 9. § 52—60. *Act. Sanct. (Mai)*, vol. iv. pp. 374, 375, 376. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 116, 117, 118, 119. MABILLON, *Sæc. v.* vol. vii. pp. 668, 669, 670, 671, 672. See HARPSFIELD, *Dec. Sæc. c.* 6, 7. pp. 192—197. BARONIUS, vol. xvi. pp. 290, 291. ALFORD, vol. iii. pp. 410, 411. § 3. 8. SMITH, *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. iii. c. 14. § 2. p. 217. lib. vi. c. 23. pp. 358, 359, 360.

† F. WIGORN, a. 988. vol. i. p. 148.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* See *Chron. Lichfeldens.* in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 103.

§ F. WIGORN, a. 989. This is contradicted by Roger de Wendover, who maintains there were always monks, “in ecclesiâ Sancti Salvatoris,” from the time of St. Laurence, vol. i. p. 426. a. 989.

|| *Sax. Chron.* “To this Archbishop Sigeric, Ælfric dedicated

It was about this period of time that a quarrel took place between Ethelred, King of the English, and Richard, Duke of Normandy.* An immense number of ships were ordered by the English king to be put to sea, and soldiers to be mustered in all parts of his dominions, who were, upon a day appointed by him, to be ready with hauberk and helm to go on board.† These were commands which

his Homilies." THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 148. (E. H. S.) See, as to the succession of Archbishops, Ælfric and Sigeric, Chron. Lichfeldens, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 103, 104, 105.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 427. a. 990. This author, as well as William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. pp. 268, 269), ascribe the quarrel between the King of England and the Duke of Normandy to Ethelred's conduct to Emma. If it were so, the quarrel must have occurred at a later period, for Ethelred was not married to Emma until the year 1002, and the Pope John (XV. sometimes called XVI.) died in the year 996; and yet he is described by Malmesbury as interfering to produce peace between the Normans and English. William of Jumieges (lib. v. c. 4. p. 634), in describing this war, states it to have taken place subsequent to the marriage of Emma; but all other portions of his history are in contradiction to such a statement. Herr Lappenburg suggests that the war originated in "a suspicion against the Danes inhabiting the opposite coast of Normandy, who, with baptism, had very imperfectly divested themselves of their earlier habits and course of life." (Lappenburg's *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 153.) "It is remarkable," says Lappenburg (in note to p. 154), "that no other English authorities (but Malmesbury, Westminstertii, and Wendover) speak of this war, nor of another about that time with Normandy. The Norman writers also make no mention of a war under Richard I., but speak of one under Richard II., after Æthelred's marriage with Emma. See *Guill. Gemet.* vol. iv. (who is literally copied by Walsingham, *Ypod. Neust.*) and Roman de Rou. v. 6216 sq., where Pluquet, following a misinterpretation of the Sax. Chron., would place it in the year 1000: 'se unfrith flota' (the words of the Chron.) are by Florence rightly expressed by 'Danorum classis.'" note 2.

† WILHEL. GEMITICENSIS *de ducibus Normannis*, lib. v. c. 4. p. 634. (Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica.—Ed. Camden, Frankfurt, 1603.)

the English cheerfully obeyed, and, therefore, all were with one accord to be found on their vessels. The king, then seeing that he had a numerous and well-equipped army, called the leaders of the forces before him, for the purpose of expressing to them what was the object that he had in view. He spoke to them with the haughtiness and the harshness of a despot, when he bade them proceed to Normandy, and lay it waste with fire and sword; to spare nought but Mount St. Michael, because he would not desecrate so holy and so venerable a place. He also commanded that they should take Duke Richard prisoner, bind his hands behind his back, and bring him away alive from his conquered country, and in sight of his defeated subjects. With these commands, the king directed them to hasten with all speed upon their voyage.

The English ships put to sea, and a favourable wind filled their sails; the deep was furrowed by their keels, and after a long voyage they disembarked on the banks of the Sare. There bursting out of their vessels, the English immediately destroyed by fire all the places adjoining to the point at which they had disembarked. As soon, however, as Nigellus had discovered by his sentinels what had occurred, he collected together the soldiers of Coutances, along with a multitude of the common people, and with a sudden and unlooked-for charge, rushed in upon the invaders, and destroyed them so utterly and completely, that there was absolutely not one amongst them left to tell to those who came after them what had become of the invaders. There chanced, however, to be a single individual, who was over-fatigued by the length of march that had been made, and who was therefore resting on the ground at a great distance from where this

massacre had occurred, and who seeing what fate had befallen his companions, was so terror-stricken at the spectacle, that the weakness and fatigue he had previously felt were forgotten—and he ran back with all haste to the ships, to announce to those who had care of them what had become of their companions. The sailors, fearing for their lives, did at once that which they believed to be indispensable for their safety : they rowed quickly out to sea, and then spreading aloft their sails, they sought the presence of the king, in all speed ; and the wind in this respect corresponded with their wishes.

As soon as the king saw his ships returning, he instantly demanded the duke from those on board ; but to this demand the sailors thus answered :—

“ Oh ! most serene king, we have not even seen the duke ; but, to our utter annihilation, we have fought with the furiously-ferocious people of his country ; we have done so where not only are the men most valiant warriors, but where the women even are most hardy fighters, for with the bars of their buckets they brain their enemies, and by these, know, oh king ! that all thy soldiers are destroyed.”

As soon as the king heard these words, he admitted his folly, and in his sorrow blushed for very shame.*

Some of the natives of England—clergymen as well as laymen,—who were at that time travelling through Normandy, were laid hold of by Duke Richard, and some of them were slain, and others incarcerated in prisons.† No

* WILHEL. GEMET. lib. v. c. 4, p. 634. See *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 27125—27396, and notes of MICHEL, vol. ii. pp. 406—414. (Documents Inédits sur d'Hist. de France.)

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 427. “ Vir eximius qui etiam

sooner was this dissension heard of in Rome, than the Apostolical See resolved not to permit two Christian sovereigns to draw their swords against each other. Leo, Bishop of Treves, was therefore sent to England, to arrange the terms of peace. The following is the legatorial document :*

“ John the Fifteenth, Pope of the Holy Roman Church,
“ to all the faithful.†

“ Be it known to all the faithful of our Holy Mother,
“ the Church, of both degrees in that church, and in every
“ clime of the wide world, that, whereas, it hath been re-
“ lated to us by several persons that there were hostilities
“ going on between Ethelred, King of the West Saxons,
“ and Richard, marquis, and as this caused much sadness
“ unto us, because both were our spiritual children, we
“ therefore, aided by salutary counsel, summoned to our
“ side one of our legates,‡ to wit, Leo, Bishop of the
“ holy church of Treves, and dispatched him with our ad-
“ monitory letters to those two personages, in order that
“ they might amend themselves of what was a great error.

“ And the said Leo, having travelled over great dis-
“ tances by land, and then voyaged over intervening seas,
“ did, on the day of our Lord's Nativity, arrive in the pre-
“ sence of the aforesaid King Ethelred, and having saluted
“ him on our behalf, presented the letters that we had ad-

Edelredum sæpe injuriis pulsaverit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. Both authors state this conduct to have originated in the maltreatment of Emma by Ethelred.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 269.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 166. vol. i. p. 269.

‡ See DUCANGE, in verb. *apocrisiarius* et *apocrisiarii*.

“dressed to him ; and the said king, having convoked all
“his faithful and wise councillors, lay as well as spiritual,
“did for the love and fear of the Almighty God, as well
“as of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and in accord-
“ance with our paternal admonition, concede that there
“should be a most secure peace, and this free from all
“guile, both on behalf of his sons and daughters, and for
“their descendants, as well as for all his faithful subjects.
“Wherefore the said king despatched Edelsinus, Bishop of
“the holy church of Sherborne, with Leofstan, the son of
“Alfwold, and Edelnod, the son of Wistan, across the
“seas, so that they arrived at the presence of Richard, the
“aforesaid marquis.

“And the said Richard, receiving in a spirit of peace
“our admonitions, and at the same time hearing what had
“been the decree of the aforesaid king, did with a willing
“mind confirm the same treaty of peace, both on behalf
“of his sons, his daughters, and their posterity, as well as
“for all his faithful subjects, and upon this condition, that
“if they, or any one of them, did any wrong to the other,
“it should be followed by a due and sufficient compen-
“sation.

“Therefore this peace, corroborated by the oaths of both
“parties, is to remain for ever fixed and inviolable.

“On the part of King Ethelred : Edelsinus, Bishop of
“the holy church of Sherborne ; Leofstan, son of Alfwold ;
“and Edelnod, son of Wistan.

“On the part of Richard : Roger, bishop ; Rodolph, son
“of Hugh ; and Turstene, son of Turgis.

“Done at Rouen, on the kalends of March, in the year
“from our Lord’s Incarnation, the nine hundred and
“ninety-first ; the fourth of the Indiction.

“Of the king’s men, or the king’s enemies, let Richard receive no one, nor the king of his, without their seals.”*

In the year 991, the Danes laid waste the town of Ipswich. The leaders of those invaders were Guthmund, and Justin, the son of Steitan. With these leaders,† a short time afterwards, a battle was fought near Maldon, by Brithnoth, the leader of the East Angles. There was an immense multitude of persons killed on both sides; Brithnoth, however, was slain, and the Danish force then won the victory.‡

Brithnoth’s singular career and glorious death merit a particular notice; for his virtuous life, and his brave actions, obtained for him the high encomiums of writers of English history; and from such writers we shall, with the permission of the reader, make a few extracts.§ The matter we have here to treat of is one of importance; it is worthy of being narrated in a better style than we, with our poor and our humble abilities, can command, and the

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 166. vol. i. pp. 269, 270, 271. This document is referred to by Lappenberg, as “a treaty of peace, still extant, and particularly remarkable, on account both of its antiquity and of the parties interested.” *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 154; see note 2, same page. See SPELMAN, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 503.

† The Saxon Chronicle, a. 993, declares that Anlaf (Olaf), who had arrived at Staines with 30 ships, was the conqueror of Brithnoth. His name, with those of the leaders stated in the text, will be found conjoined in the treaty of peace with Ethelred.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 991. vol. i. p. 149. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 991.

§ *Historia Eliensis*. lib. ii. p. 62, vol. i. p. 180. (Anglia, Christiana, ed. 1848.)

task is such, that we cannot even attempt it without a sense of shame on account of our incapacity.*

Brithnoth was a leader of the Northumbrians—a man of the very highest rank amongst the nobility—one too who was most valiant, and who, on account of his wondrous sagacity, and the marvellous bravery by which he courageously defended himself and his friends, was known and recognized by all as that which, in the English language, is called “an ealdorman,” that is, a senior in the council, and a general in the field. He was eloquent of tongue, robust in strength, and tall in figure; whilst in warfare and battle against the enemies of the nation, he was indefatigable. It may be added, he was too far beyond the general race of mankind in his courageous contempt of death, and in his total absence of all fear. Besides, he in all places honoured Holy Church and the ministers of God, and assigned his entire patrimony to their use. He always opposed himself as a wall of defence for religious communities, against those who were hostile to them, and who sought to disquiet sanctified places. When the avarice and folly of some of the nobility made them anxious to expel the monks, and to restore those who had previously been driven away by Edgar and St. Ethelwold, the religious Brithnoth, in the witan held for that purpose, resisted with great constancy the proposition, saying, “that it never could be permitted that the monks should “be expelled from the kingdom, when it was they who

* “Res enim magna est, et major relatio dignissima, quam nos exigui et elingues arido sermone non sine pudore narramus.” *Hist. Eliens.* The feeling here expressed by the monk of Ely, as to one passage of *his* history, is that which the author has experienced a thousand times in the progress of the present work.

"had retained there all the religion that the nation actually possessed."*

The entire life of Brithnoth, as long as he lived, was devoted to the defence of his country's liberty. In this object all his wishes were comprised, and he would sooner have died than have left unavenged an injury inflicted upon his native land.

Now about this time there began to be frequent irruptions made by the Danes upon England, and considerable damage was done by their debarkations in various places. Under these circumstances, all the ealdormen and thanes of the provinces, taking into consideration the integrity, the truth, and the loyalty of Brithnoth, fixed their attention upon him, as upon an invincible leader and champion, and therefore considered that under his guidance they could best and most surely defend themselves against a hostile nation.

It so happened that at a certain time the Danes reached Maldon, and Brithnoth, upon hearing of the occurrence, hastened with an armed band to meet them, and on the occasion so nearly destroyed them all, that but few were able to make an escape by their ships to their own country, and there narrate the disaster that had befallen them.

Upon obtaining this victory, Brithnoth returned with speed to the Northumbrians. The Danes, meanwhile, full of grief for the disaster that had overtaken them, repaired their fleet, and in four years after the defeat had been inflicted upon them, returned to England, resolved to

* "Nequaquam ferre se posse ut monachi ejicerentur de regno, qui omnem religionem tenuerunt in regno." *Hist. Eliens.* Such was the sentiment of a patriot, who died fighting in defence of England.

revenge the deaths of their associates. With this intention they reached Maldon, under the command of Justin, and Guthmund, the son of Steitan. As soon as they landed, they instantly sent word to Brithnoth that they had come to seek vengeance for their slain countrymen, and that they would regard him as a coward, if he did not venture to meet them hand to hand. The delivery of such a message as this aroused the anger of Brithnoth. He summoned to his side his former associates in the defeat of the Danes, and then, accompanied by a few warriors, and led on by the hope of victory and of his superabundant courage, he proceeded on his march to the battle, to which he had been challenged. He was urgent in pushing forward, speeding with all haste upon his way, lest a hostile army should, in his absence, make itself master of a single foot of the soil of his country.

Brithnoth, in this march to Maldon, passed by Ramsey monastery, where he asked from the Abbot Wlsius a place of rest, as well as refreshment, for himself and his soldiers. The answer he received was, that the place was too small to accommodate such a multitude, but in order that it might not be saidt he request had been absolutely rejected, Brithnoth was told that what he asked for could be given to himself, and to seven of his followers. Brithnoth's reply to this was alike just and dignified. "Let my Lord "Abbot know that I do not choose without those to dine "alone, without whom I alone would not wish to fight."*

With these words, Brithnoth directed his march towards the church of Ely, advising the Abbot Ælsius by message,

* *Sciat dominus Abbas, quod solus sine istis nolo prandere, quia solus sine illis nequeo pugnare.* *Hist. Eliens.* vol. i. p. 181.

that he was about to pass through the island with his forces, on his way to battle, and he trusted it would be the abbot's pleasure that he, with his army, might sup at the monastery. To this message the abbot, with the good will of his community, answered:—"that in a work of charity they were never frightened by numbers, but, on the contrary, congratulated themselves the more persons there came to seek for it."*

Brithnoth was with all his men then received at Ely; he was there entertained with a truly royal hospitality, and in consequence of the tender and affectionate care bestowed upon all by the monks, he was filled with a great attachment to the place. The feeling arose to his mind that he would seem to himself never to have done any thing that was good, if he could leave this generosity of the monks unremunerated. Considering that they must have imposed a considerable burden upon themselves on his account, he proceeded to them on the following morning, when they were in chapter, for the purpose of being admitted into the fraternity of the monastery;† and then returning his thanks to the abbot and to the community for their liberal charity towards himself and his friends, he instantly bestowed upon them, as a compensation for their bounty, the following manors: Spaldewich and Trumpintune, Ratendune and Hesberie, Selham and Acholt. He next explained to the community the important affair on which

* "Se in opere charitatis nulla numerositate terreri, sed magis de ipsorum adventu gratulari." *Hist. Eliens.* vol. i. pp. 181, 182.

† "Causa suscipiendæ fraternitatis." See LINGARD'S *Antiquities of Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, 65, as to the honorary associates of monasteries, on the anniversaries of whose deaths "a solemn service of masses and psalmody was performed."

he was engaged, and gave to them other manors,* and with these, thirty mancas in gold, and twenty pounds in silver, upon this condition:—that if it should so happen that he fell in battle, his body should be taken to Ely, and there interred. Besides these gifts, he also bestowed upon the church of Ely two crosses of gold, and two of the borders of his own mantle, both being a magnificent piece of embroidery in gold and gems, and in addition to these, two pairs of gloves, most beautifully fashioned, and artistically worked.

Brithnoth, having commended himself to the prayers of the monks, hastened on with his friends to the field of battle. Upon arriving there, he was neither abashed when he looked upon the few who followed him, nor terrified by the multitude of the enemy arrayed against him. He instantly attacked them, and for full fourteen days maintained his ground against them. On the last of these days there were but few of his associates alive. He knew then, well, that he was doomed to die; but he was not the less loth to fight against the foe. He did, indeed, make a frightful massacre amongst them, and was upon the point of compelling them to take to flight, when his adversaries, looking upon the scanty number that aided him, and taking courage from the weakness of his forces, united themselves all into one mass of men, and then rushed upon him alone, and with difficulty were they able to strike off the head of Brithnoth, who fought on to the last moment of his existence.

* " Scilicet, Fuulburne, Theveresham, Impetune, Pampeworthe, Crochestune et Fineberge, Tripelave, Herdwic, et Someresham cum appendiciis ejus."

The head of Brithnoth was taken by the fugitives from the field of battle to their own country.

The abbot, upon hearing what had been the result of the battle, proceeded with a few of his monks to the place where it had been fought; and there having found the body of Brithnoth, he carried it back to Ely, and had it interred with all due honour. In place of the head, however, the abbot had a round mass of wax attached to the corpse: by which mark it was at a subsequent period of time recognized, and deposited with every symbol of respect amongst those to whose remains especial honour was manifested.

Brithnoth was a pious and a valiant man, and had so proved himself in the reigns of Edgar, and of Edward, king and martyr. He died in the fourteenth year of the reign of King Ethelred, and in the year of our Lord 991.*

It was in the year 991† that the English people first determined—and this too by the ill-omened counsel of Archbishop Sigeric‡—that they would pay a tribute to the Danes, on condition that the latter would abstain from rapine and from slaughter; and the English then paid to them ten thousand pounds. This is an evil which has continued

* *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 62. vol. i. pp. 180, 181, 182, 183. (Ang. Christ.) "See the poem on the battle of Maldon and death of Byrthnoth, in 'Analecta Anglo Saxonica,' p. 131." THORPE. The reader is also referred to TURNER's *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. note 8. pp. 307, 308.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ H. HUNT. p. 357. Florence of Worcester makes Ethelwerd, the historian, as well as the treacherous Alfric, responsible for this advice, "Et ducum Æthelwardi et Alfric consilio," vol. i. p. 149. See ROG. DE HOUEDEN, p. 428. W. MALMSE. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 263.

even until this day, and that, unless the mercy of God should intervene, will long continue; for we now, as a matter of custom, pay to our kings that which formerly was extorted from us by the unutterable terror of the Danes.*

On the 8th of November, in the year 991, the monastery of Ramsey was consecrated by St. Oswald, the archbishop; that being a monastery which he himself, and that beloved of God, Aylwin, the ealdorman of the East Angles, had constructed, aided as they were by the Divine assistance, and sustained by the encouragement of Æscwi, Bishop of Lincoln.† On the 29th of February, in the following year (992), St. Oswald departed from this life to participate in the joys of heaven, and his body was placed in the church of St. Mary, at Worcester, which he had built from its foundations.‡

Upon a certain day in the season of Lent, in the year

* H. HUNT, lib. v. p. 357. The reader will bear in mind these are the words of a patriotic monk writing in the twelfth century. Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, died about A.D. 1160. See FLANAGAN'S *British and Irish History*, Literary Introduction, p. xiv. The Danegelt pressed heavily on the monks as well as upon all other classes. The following is the account given by Ingulphus of the ruthless spoliation practised, for the purpose, or under the pretence, of exacting this contribution:—"Cœperunt tunc omnia terræ monasteria a Rege Ethelredo, ac ducibus ejus ac ministris, gravissimis exactionibus subjici, et ad satisfaciendum *Danicis tributis*, pro immensis pecuniarum summis sibi impositis supra modum affligi. Et direptis thesauris, ac monasteriorum tam sacris calicibus, quam aliis jocalibus *etiam sanctorum scrinia* jubentur ab exactoribus spoliari." *Hist.* p. 55.

† F. WIGORN, a. 991. vol. i. p. 149. See *Hist. Rames.* c. 62. MABILLON, *Act. SS. O. B.* vol. vii. pp. 721, 722.

‡ F. WIGORN, a. 992. vol. i. p. 149.

992,* Oswald, with some monks, came out of his oratory and stood in the open air. As he did so, he fixed his eyes on heaven, and with a pious heart and pure lips, prayed to the Saviour, for whose presence he sighed. Scarcely, however, had he raised his eyes, when he again turned them towards the earth; but, as if he had seen something which was at the same time so strange and so gratifying, that he could not restrain his eyes from contemplating it, he again looked up, and long remained so, looking upon what was then visible but to himself alone. Upon being asked what he saw,—he answered, “I am regarding the place to which I am going; and to-morrow the fact must be known to you, even though I should remain silent. That eternal salvation, for which I have until now laboured on this earth, is at hand, and to-morrow shall not have fully passed away until my God has bestowed it upon me.”

With these words, Oswald returned into his oratory, and there having called his monks together, they, by his desire, bestowed upon him the sacrament of extreme unction, with the Viaticum of the body of the Lord.†

In the course of the same night, disregarding the heavy sickness that was upon him, he entered into the church, went through his office, and spent the remainder of the night in the recitation of the holy lauds. The following morning, he, in accordance with his usual practice, girded himself with a towel, washed the feet of the poor, kissed

* CAPGRAVE, Vit. S. Oswald, Ep. c. 4. § 19, in *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 755. See note *a.* p. 756, and EADMER, Vit. S. Oswald, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 208.

† “Ministerium sacræ unctionis cum Viatico Dominici Corporis.” Vit. c. 4. § 19. p. 755.

them, and wiped them; and then having sung the fifteen psalms, with which he accompanied the performance of this office, he added to them the words: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." And when the poor, as usual, stood up to return to him their thanks, he merely added, "And to the Holy Ghost;" and so saying, he fell down before the feet of the poor, and thus yielded his spirit to the Lord.*

Not long after the death of the good Archbishop Oswald, that nobleman of blessed memory, Aylwin, his friend, and the beloved of God, also departed this life. Aylwin, although younger in years than his brothers, Æthelwold, and Alfwold, and Ægelsin, still surpassed them all in meekness, in piety, in goodness, and a love of justice; and, as a man, who in this world was remarkable for his integrity and his purity, he was also one of whom it may well be believed, that his name has become enrolled amongst the citizens of paradise. The body of Aylwin was borne to Ramsey, and there, with all the testimonies of the

* "Ante pauperum pedes in manus Christi spiritum emisit." CAPGRAVE, Vit. c. 4. § 20. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 755. See EADMER, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 209. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iii. p. 270. Thus died the last of that great and pious triumvirate, SS. Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, who laboured so long and so zealously for the sustainment of monastic establishments in England. Modern writers have sneered at them—have vilified their motives, and concealed their actions. We have given in detail an account of the death of each, and we wish those who are opposed to monasticism, to show, in ancient or in modern times, any death-scenes—those *tests of the manner* in which time has been occupied—which are more full of the majesty of piety and of charity, than those of Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. What *anti-monastic* has passed from life to eternity like to them?

highest honour for his memory, he was interred by the hands of the Saint and Bishop of Winchester, Elphegus.*

With the counsel, and in accordance with the commands of King Ethelred and of his nobles, there were collected together in the port of London, (in the year 992), the strongest ships that were to be found in all England. These ships were manned by the king with chosen bands of warriors, and over all these were appointed, as commanders, Alfric (of whom mention has been already made) and Thored, and the two bishops, Ælfstan of Wilton, and Æscivius (of Dorchester). The command given to these leaders was, that they should, if it were at all possible, surround the Danish fleet, and cut them off from all means of escape.† But the commander of the king's forces, Alfric, secretly sent a message to the enemy, forewarning them that they should look to their own safety—to be especially on the watch, lest they should be on a sudden encompassed by the king's forces. As to Alfric himself, he afforded by his conduct a singular instance of infamy, for on the very night preceding the day on which the king's generals had determined on a desperate contest with the Danes, Alfric, with all his men, deserted to the Danish fleet, and instantly entered into an alliance with them.‡

* F. WIGORN, a. 992. vol. i. pp. 149, 150. See also *Sax. Chron.* a. 992. Vit. S. Oswald, c. 4. § 20. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 755, and note c. p. 756.

† F. WIGORN, a. 992. vol. i. p. 150, "that they should try if they could any where without entrap the enemy." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. "On the night preceding the day of the battle, he skulked away from the army, to his great disgrace." *Sax. Chron.*

As soon as this fact became known to the king's fleet, it instantly set out in pursuit of the fugitives; and in a short time captured one, and only one, of the enemy's vessels, and all that were on board put to death, and the vessel itself stripped of its spoils. The other Danish ships, on making their escape, accidentally fell in with the London and East Anglian vessels. A sea-engagement then took place, several thousands of the Danes were slain, and even the ship of Alfric was captured, with all the soldiers and arms on board, whilst he himself with the greatest difficulty effected his escape. In this battle the English were the victors.*

It is said by Roger de Wendover, that this act of treachery was perpetrated at the very moment that both fleets were on the point of engaging: "cum tandem inter partes adversas navale proelium debuit committi, ipse dux proditor Alfricus," &c. vol. i. p. 428.

* F. WIGORN, a. 992. vol. i. p. 150. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 992. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 428. The account of the proceedings of the year 992 demonstrates that the people of England had not at this period lost any portion of their ancient bravery; for here they are found defeating not only their barbarous invaders, but even their own general, once he became a traitor. Their subsequent disasters are attributable not to *their* want of courage, but to the baseness of the leading men in the nation—of the monk-persecutors and of their descendants—such as Alfric, the son of Ælfere. "The presence of the general," says William of Malmesbury, "is of infinite importance in battles; in all conflicts the valour exhibited by him is of incalculable advantage; the experience possessed and the discipline enforced by him are, too, always attended with the happiest results. Of such leaders and such generals the English army was absolutely deficient, and therefore it became a burden to its fellow-citizens, and a mockery to its foes. The regular soldier is a peculiar species of animal; for if not kept under proper control, he is a plunderer on the line of march to the battle-field; and on the battle-field itself, if his officers do not by their example animate him, and excite his ardour to the attack of the enemy, he is ready to run away." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 266. As to Alfric, the leader in traitorism to his

In the year 993, the same army of the Danes broke into Bamborough, and carried off with them all the property they could find in it. They then directed their course to the mouth of the river Humber, and as they proceeded up the stream, they made themselves masters of an immense quantity of spoil, both in Lindsey and Northumbria, firing several hamlets, and slaying a vast number of persons. A great many of the inhabitants of the country mustered together in great haste, for the purpose of encountering them; and when the hostile forces on both sides were about to engage, the leaders of the English army, viz. Frana, Frithogist, and Godwin, who, because they were men of Danish origin, basely plotted against their own soldiers, and were the first to lead a shameful retreat from the field of battle.*

In the course of this year, Alfgar, the son of the before-mentioned Alfrie, was blinded by order of King Ethelred.†

king and country — "defectionis signifer" (W. Malmsb.)—his name occurs more than once in the reign of Ethelred, and so often accompanied with dishonour, that it is probable it was borne by more than one person. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 157, note 1, 177, 178.

* F. WIGORN, a. 993. vol. i. pp. 150, 151. See *Sax. Chron.* S. Dunelm. p. 162. H. HUNT. p. 357. In this instance we have another proof of the bravery of the English people being rendered abortive by the treachery and cowardice of their nobility and leaders.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 151. "To be punished with blindness." *Sax. Chron.* "Pro culpa perfidiæ filium ejus rex excæcari jussit." W. MALMS. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 264. "Ea tempestate fecit Edwinius erui oculos Alfgaro filio Alfrici consulis, unde odium et infamia ejus crudelitatis adaucta est." H. HUNT. pp. 357, 358. This barbarous punishment may have been resorted to either for the purpose of deterring others from following the traitorous example of Alfrie, which had in this year found imitators

Upon the day of the nativity of the blessed Mary (the 8th September), in the year 994, Anlaf (Olaf), King of the Norwegians, and Swein, King of the Danes, sailed up to London in ninety-four vessels, having three banks of oars each.* With this army they sought to force their way into and to set on fire the city, but, through the aid of God and His Blessed Mother, Mary, the invading army was, with no small loss, repelled by the citizens.† Exasperated

in the Northumbrian leaders, Frana, Frithogist, and Godwin; or it might have been inflicted in consequence of Alfgar being found in correspondence with his father. Whatever the cause, the words of Henry of Huntingdon tend to show that it increased the unpopularity of King Ethelred. See GRIMM, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthumer*, pp. 707, 708 (Gottingen, 1828). Alford (vol. iii. p. 419. § 3.) places in this year—993—the removal of the relics of St. Neot to Croyland monastery. See INGULPHUS, *Hist.* p. 55.

* F. WIGORN. a. 994. vol. i. p. 151. The combined invasion of Anlaf and Swein is placed by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 993. For a discussion upon the historical difficulty, whether the Anlaff here referred to is to be identified with St. Olaf (Olave), see BOSCHIVS. *Comment. Histor. c. 3. § 28, 30, 31, 32, 33. Act. Sanct.* (Julii.) vol. vii. pp. 92, 93, 94.

† “Sed, Dei suæque genetricis Mariæ juvamine, non sine parvo detrimento sui exercitus a civibus repelluntur.” F. WIGORN. The monkish writer here states, that on the day of the nativity of the blessed Virgin—a day always observed by the Church as a festival—as one, therefore, on which Her intercession was peculiarly invoked at every mass and other religious ceremony of the day—the citizens of London, whilst so engaged in their devotions, were attacked by an army of Pagans, whose hands were red with the blood of priests, and begrimed with the spoliation of churches. At such a moment the intercession of the Virgin was sought for. The belief of the monkish writer was, that the prayers of the people were heard, that the Virgin did intercede for them, and that through the same intercession God confounded the designs of the enemies of Christianity; and hence the monkish writer makes use of the words above quoted, and of which a literal translation is given in the text. Let us now see how this simple incident is conveyed with a sneer to the mind of the anti-catholic reader by an anti-catholic author:—“From London, which they (the Danes) endea-

with the rage of disappointed malice, and of grief for the loss of their fallen companions, the invaders withdrew the same day from the neighbourhood of London, and then commenced an attack on various maritime places in Essex and Kent. They next proceeded to Sussex, and the province of Southampton, where they burned down villages, set fire to the standing crops, and sparing neither age nor sex, destroyed as much as they could by the sword and by conflagration, and secured for themselves an immense mass of plunder. At last they procured horses, and with these they hurried, like infuriated madmen, through various provinces of the kingdom, shewing no compassion for the tenderness and gentleness of the female sex, and evincing no pity for the innocence and helplessness of infancy, but with the brutish barbarity of wild beasts consigning them all together to death! Then it was that King Ethelred, with the consent and advice of his nobles, sent ambassadors to the Danes, to promise to them tribute and provisions, on condition that they should refrain from such deeds of cruelty as they were at the time practising. The Danes assented to this request of the King. They returned to their ships, and all their force became concentrated at Southampton. Whilst there, the entire of the West Saxons sent provisions to them; and the amount of the tribute collected for them from all England amounted to sixteen thousand pounds.*

voured to take by storm and burn, they were beaten back with considerable loss by *the citizens, aided, as we are told, by the HOLY VIRGIN.*" LAPPENBERG's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 158.

* F. WIGORN, a. 994. vol. i. pp. 151, 152. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 994. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 429. H. HUNT. p. 357. S. DUNELM. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* § 165. p. 264. TURNER'S *Hist.*

Whilst his negociation was carried on, Elphegus, Bishop of Winchester, and the noble leader, Ethelwerd,* pro-

Ang. Sax. vol. ii. p. 312, note 19. In "The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," (folio, p. 121,) are to be found the terms of the treaty between King Ethelred and the invaders. They are thus entitled: "These are the articles of peace, and the agreements which King Ethelred and all his witan have made with the army that Anlaf, and Justin, and Guthmund, Stegita's son, were with." By § 7 of this treaty, it is stated that "twenty-two thousand pounds in gold and silver were given to the army in England for the *frith*" (peace—freedom from molestation). The following paragraph is worthy of quotation, as shewing the spirit that pervaded it, as well as proving the distinction in value between the life of a freeman and of a slave.

"§. 5. If an Englishman slay a Dane, a freeman, let him pay for him with xxx pounds, or let the perpetrator be delivered up; and let the Dane do the same by an Englishman, if he slay him. If an Englishman slay a Danish thrall, let him pay for him with a pound, and so a Dane in like manner by an Englishman, if he slay him." (p. 122.)

With respect to Anlaf, with whom this treaty was made, Mr. Thorpe observes:—"The Anlaf (Aulaf) or Unlaf, with whom the above articles were concluded, was the celebrated Norwegian chief, Olaf Tryggvason, concerning whose expedition to England, and subsequent baptism, see the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Worcester, a. 993. In his Saga it is said, 'Olaf Tryggvason was twenty-five years when he was baptized: there were then elapsed from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 993 years.' Justin (Josteinn) was apparently the maternal uncle of Olaf. See 'Saga Olafs Konung's Tryggvasonar,' vol. i. p. 147-8, and p. 186. See also his Saga in Snorre, and the metrical fragment on the battle of Malden, in the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (Pref. p. vii. and p. 121.), first published by Hearne, at the end of Joh. Glaston. Chron. from a Cottonian manuscript no longer in existence." *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 121, note b. This Anlaf, or Olaf, is not to be confounded with Olave the Saint, who was born about the year 995. See *Historia de Olavo Sancto*, c. 17, 232, 253, in *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, vol. iv. p. 31, vol. v. pp. 118, 119, 120, 151, 152.

* This was the historian Ethelwerd, whose work is frequently quoted in this publication. See LAPPENBURG'S *Anglo Saxon Kin*, vol. ii. p. 151.

ceeded, by order of King Ethelred, to King Anlaf (Olave), and then having given hostages for his safe return, they conducted him with all due honours to the royal vill, at Andover, where the king was at that time remaining. Ethelred received his guest with all fitting respect,—saw him confirmed as a Christian by the bishop,* adopted him

* Anlaf had been previously baptized in the Scilly Islands, by a hermit. The following is the account given of the circumstance in the *Heimskringla*:—"While Olaf Tryggvesson lay in the Scilly Isles, he heard of a seer, or fortune-teller on the islands, who could tell beforehand things not yet done, and what he foretold many believed was really fulfilled. Olaf became curious to try this man's gift of prophecy. He, therefore, sent one of his men, who was the handsomest and strongest, clothed him magnificently, and bade him say he was the king; for Olaf was known in all countries as handsomer, stronger, and braver than all others, although, after he had left Russia, he retained no more of his name than that he was called Olaf, and was a Russian. Now, when the messenger came to the fortune-teller, and gave himself out for the king, he got the answer: 'Thou art not the king: but I advise thee to be faithful to thy king.'—And more he would not say to that man. The man returned, and told Olaf, and his desire to meet the fortune-teller was increased; and now he had no doubt of his being really a fortune-teller. Olaf repaired himself to him, and, entering into conversation, asked him if he could foresee how it would go with him in regard to his kingdom, or of any other fortune he was to have. The hermit replies in a holy spirit of prophecy, 'Thou wilt become a renowned king, and do celebrated deeds. Many men wilt thou bring to faith and baptism, and both to thy own and others' good; and that thou mayst have no doubt of the truth of this answer, listen to these tokens:—When thou comest to thy ships, many of thy people will conspire against thee; and then a battle will follow, in which many of thy men will fall, and thou wilt be wounded almost to death, and carried upon a shield to thy ship; yet after seven days thou shalt be well of thy wounds, and immediately thou shalt let thyself be baptized.' Soon after, Olaf went down to his ships—where he met some mutineers and people, who would destroy him and his men—a fight took place, and the result was what the hermit had predicted: that Olaf was wounded, and carried upon a shield to his ship, and that his wound was healed in seven days. Then Olaf perceived that

as a son, and bestowed upon him gifts worthy of a monarch to receive. Anlaf (Olave) at that time promised to

the man had spoken truth—that he was a true fortune-teller, and had the gift of prophecy. Olaf went once more to the hermit, and asked particularly how he came to have such wisdom in foreseeing things to be. The hermit replied, that the Christians' God himself let him know all that he desired; and he brought before Olaf many great proofs of the power of the Almighty. *In consequence of this encouragement, Olaf agreed to let himself be baptized; and he and all his followers were baptized forthwith.* He remained here a long time, took the true faith, and got with him priests and other learned men." Konung Olaf Tryggvason's *Saga*, c. 31. SNORRO, vol. i. pp. 235, 236, 237. LAING'S Translation, vol. i. pp. 397, 398. In the preceding extract from Mr. Laing's Translation, there is one passage marked in italics. It is so, because it differs very much from Peringskiöld's Latin Translation, of which we annex an English version, which is not merely interesting on account of that variance, but because it bears upon a date in English history. "In accordance," says Peringskiöld's Translation, "with the desire of the Prophet, Olaf repaired to a certain monastery, and by the abbot of that place he was baptized, in the seven-and-fortieth year of his age, and was named Olavus Grænicus. At the same time several of his companions were baptized with him. The fame of Olaf then extended widely over the world, on account of the many and signal victories obtained by him, and by reason of his prosperous undertakings both by land and sea. These things happened in the fourth year from the time he had departed from Finland, in the tenth year of the reign of Otho the Younger, and the twelfth year of the government of England by Ethelred. In this monastery Olaf made a long delay, in order that he might be thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the true religion." Peringskiöld's Translation, vol. i. p. 327. (Stockholm, 1697.) In giving the translation from Peringskiöld, as well as from Mr. Laing, we must own that we attach but slight importance, as an historical document, to the entire of this *Saga*, especially when we find in it a statement like the following, to which as much importance is attached as to those that preceded it:—"King Harold told a warlock to hie to Iceland in some altered shape, and to try what he could learn there to tell him: and he set out in the shape of a whale. And when he came near to the land, he went to the west-side of Iceland, north around the land, where he saw all the mountains and hills full of land-

Ethelred, that he would never again come with his army to England. After this, he returned to his ships, and upon

serpents, some great, and some small. When he came to Vapnafiord, he went in towards the land, intending to go on shore; but a huge dragon rushed down the dale against him with a train of serpents, paddocks, and toads, that blew poison towards him. Then he turned to go westward around the land, as far as Eyafiord, and he went into the fiord; then a bird flew against him, which was so great, that its wings stretched over the mountains on either side of the fiord, and many birds, great and small, with it. Then he swam further west, and then south, into Breidafiord. When he came into the fiord, a large grey bull ran against him, wading into the sea, and bellowing fearfully, and he was followed by a crowd of land-serpents. From thence he went round by Reikacness, and wanted to land at Vikarsted, but there came down a hill-giant against him, with an iron staff in his hand. He was a head higher than the mountains, and many other giants followed him." Konung Olaf Tryggvason's *Saga*, c. 36. SNORRO, vol. i. pp. 241, 242. LAING'S Translation, vol. i. p. 402. We might be disposed to pass here, from the *Saga* of Olaf Tryggvason, if we did not meet with a curious specimen of the Northmen's notions of a Catholic priest—one Thrangbrandus—who, in Peringskiöld's Translation, is described as having slain in a duel a person who had offered violence to a female redeemed from slavery by the priest, and who desired to restore her in her innocence to her parents; for this homicide, Thrangbrandus fled to England, and was there recognized by Olaf; it may be supposed about the time the events which are described in the text occurred. (See Konung Olaf Tryggvason's *Saga*, c. 34. Peringskiöld's Translation, vol. i. p. 239.) Thrangbrandus, it is stated, was a stalwart warrior, "insigna clypeo aurea cruce cum imagine Dei eleganter notato." Upon being reconciled to Olaf, he was sent by him to preach the Gospel in Iceland, and when challenged at one time to fight, he protected himself with a cross in place of a shield, "cruce se loco clypei protexit." See TORFEUS, *Hist. Rer. Norveg.* lib. 8. c. 24. vol. ii. p. 337. lib. 9. c. 13. vol. ii. pp. 397, 398. lib. 9. c. 28. vol. ii. p. 420. Mr. Laing is particularly happy in one passage of his translation. It is in describing the character of Thrangbrandus: he says, "When King Olaf Tryggvason had been two years king of Norway, there was a Saxon priest in his house, who was called Thrangbrand, a passionate, ungovernable man, and a great man-slayer; but he was a good

the approach of summer he sailed away to his own country. The promise that Anlaf (Olave) gave to Ethelred, he afterwards kept well and faithfully.*

In the year 995 a comet appeared. In the same year, Ælfric, who had been a monk in Glastonbury monastery, and afterward Bishop of Wilton, succeeded Sigeric as Archbishop of Canterbury.†

It was in this year that the body of St. Cuthbert, prelate, was, in accordance with a sacred oracle, long previously pronounced, transferred to Durham, where the bishopric ever afterwards continued.‡

In the year 996, Ælfric was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury, in Christ Church.§

scholar and a clever man. * * * Thorvald, Veile, and Veterlid, the scalds, composed a satire about Thrangbrand; *but he killed them both outright.* Thrangbrand was two years in Iceland, and *was the death of three men before he left it.*" LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, Saga vi. vol. i. pp. 441, 442. See, with respect to the baptism of St. Olave, BOSCHIUS. *Comment. Præv.* c. 4. § 36, 37, 38, 39, and Vit. c. 1. § 2. *Act. Sanct.* (Julii.) vol. vii. pp. 94, 114. W. GEMITICENS, lib. v. c. 12. DEPPING, *Expeditions Maritimes des Normans*, vol. ii. pp. 176—180. 336. 339.

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 152.

† F. WIGORN, a. 995. vol. i. p. 152.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 420. See S. DUNELM, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. i. pp. 27, 28. F. WIGORN, vol. i. pp. 152, 153. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.* lib. iii. p. 275. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 701. ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 421. § 2. p. 422. § 4.

§ *Sax. Chron.* See F. WIGORN, a. 996. In this year, it is observed by Roger de Wendover, died Richard, Duke of Normandy, who was buried at Feschamp, and the same year he was succeeded by his son, called Richard II. (vol. i. p. 420). From this time forth, the affairs of England will be found to be affected by the court at Normandy. As to the elevation of the relics of St. Ethelwold in this year, and the miracles accomplished through his intercession, see *Act. Sanct.* (August.) vol. i. pp. 97, 98. § 42—46.

The army of the Danes, that had remained in England, then sailed, in the year 997, round Wessex, and entered the mouth of the river Severn, and then harassed and spoiled, one after another—first North Wales, then Cornwall, and then Watchet, in Devonshire, consigning as they went vills and hamlets to the torch, and human beings to the sword. Then sailing round the Lands End, they entered the Tamar, burst out of their ships, and as there was no one to oppose them, they burned and slaughtered all before them as far as Lidford. It was near to this place that they burned to the ground the monastery erected by Ordul, Prince of Devon. From thence they returned laden with a large booty to their ships, and there established themselves in their winter quarters.*

In this year Archbishop Ælfric went to Rome to be invested with his episcopal staff.†

In the year 998, the same army of Pagans, to whom we have before referred, directed their course up the river Frome, and laid waste the most of the lands of Dorsetshire. From these expeditions they frequently retired to the Isle of Wight; and as constantly again emerged from it to plunder in Dorset, as was their custom in all such expeditions. As long as they lay in the Isle of Wight, they had foraged in Sussex, and the province of Southampton. Whilst the invaders were proceeding in this way, many and many a time was an army of Englishmen

* F. WIGORN, a. 997. vol. i. p. 153. See *Sax. Chron. Rog. DE WEND.* vol. i. pp. 430, 431. H. HUNT. p. 358. The downfall of Tavistock monastery, which is here referred to, also befel every sacred building which was visited by those ruthless barbarians.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 997.

collected together, for the purpose of scattering by their strength the ruthless band of foemen, which, like to a tempest, laid the land desolate; but every time that the Englishmen were on the point of encountering the invaders on the field of battle, they were prevented from doing so either by traitorous devices, or by some other misfortune; and then, retreating from the enemy, allowed them to rejoice in a victory.*

In the year 999, the army of the Pagans entered the Thames, sailed up the Medway as far as Rochester, and in the course of a few days invested it with a besieging force. For the purpose of repelling this foe, the men of Kent mustered together, and fought a desperate battle with them; for a great number of men were slain on both sides; but ultimately the Danes were the victors in a hard-fought battle.† The Danes, then mounting on horse-back, laid absolutely waste nearly the entire of the western districts of Kent.

Upon hearing of this outrage, the King of the English, Ethelred, with the advice of his council, congregated a

* F. WIGORN, a. 998. vol. i. p. 154. S. DUNELM, p. 163. "Often," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "was an army collected against them; but as soon as they were about to come together, then were they ever, through something or other, put to flight, and their enemies always in the end had the victory." It is not improbable that this constant and repeated betrayal of the people by their leaders gave rise to the proverb—

"Thonne se heretoga wacath,

"Thonne bith eall se here gehyndrad."

"Where the leader is sick, the whole host is hindered." See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1003. Ingram's Edition, p. 177. note a.

† F. WIGORN, a. 999. vol. i. p. 154. "Illic igitur Centenses congregati sunt cuneisque constructis acerrime bellum incepterunt. Daci vero semper et soli bello nitenti Martio tandem potiti sunt campo." H. HUNT. p. 358.

fleet, and drew together an army of infantry.* It was determined to attack the Danes both with sea and land-forces; "but as soon as the ships were ready, then arose "delay from day to day, which harassed the miserable "crew that lay on board; so that, always, the forwarder "it should have been, the later it was, from one time to "another; they still suffered the army of their enemies "to increase; the Danes continually retreated from the "sea-coast—and they, the English, continually pursued "them in vain. Thus, in the end, those expeditions both "by sea and land, served no other purpose but to vex the "people, to waste their treasure, and to strengthen their "enemies."†

In the year 1000 the Danish fleet sailed to Normandy.‡

* F. WIGORN, a. 999.

† Sax. Chron. as translated by the Rev. J. Ingram, p. 173. The same complaint, and almost in the same words, is made by Florence of Worcester. Such treachery and incapacity on the part of his nobles aided in stigmatizing Æthelred by the name of "the Unready." See W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 266.

‡ F. WIGORN, a. 1000. vol. i. p. 154. "The hostile fleet was this summer turned towards the kingdom of Richard." *Sax. Chron.* "Normanniam hostiliter petivit." Rog. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 434. "Dani Normanniam adeunt." *Chron. Petriburg.* "Normanniam petit et sequenti anno ad Angliam reversa pejora prioribus egit." S. DUNELM, p. 164. With these authorities before us, there can be no doubt entertained that the Danish fleet touched on the coast of Normandy this year: that the invaders departed from England for some time is equally certain. But what was their object in visiting Normandy? Mr. Turner (*Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 315), who gives as his authority the Saxon Chronicle, repeats the opinion of Roger de Hoveden, that it was with a hostile intention. Herr Lappenberg (vol. ii. p. 161) conceives that the Danes did this year invade Normandy, "from which," he adds, "they were soon driven by Duke Richard the Second." The only authorities quoted by Lappenberg for this statement, are the Saxon Chronicle, and Florence of Worcester:

King Ethelred, upon hearing of the departure of the

neither of which say one word of the victory of Richard, Duke of Normandy. It would be strange if any such invasion had taken place, or any such victory had been gained, that William of Jumièges should have been ignorant of, or remained silent respecting it. We incline to the opinion that it was at *this period*, and not at the later date at which it was placed—that Swein visited Duke Richard, of Normandy, and entered into that treaty of peace with him; the terms of which are so fully set out by William of Jumièges, viz.:—"That for all time to come, this treaty of peace should remain firmly established between the Danish kings and the Norman dukes and their heirs; and that whatsoever the Danes should carry away from their enemies, they would carry it to the Normans to be purchased by them; and that should any Dane, either sick or wounded, stand in need of the assistance of a friend, he should be cared for, and cured amongst the Normans, as if he were in his own home, and that with the same degree of security. And, in order that this agreement should be ratified in a proper manner, both Princes sanctioned it with their oaths." (W. GEMITICENS, *Ducib. Norm.* lib. v. c. 7. p. 635. See MICHEL, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. p. 224. Documents inédits sur L'H st. de France.) This was a most important treaty. It made Normandy an entrepôt for all the riches plundered out of England, and an hospital for the pirates who might be wounded in their expeditions. Such a treaty it is, we conceive, far more probable, was entered into previous to the marriage of Ethelred with the Norman Princess, Emma, than subsequent to that event. In the latter part of Ethelred's reign, Normandy became the home of the exiled royal family, and the Normans were, in appearance, at least, the foes of the invaders and usurpers, the Danes. Independent of the visit of the Danes to Normandy in this year, there was another cause for their absence from England; for at this time was fought the battle of Svöldr, between Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, on the one side, and on the other his brother-in-law, and former ally, Swein, King of Denmark, and Olaf, King of Sweden. In this battle, Olaf Tryggvason, seeing that he was on the point of being defeated, leaped overboard with his crew, and perished;—"And when the king," says the Saga, "had sprang overboard, they tried to seize him with their hands, and bring him to Earl Eric; but King Olaf threw his shield over his head, and sank beneath the waters." KONUNG OLAF TRYGGVASON'S Saga, c. 128. SNORRO, vol. i. p. 369. LAING'S Translation, vol. i. pp. 481, 482. THORPE, notes to

Danes,* marched with an immense army into Cumberland, which was then the principal stronghold of the Danes, and mainly inhabited by them; he there conquered the Danes in a pitched battle, and nearly laid waste the entire of Cumberland, and carried off spoil from it.† He had directed his fleet to sail round the north of Britain, and meet him at a place pointed out by him. The violence of the storm prevented the fleet from carrying this command into effect. It is said, however, that the Isle of Man was laid waste by those who manned the royal fleet.‡

Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 151. TURNER'S *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 159. GEIJER, *Hist. of the Swedes*, p. 37, (translated by J. H. TURNER.) The character of Olaf is accurately described in the following sentence:—"Narrant eum aliqui illum Christianum fuisse, quidam, Christianitatis desertorem; omnes autem, affirmant peritum auguriorum, servatorem sortium, et in avium prognosticis omnem spem suam posuisse. Quare etiam cognomen accepit, ut *Olaph Cracabben* diceretur. Nam et artis magicæ, ut aiunt, studio deditus, omnes, quibus illa redundat patria, maleficos habuit domesticos, eorumque deceptus errore periiit." ADAM, *Gest. Hammaburg. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 81. PERTZ, *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 320. The following extract, however, from the next chapter, and in the same page, is more interesting to Englishmen than any particulars respecting Olaf. "Tunc etiam Gotebaldum quendam ab Anglia venientem episcopum in Sconia posuit (Svein) doctorem, qui aliquando in Suedia, sæpe dicitur evangelisse in Norvegia." Ibid. c. 82, vol. vii. p. 320. As to English Saints in Norway, see ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 438. § 9. See also same vol. p. 426. § 3, 4.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 434.

† H. HUNT. p. 358.

‡ F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 154. S. DUNELM, p. 164. "His navy sailed about Chester, with the design of co-operating with his land-forces; but finding it impracticable, they ravaged Anglesey (*Mæniye*)." *Saxon Chronicle*, Ingram's Translation, p. 173.

In the year 1001, the army of Pagans, which had been to Normandy, returned to England.* This year there was great commotion, in consequence of the Danish invasion—for the Danes spread terror and devastation wheresoever they went—plundering, and burning, and desolating the country with such rapidity, that they advanced in one march as far as the town of Alton, where the people of Hampshire came against them and fought with them.† There were slain, Ethelwerd, high-steward of the King,‡ and Leofric of Whitechurch, and Leofwin, high-steward of the King, and Wulfhere, a bishop's thane, and Godwin of Worthy, son of Bishop Elfsy,§ and of all the men who were engaged with them, eighty-one. Of the Danes, there was slain a much greater number, though they remained in possession of the field of battle. Thence they proceeded westward until they came into Devonshire, where Paley came to meet them with the ships which he was able to collect; for he had shaken off his allegiance to King Ethelred, against all the vows of truth and fidelity which he had given him, as well as the presents which the King had bestowed on him in houses, and gold and silver. And they burned Teignton, and also many other goodly towns that we cannot name; and then peace was there concluded with them. And they proceeded thence towards Exmouth, so that they marched

* F. WIGORN, a. 1001. vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1001. INGRAM'S Translation, pp. 173, 174.

‡ This is Ethelwerd, the historian; see LAPPENBERG, vol. ii. p. 158.

§ "*Ælfoiges bisciopes sunu.*" See THORP'S *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 65. (folio ed.) where it is shown that the term "Bishop's son" always signifies a bishop's god-child. See also note to vol. i. pp. 465, 466, of this work.

at once till they came to Penho, where Cola, high-steward of the King, and Edsy, reeve of the King, came against them with the army that they could collect. But they were there put to flight, and there were many slain, and the Danes had possession of the field of battle. And the next morning, they burned the village of Penho, and of Clist, and also many goodly towns that we cannot name.* Then they returned eastward again, till they came to the Isle of Wight. The next morning they burned the town of Waltham, and many other small towns.† At one time they were to be found in Southampton, at another in Dorsetshire, with no resistance offered to them, and yet their usual spoliations carried on—men destroyed by the

* In adopting the account given by the *Saxon Chronicle* of the dreadful events of this year, we cannot refrain from subjoining the statement of Florence of Worcester, as to the courageous resistance offered in some places by the English people to the invaders:—"The Danes," it is said by Florence, "upon their return from Normandy, sailed up the Exe, and then left their ships to lay siege to the city of Exeter; but upon their attempting to demolish the walls, they were driven back by the citizens, who manfully defended themselves. The Danes, greatly exasperated, commenced their usual course of proceedings; they traversed through Devonshire, burning vills, laying waste the fields, and slaughtering human beings. The men of Devonshire and Somerset, therefore, united together, and at a place named Penho, encountered them in a pitched battle; but the English having but few soldiers with them, were not able to withstand the overpowering charge of the multitude of Danes. They were thus compelled to take to flight, and the Danes were the victors after a dreadful slaughter of their opponents." *Chron.* a. 1001. vol. i. p. 155. By comparing the accounts of the *Saxon Chronicle* with Florence of Worcester, it is manifest, that the English people were overcome in this, as in preceding years, not from any want of vigour or energy on their part, but through the treachery or incompetency of their leaders.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, as translated by the Rev. J. Ingram, pp. 173, 174, 175.

sword, houses consumed by fire, and then audacity and wickedness carried to intolerable excess — for there was neither a fleet by sea, nor an army by land, to encounter or keep them in check ; and hence great sorrow filled the soul of the King, and inexpressible sorrow seized upon the hearts of the people.*

It was in the year 1001 that the body of St. Ivo, the Archbishop, was discovered.† This Ivo was a native of Persia, who, having abandoned all the delights of this world, and travelled over a great deal of the globe both by land and sea, at length arrived in England, arrayed in the dress of a peasant, and accompanied by three friends.‡ He took up his abode in the Isle of Ramsey, where he passed the life of a hermit. His name had long been forgotten by the inhabitants, and his sepulchre unknown to them, when St. Ivo appeared to a humble, simple man, told to this man his name and his exalted qualities, and at the same time admonished him, that he should go to the Abbot of Ramsey monastery, point out to him the place where his body lay, and have it raised from the earth. The directions thus given were complied with, and whilst the commands of the Saint were carried into execution, a fountain of healing waters burst out of the tomb of the Saint ; and from that time to the present, scarce any of the sanctified have been

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 155.

† F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 154.

‡ BROMTON, *Chron.* p. 883.

found more accessible to the prayers of the faithful in England than St. Ivo.*

In the year 1002, King Ethelred held a witan with the chief men of his kingdom, and at this council it was deemed to be a useful thing to do, viz., that they should make peace with the Danes; that on condition the Danes ceased from making war with the people, they should be supplied with provisions: and that they should be paid for their amity by a tribute.†

* "Ita ut usque hodie in tota vix Anglia sit sancto Ivone exorato aliquis Sanctus facilius aut effectu efficacior." BROMTON, *Chron.* p. 883. The number of miracles effected at this place, it is declared by William of Malmesbury, can neither be counted nor described. "Nec potest numero æstimari, nedum comprehendere scripto multitudo per beatum illum sanatorum;" and he then adds, "I will state what I myself have seen," *Vidi ego quod dicam*. This declaration is followed by an account of a monk, who was afflicted with a terrible attack of dropsy, and who was warned in a dream that he should go to St. Ives; he did so, and he was, upon thrice drinking of the water, perfectly cured. See *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iv. p. 292. It was in honour of this Saint, "that the old name of Slepe" (in Huntingdonshire) "was changed into St. Ives." HARPSFIELD, *Sæc.* xi. c. 22. p. 259. See *Hist. Rames.* c. 68. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 435. ALFORD, a. 600. vol. ii. pp. 135, 136. § 1. 6. *Act. Sanct.* (April.) vol. iii. p. 261. "Some authors give St. Ivo for companions in his travels, and in his retirement at Slepe, Sithius and Inthius, his kinsmen: whose bodies are said to have been found there with his, and translated to Ramsey. A priory of Benedictines was erected at St. Ives, in memory of the Saint, which continued to the times of Henry VIII." *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i. p. 267. As to the elevation of the relics of St. Edward, king and martyr, on the 20th of June, 1001, and his brother, King Ethelred, being prevented from attending the ceremony, "quia variis et gravibus hostium incursionibus circumquaque vallatus," see S. EDWARD, *Par.* ii. § 14. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. ii. p. 646, and p. 647, note r.

† F. WIGORN, a. 1002. vol. i. p. 155.

For the purpose of carrying this project into effect, the Ealdorman, Leofsy, was sent to the Danes, and upon his arriving amongst them, he earnestly entreated of them to accept the provisions, and to receive the tribute that was tendered to them.

The English ambassador was received with every mark of welcome by the Danes; the requests that he made were acceded to, and they then declared what was the amount of tribute that should be paid to them for maintaining peace with the English. A short time afterwards, there were paid twenty-four thousand pounds to the Danes.*

Leofsy, the person by whom those negotiations were carried on, whilst they were still pending, slew a man of noble rank, Eafic, one of the highest officers of the king's court; and for this offence, the king, justly enraged at the perpetration of such a crime, banished Leofsy from England.†

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 155. "These peace-offerings of money to the Danes were the origin of the tax hence called *Danegeld*, or *Hidagium*, because for its payment every hide of land was yearly taxed twelve pence. It was discontinued in the reign of Edward the Confessor, but again levied by William I. and II. See Spelman's Gloss. ad voc." COXE, note to Roger de Wendover, vol. i. p. 435. We have shown that a *danegelt* was enforced in France in the year 866. See vol. ii. p. 88 of this work. We have the testimony of Caradoc, that Wales too was subjected to a similar tribute, although the mode of collection was different from that adopted either in France or England. The Danes, in the year 988, "having destroyed St. David's, Lhanbadarr, Lhanrhystyd, Lhandydoch, and several other religious places, the country was so cruelly harassed and weakened, that Prince Meredith was forced to compound with them, and to pay a tribute of one penny for every person within his dominions, which in Welch was called *Gllwmæm*, otherwise the tribute of the blackarmy." CARADOC, p. 66.

† F. WIGORN, pp. 155, 156.

In the Lent of the year 1002, arrived in this land* Emma (who was by the Anglo Saxons named "Ælgifa"), the daughter of Richard I., Duke of the Normans, and who was married in the course of this year to King Ethelred.†

It was in the year 1000, that Ethelred had determined upon seeking as a wife, and, as the means of greater security to his kingdom, the daughter of the Duke of Normandy.‡ Of the Duke it might be said that he was the greatest, the most powerful, and the most formidable man in France ;—of the King—that he was not only weak himself, but that his people were so debilitated by their calamities, that alike for himself as for them, he had just reason to apprehend both might be overwhelmed on some future occasion in one common abyss of destruction.

All this occurred in accordance with the will of God, Who destined that the wicked should be punished with misfortunes ; for the Lord had proposed the destruction of the Anglo Saxons, because of their sins, and this too in the same manner that they had been the instruments of humiliation to the British, for their violation of His Commandments. The Lord proposed for the Anglo Saxons a double means of punishment, and He beset their policy as it were with a snare and ambush, like to what is employed in military warfare. On this side they were

* *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN, p. 156. See W. GEMITICENS, lib. iv. c. 18. p. 631. WALNINGHAM, *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 425. *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, p. 43. (Soc. Hist. France).

‡ H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 359. See MICHEL, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323. (Documents Inédits sur L'Hist. de France.)

imperilled by the raging persecution of the Danes, and on the other they were fettered by the Norman alliance; so that if they should escape from the open and manifest danger to which they were exposed from the Danes, there should not be the chance of freeing themselves from the courage and cunning of the Normans. That this was their inevitable fate the events of succeeding years plainly demonstrated; when, in consequence of the very alliance which was at this time formed, through the marriage of the King of England with the daughter of the Duke of Normandy, the Anglo Saxons, in accordance with the law of nations, became subject to the oppressive domination of the Normans.

And all these things were distinctly predicted to the Anglo Saxons by a certain pious and holy man, and all it was told would happen to them, because of the enormity of their crimes; because they had stained their souls with murder and with treachery, and because they had not only done such vile deeds, but had immersed themselves in drunkenness, and neglected the churches of their God. For such sins, they were told there should be an unlooked-for government imposed upon them, from France: that the supremacy they had hitherto enjoyed should thus be for ever lost, and that the dignities which their great men had possessed should never again be restored. The same pious man also predicted, that not only should the Anglo Saxons be ruled by men from France, but that even amongst the Scotch—those whom they regarded as a most vile race of beings—there should, to their well-merited confusion and abasement, arise those who would be rulers over them.* The same wise and

* This seems to refer to the accession of the house of Stuart

holy man also predicted that there should come a time, so marked from the fickleness of all persons who lived in it, that the instability of purpose which human creatures are conscious they are liable to, and therefore hide in their hearts, they would then openly exhibit in all their actions, and seem even to glory in it, by the incessant change, variety, and oddity of the garments they wore, and the multitudinous decorations wherewith they chose to adorn themselves.

It was then in accordance with the will of Providence, that the King of England despatched ambassadors to the Duke of Normandy, to seek the hand of the Princess Emma. The request was complied with, and at the appointed time, noblemen of England selected for the purpose of shewing the greatest respect, and doing the highest honour to the chosen bride of the king, were sent to Normandy, and returned with her, who was to be their royal mistress, with all the state and dignity that became the intended wife of the sovereign. Thus it was, that in the year 1002, Emma, the "gem of Normandy," arrived in England, and was at the same time both wedded and crowned as a Queen.

By his success in this marriage the pride of Ethelred was elated, and the perfidy that was in his nature elicited, so that he caused, by a foul and secret treason, all the Danes who were then living peaceably in England to be slain upon one and the same day, that is upon the festival of

English throne, and considering that it was written many centuries before the event, is certainly a better and clearer guess than any which modern times have produced in the strained interpretations of the Apocalypse.

St. Brice (the 13th of November). A wicked deed ! of which, *in our boyhood*, we have heard some very old persons telling the particulars ;* and who mentioned that the King sent secret letters, in accordance to which the English were ordered to arrest and slay the unsuspecting Danes on the same day, and at the same hour—to slay them all with the sword, or to burn them with fire.† The order that was given by Ethelred was, that all the Danes that were then dwelling in England—the old as well as the young, and of both sexes—should be slain ; because the Danes were endeavouring to deprive him and his nobility of life, and to subject the entire of England to them as masters.‡

It was in this year,§ it is to be observed, that a certain person named Huna, a leader of the military array of King Ethelred, and an individual distinguished for his bravery as a soldier, and his skill as a general, observing how

* “De quo scelere in pueritia nostra quosdam vetustissimos loqui audivimus.” H. HUNT.

† H. HUNT. *Hist. lib. vi.* pp. 359, 360.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 156. “And also in the same year, the King gave an order to slay all the Danes that were in England. This was accordingly done on the Mass-day of St. Brice ; *because* it was told the King, that they would beshrew him of his life, and afterwards all his council, and then have his kingdom without any resistance.” *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM’S translation, p. 176.

§ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 444, a. 1012. “The massacre of the Danes on St. Bryce’s day (13th November), took place in the year 1002, as recorded in the Sax. Chron. and by other historians. It is inserted *here* (in the year 1012) probably as being the occasion of the ravages made by Sweyn and the Danes in 1013. Compare with this account, John Wallingford, edit. Gale, p. 547, and Carte, *Hist. i.* p. 336.” COXE, note on R. de Wendover, vol. i. p. 444.

great was the insolence of the Danes, and that once peace had been made between them and the English, it had become intolerable; seeing too, that the Danes had presumed to lay violent hands upon the wives and daughters even of men of noble rank amongst the English, he demanded an audience of the King, and in a state of great agitation, made a strong complaint, full of serious charges against those persons, to his sovereign. Ethelred was in no slight degree moved by these accusations, and hence it was, that in accordance with the advice of Huna, he sent letters to all parts of his kingdom, commanding all those who were subject to him, that they should, upon a certain day, that is, upon the festival of the holy Bishop Brice, attack the Danes, and put them to death, so that not one of them should be left alive, but the whole of the English people freed then, and for evermore, from the oppression of the Danes.

Thus did it come to pass, that the Danes, who a short time previously had, under the sanction of an oath confederated with the English, and bound themselves to live in peace with them, were perfidiously slain, and even their wives and little ones had their brains dashed out at their own door-posts, and perished miserably.*

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 444. The account of the barbarities then committed, are given in detail by William of Jumièges. In copying his account, it will be perceived, that it comes from one prejudiced against the Anglo-Saxons; for he affirms that, which is contradicted by the English writers, namely, that there was no provocation for such acts of cruelty—an assertion that is almost as incredible as the deeds he narrates.

"Whilst," he says, "Normandy, under the government of its illustrious ruler, was in the prosperous condition before-mentioned, Ethelred, the King of the English, stained the monarchy which had long flourished under the mighty sway of powerful

The horror, dismay, and confusion that then prevailed found their aggravation in the murder of Gunnildis, the sister of King Swein, and who was put to death in England under the following circumstances.*

Gunnildis had been united in marriage to a Danish jarl, named Palingo—a man of noble birth. With him she had some years before come to England, and there received the faith and baptism of a Christian. This most prudent female had been the mediatrix between the Danes and the English, and for the purpose of securing that peace which she so much desired, she had with her husband and her only son tendered herself as hostages to King Ethelred. She had then been confided by the King to the custody of the Ealdorman Eadric; and yet, a few days afterwards, the traitor Eadric caused both her husband and her son to be brutally put to death in her presence, and then he ordered, as the last of his victims, this generous-minded female to be decapitated. The brave spirit of Gunnildis was not to be daunted by death. On

kings with an act of perfidy so terrible, that even Pagans recorded it as an execrable crime. Ethelred, transported by a sudden fury, and without being able to accuse the Danes of any wrong done by them (*nullis criminum existentibus culpis*), ordered all those Danes—then living in peace in all parts of his kingdom, and not supposing their lives to be in the slightest peril—to be put to death; he caused, too, their wives to be buried in the earth to the waist, and then ferocious dogs set at them, to mangle their necks; and he even ordered children that were still at the breast, to be knocked against the door-posts, and their brains dashed out.”—“*Mulieres quoque alvotenus terræ esse defossas et ferocissimis canibus concitatis mamillas ab earum pectoribus crudeliter extorqueri, lactentes vero pueros ad domorum postes allisos excerebrari jussit.*” W. GEMETICENS, lib. v. c. 6, p. 635.

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 445, a. 1012.

the point of dying, her cheek was not blanched by fear, and when dead, and the blood that had crimsoned her veins had departed, her countenance did not lose a particle of its wonted serenity; but in dying, she with perfect confidence as to the future, declared that the shedding of her blood would be the cause of the most dire evils to England.*

When the decree of King Ethelred for the destruction of the Danes came to be enforced in the city of London, it was there put into execution without the slightest remorse or pity—so much so, that several Danes flying for refuge to a certain church in the city, were all, even whilst standing at the altar, put to death!† but a few young men, natives of Denmark, hurried off to a ship,‡ rowed rapidly down the Thames, and at length reached the open sea.§ Crossing then an immense extent of the sea, they at length arrived at what was the object of their hopes, by disembarking at a port in Denmark, where they at once proceeded to King Swein, to announce to him the

* R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 445. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 177, vol. i. p. 289.

† “In the reign of King Ethelred, when the Danes doomed to death fled to the monastery of Frideswida, they were with it all destroyed by fire, in consequence of the insatiable rage of the English against them. Shortly afterwards, the King sought by his penitence to atone for this sacrilege. The monastery was rebuilt, its ancient property restored, and additional lands bestowed upon it.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iv. p. 291. In his history, Malmsbury more correctly states this event as occurring in the year 1015. See *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179, vol. i. pp. 297, 298. (E. H. S.)

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 445.

§ W. GENITICENS. lib. v. c. 6, p. 635.

blood-stained destruction of his people. The King, deeply afflicted with the very excess of grief, summoned to his presence all the leading men of the kingdom, laid in detail before them an account of all that had occurred, and then earnestly besought of them to say what they deemed to be most fitting to be done. They, moved alike with sorrow and resentment for the loss of their relations and their friends, with one voice declared that all the force that it was in their power to employ, should be put forth in order that they might avenge the blood of their countrymen.

King Swein, upon receiving this answer, ordered those living under his immediate command, to make their preparations for the intended expedition in all haste. He likewise sent couriers* in all directions to state that he had fixed upon a day, upon which, he summoned to the proposed expedition, from foreign nations, warriors who were eager for plunder.† Upon the approach of the ap-

* "Veredarios." See DUCANGE, in verb. *Veredi et Veredarii*. BIGNONIUS, Not. in Marculf. lib. i. c. xi. p. 271.

† "Hac illacque veredarios misit, diemque præfixit, quando milites lucri cupidos de exteris regnis ad hanc expeditionem venire mandavit." W. GEMITIGENS. It was upon the basis here laid down for the spoliation and destruction of England, that the bands of northern pirates associated together. These pirates were governed, or pretended to be governed, by laws of their own; but the facts stated in preceding parts of this work, will shew that the following regulations were, for the most part, nothing more than vain words—the first being supposed by Torfæus to be the laws of King Half, and the second pronounced by Hialmar:—

(1). "Nemini fas gladium ulna longiorem gerere; cominus cum hoste congredi oportuit; gladii unica tantum acie superius crassi, tubo lato ictibus aggravandis idonei; fæminæ et imbecillis ætas captivitati exemptæ; vulnera post viginti horas primum obliganda; navis nec velis integenda, nec vela in medium malum demittenda.

pointed day, an immense army was seen hastening to the ships destined to receive them. The royal standards were then raised, the sails were unfurled, the fleet put to sea, and after a long voyage, was borne to the shores of York.*

quantumvis horrenda tempestate sævienda." TORFÆUS, *Hist. Norveg.* lib. 4. c. 11. vol. i. p. 186.

(2). "Crudis carnibus nemo vescitor, vel prætextu expressi per pannum sanguinis, lupis quam hominibus, similiorum more; colonos vel mercatores nemo spoliato; quantum vero urgente necessitate ad alimenta requiritur, sumito; fæminis, quantumvis opulentis, nihil eripito, nec invitas ad naves ducito; qui secus fecerit, absque status vel conditionis discrimine capite plectitur." TORFÆUS, lib. 6. c. 3. vol. i. p. 270.

See also TORFÆUS, lib. 7. c. 5. vol. ii. pp. 280, 281, in which other laws of pirates are laid down, the most interesting of which is the following, securing a community of advantage in all the spoil that had been taken:—"Præda omnis bello capta ad hastam referri jubebatur, ne vilissima quidem partem suppressa: secus facienti absque conditionis statusve discrimine relegatio impendebat." The best comment, however, on these, and all other regulations, was the proverb, that 'the Northern pirates could not be restrained by any law'—piratas legibus haud teneri." Lib. 6, c. 19. vol. ii. p. 271.

* W. GEMITICENS, lib. 5. c. 6, 7. p. 635. See WALSLINGHAM, *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 427. *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*, pp. 47, 48. (Soc. l'Hist. France.) MICHEL, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. p. 419. (Documents Inédits Sur l'Hist. de France.)

Upon the massacre of the Danes in England, see, in addition to the authors whose words are quoted in the text, S. DUNELM, p. 165. R. HOVEDEN, p. 429. R. DICET, p. 461. BROMTON, p. 885. KNYGHTON, p. 2315.

Ethelred is charged by the authorities quoted in the text, to have issued the order for the massacre of the Danes. This accusation is distinctly brought against him; and there can be no doubt that it resulted in the perpetration of many cruelties; but was such an order universally executed? It "cannot," Herr Lappenberg observes, "possibly have been executed in East Anglia and Northumbria, or in the Seven Burghs of Mercia,

On the 15th of April in this year, (1002,) Aldulf, the Archbishop of York, assisted by bishops, abbots, priests,

which we find afterwards, as before, in possession of the old settlers of Danish race. It is probable, that those doomed to destruction were chiefly the Danes and Norwegians who had remained in England from the army of Swein and Olaf." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 166. That it was a barbarity for which some strong provocation had been given, the words used by Florence of Worcester, the Saxon Chronicle, Roger de Wendover, and Matthew of Westminster, demonstrate, as well as the perpetuation of the recollection of that provocation, and of the vengeance taken for it, in the once popular "*Hocktide merriments*." See MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 129. Mr. Sharon Turner compares the massacre of the Danes to the massacre of the Hugonots on St. Bartholomew's day. *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 316. It is, we imagine, in reference to this remark of Mr. Turner's, that Herr Lappenberg observes :— "Nothing is more inconsiderate and unjust than a comparison of St. Brice's day with the night of St. Bartholomew; a closer resemblance may be found in the struggle of the Britons under Boadicea, or in the Sicilian Vespers. Yet who would compare the Roman legions or the French warriors with the barbarians of the Baltic and German oceans?" *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 166.

For such deeds of blood, although palliations may be offered, as there is in this instance by Herr Lappenberg, no excuse can be received, and no sufficient justification can be found. All that can be said of them is, that they do not surpass in perfidy the massacre at Glenco, which was sanctioned by the sign manual of William III., commonly called the "Deliverer;" and that they do not equal in cruelty the deeds perpetrated in Holland, by Sonois, the lieutenant of William "the Silent," Prince of Orange, and the Gospeller-preacher, Jurion Epesoon, in the year 1575, whose proclamations, it is declared by a Protestant author, "appeared to have been written in blood rather than in ink," and "for whose inhuman tortures of innocent Catholics no reasons of state policy could be tendered as an excuse."

"'T Gansche werk was, wil men, aangeleyd, om den Roomschen, eens voor al, den moed te beneemen van naar verandering der Regeeringe te staan. Doch de onmenschelyke wreedheid, gepleegd, in 't pynigen en straffen van luiden, in welken men geene schuld altoos gevonden hadt, is met geene redenen van

monks, and a vast number of religious persons, raised from the sepulchre in which they had been interred, the bones of the holy Archbishop Oswald, and placed them with all due honour in a shrine which had been prepared for them.* The water in which the bones of the saint had been washed, restored to the blind their sight, to the deaf their hearing, to the crippled the power of walking, and to the infirm health. In the tomb of the saint, all his vestments were found to be fresh, stainless, and redolent with a most sweet odour.†

A short time after the elevation of the relics of St. Oswald—that is, on the succeeding second of May—Archbishop Aldulf died, and was interred in St. Mary's Church, in Worcester. Aldulf's successor in the Archiepiscopal See was the Abbot Wolstan.‡

In the year 1003, through the evil counsel, carelessness, and treachery of the Norman Count Hugh, upon whom

staat te verschoonen." WAGENAAR, *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Boek xxv. § 10. p. 54. see also pp. 60, 61. "Plakaaten, die mogt men 't zeggen, meer met bloed dan met inkt geschreeven waren." WAGENAAR, b. xxvi. See *Theatrum crudelitatis hareticorum nostri temporis*, pp. 57, et seq. (Antwerp, 1592). KERROUX, *Abrege de l'Histoire de la Hollande*, vol. ii. p. 310 (Leyden, 1778), as quoted by DE FELLER, *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. xix. pp. 209, 210, 211 (Eighth edition). A circumstance very similar to the massacre of the Danes will be found in the history of Servia. See RANKES' *History of Servia and Servian Revolution*, c. 1. p. 5. note †. (London, 1853).

* F. WIGORN. a. 1062. vol. i. p. 156.

† Vit. S. Oswald, c. 4. § 22. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 756. See § 23—27. same pages, for an account of various miracles accomplished through the intercession of St. Oswald.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 156.

the chief command over Devonshire had been given by Queen Emma, the King of the Danes, Swein, forced an entrance into Exeter, plundered it, broke the entire line of the city ramparts extending from the east to the west gate, and then returned with an immense spoil to his ships.*

Swein subsequently employed his followers in laying waste the province of Wilton, when a powerful army, composed of the men of Southampton and Wilton, was collected together, and it marched forward to meet the enemy, animated with the intention of fighting manfully and resolutely against them. No sooner, however, were the two armies so close to each other that they could distinguish the faces of their opponents, than Alfric, he whose name has been more than once before mentioned, and who then discharged the duties of a general of the English array, resorted to one of his ancient devices, for pretending to be sick, he began to vomit, saying that a terrible infirmity had fallen upon him, so that it was impossible for him to fight with their foes.† The English army, beholding such inertness and timidity in their

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 156. "The Danes," says Henry of Huntingdon, "burned like a furious fire, which could not otherwise be extinguished than by a torrent of blood. They fell, as if they were a swarm of locusts, upon the city of Exeter, and they left nought but desolation behind them—they destroyed it utterly, and what they did not carry away as spoil, they burned to ashes." *Hist. Lib.* vi. p. 360.

† "Elfric should have led them on; but he brought forth his old tricks, and as soon as they were so near that either army looked on the other, then he pretended sickness and began to retch, saying he was sick; and so betrayed the people that he should have led." *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, pp. 176, 177.

general, withdrew from the battle-field, heart-broken, sad, and without striking a blow at the invader! From this circumstance has been derived the old proverb—

“ When the general is sick, and the foeman is near,
Then the soldier may feel less of courage than fear.”*

Swein looked upon the English—he marked their irresolution, and then marched his army against Wilton, first plundered and afterwards set it on fire. Salisbury was in like manner burnt down by him, and he then returned to his ships.†

In the year 1004, the belligerent King of the Danes, Swein, to whom God had destined the sovereignty of England, arrived with his fleet at Norwich, plundered the town, and then set it on fire.‡ At that time the Ealdorman of the East Angles was a man of dauntless courage, named Ulfkytel;§ alone, out of all the leading men of the land, he always offered an untiring resistance to the invaders.|| The Danish fleet had arrived so unexpectedly

* “ Tremescente duce in proelio, caeteri omnes proeliatoreſ efficiuntur pavidiores.” F. WIGORN. “ Quando dux deficit exercitus vilesцит.” H. HUNT.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 156, 157. See S. DUNELM, p. 165. R. Hoveden, p. 429. Chron. Petriburgens. a. 1003. p. 38 (Giles). The character of the traitor Alfric will be found described by Roger de Wendover, a. 1003, and 1006, vol. i. p. 436, 437, and W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165, vol. i. p. 267. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*. vol. ii. pp. 167, 168. See SPELMAN, *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 504—509, and WILKINS, *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 282, 283, 284, as to the privileges bestowed on Canterbury (in the year 1003) by Ethelred.

‡ H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 360.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1004. vol. i. p. 157.

|| “ Solus ex omnibus * * * impigre contra invasores restitit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. “ Ulf-

in his district, that he had neither the time nor the opportunity for collecting an army to encounter them, and he, therefore, in accordance with the advice of the thanes of East Anglia, agreed to a treaty of peace with Swein. The latter, however, in direct violation of this treaty, three weeks after it had been made, secretly emerged with all his forces from his ships, made a hurried march to Thetford, broke into the town, plundered it, remained there for the night, and at the first dawn of the following morning set it on fire.

As soon as this fact became known to Ulfkytel, he commanded some of his troops at once to attack and smash to pieces the ships of the Danes; but those to whom this direction was given, either had not the courage, or through neglect, they failed to carry it into execution.* Meanwhile, Ulfkytel mustered in all haste, and secretly, his army, and boldly marched forward to oppose the Danes. They were encountered by him as they were returning to their ships. A most dreadful battle was then fought between the English and the Danes—a great number was slain on both sides, and amongst these were to be counted the men of noble rank in East Anglia. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Danes were able to make good their retreat; and it is certain, that if all the forces which the East Anglians could have brought into the field had been present at the battle, the Danes could not, by any

cytel, surnamed Snelling, or the Sagacious, of Danish extraction, who had received in marriage Wulfhild, another daughter of Æthelred." LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 168.

* "At illi vel non audebant, vel jussa perficere negligebant." F. WIGORN. "But they" (the Danes) "frustrated his design." *Sax. Chron.*

possibility, have regained their shipping. Even they themselves openly declared, that never had they fought a more desperate and dreadful battle in England, than that in which the Ealdorman Ulfkytel had on this occasion encountered them.*

In the year 1005, there was a most dire and dreadful famine in England;† so severe that no man ever remembered any such to have occurred in the country.‡ It fell upon the land, as if it were destined that no misery should be absent from the wretched reign of King Ethelred; and so unsparingly did it rage in every district, that it might be said, the population which had escaped from the war, had only done so to become the victims of starvation.§ It was on account of this famine that King Swein returned to Denmark—but with the intention of revisiting England at no distant period.||

In the year 1005 Archbishop Ælfrie died, and he was succeeded in the see of Canturbury by Bishop Elphegus.¶ It would not be possible to depict how great was the affliction that fell upon the people of Winchester when they

* F. WIGORN. a. 1004. vol. i. pp. 157, 158. "As they said themselves, that they never met with worse hand-play (hand-plegan) in England than Ulfkytel brought them." *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN. a. 1005. vol. i. p. 158.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* See H. HUNT. p. 360.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 165. vol. i. p. 267.

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 158.

¶ *Sax. Chron.* See WHARTON, not. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 129. De Suc. Arch. Cantuar. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 105, 106.

heard of the removal of Elphegus, but by stating that it was equalled by the joy of the people of Canterbury, when they were assured that he was coming amongst them.* The exultation of the one could be only measured by the sorrow of the other—the one rejoiced as much as the other lamented.

A few days were devoted by Elphegus to the regulation of the affairs of the new and exalted office that had been bestowed upon him ; when he determined upon proceeding to that city which is superior to all others on this earth.†

Elphegus had proceeded on his way to Rome as far as Ausonia, and there entered into the first town he met, with the intention of reposing in it for a short time, as he was worn down with fatigue from his long journey. The inhabitants, seeing a foreigner within their walls, and yielding to their cupidity, broke into the house in which the saint was remaining, robbed him of his property, and depriving him of his sacred ornaments, they with foul words, and heavy stripes, drove him out of the town. The contumelies to which they gave utterance were calmly submitted to ; the loss of his property not grieved for, and the journey which had been thus interrupted, in patience resumed by him. Elphegus walked but a short distance from the town, when lo ! raging fires, that seemed to spring from unnumbered torches, waved around and clung to its walls, threatening the utter ruin of the citizens,

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 3. § 13. *Act. Sanct.* (April). vol. ii. p. 635. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 129.

† "Urbem cunctis excelsiorem adire instituit." OSBERN. "Her for Ælfeah bisceop to Rome after pallium." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1007.

by reducing every house to ashes.* Alarmed by the fires which on every side invested them, the people started from their beds, and rushed like madmen through the streets. As they looked before and around them, the conflagration seemed to spread wider and wider, and its heat to increase in intensity; so that escape from loss of property, and safety in the preservation of life, appeared equally hopeless. The imminence of the danger suggested to their minds the consciousness of the wrong they had done, in assailing and despoiling a stranger; and it, too, induced them to believe that the fire, which they beheld, was a punishment for their offence. Animated by these feelings, the inhabitants, headed by the chief men of the town, hurried after the stranger, overtook him, knelt down before him, and bewailed their sin and its results. Elphegus, whose heart was ever melting with the most tender compassion for his fellow-men, said to them—"Let us return, in order that we may have a nearer view of the fire." The good bishop returned, gazed upon the conflagration, then burst into tears, and was able only to address these words to his God: "Oh! mighty power of the Creator! oh! boundless clemency of the Saviour."

Elphegus wept—the fire diminished as his tears flowed—and cheers burst forth from the multitude as they looked upon this spectacle. An instant after, the flames which had seemed to have burned their way into every habitation, rose high up into the air, fled from the town, and played harmlessly outside of its walls.

* An account of this miracle, but somewhat different in minor points, is given by Osbrith. See BARONIUS, a. 1006. vol. xvi. p. 449. § 5.

The spectators amazed, and even confounded by what they saw, yet felt rejoiced in what they could not but consider as an angelic visitation. When, however, the author, or the cause of this miracle was recognised, all the town's folk came rushing out of the gates as water rushes out of the narrow-chinks of a well-filled vessel; and they did so to tender to him their vows, and to offer to him presents. To all such offers the saint replied :

“ Do you retain what is your own ; but restore to me what is mine. If for the offence that is past, you wish to make vows for the future, then remember that this should be your conduct henceforth. Never to expel a stranger from your hearths—but, on the contrary, open your doors to all mankind, and be kind to those who claim hospitality from you. Remember that God's dwelling-place is in the heart of good men, and, therefore, will you have reason to congratulate yourselves, if in receiving a good man as a guest, you have the merit of being accounted as the host of God himself. But if it should be otherwise—if your guest should not be good—if the man that you supposed to be religious, should prove to be irreligious, do not think that on that account you shall be without your reward ; for it is not so much what is done by you, as the intention with which you do it, that is regarded by Him Who, from His throne, penetrates into the most secret recesses of your conscience.”

With these words, Elphegus received back the property that had been taken from him, and commanded the people of the town to return with all that belonged to themselves.

Elphegus at last arrived at Rome, eager to see the Roman Pontiff, and anxious to have an interview with him. The afforded him every opportunity for conversing with him, that the archbishop desired, and from their constant conversation, there arose so strong and mutual an affection, that the Pontiff decorated him with his own Apostolic stole, and in honour of him, who bears amongst the saints the keys of heaven, the Pope bestowed the highest honours upon Elphegus, in presence of the Council at Rome.*

Elphegus having received the pall from the Pope,† returned, without meeting any accident, to England.‡ Whilst he was in Rome, he announced there to his friends, at the very time that it occurred, the death of Kenulf, who had succeeded him in the See of Winchester.§

Placed upon the throne of his predecessors in the Archiepiscopal See, Elphegus made no alteration in the former course of his life, except that it might be said, that he arrived in this position, even more than he had at any other time, to an incomparable state of virtuous perfection.|| He frequently, and at every convenient opportu-

* OSBORN. *Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar.* c. 3. § 13, 14, 15. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 635. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

† "This was John XVIII., who was nominated the 20th of November, in the year 1003, and died 18th July, 1009." HENSCHENIUS. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 636, note *d*.

‡ OSBERT. *Vit. Elpheg.* (as quoted from Surius, vol. ii. 19. April), in BARONIUS. vol. xvi. p. 449. § 5.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. i. p. 203. For a full account of this extraordinary revelation, see *Act. Sanct.* pp. 635, 636. § 15. and *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 130.

|| OSBORN. *Vit. S. Elpheg.* c. 3. § 16. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 636. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 130.

nity, held councils at which the orthodox faith was expounded to the Fathers, lest those whose duty it is to take away errors from the minds of others, should themselves unwittingly stray from the paths of truth.* There was no one thing that could tend to promote the welfare of his flock that was neglected by him; and even those whom his admonitions could not move, he tried to win to their own salvation by his generosity. He wept for the sins of all, and twice in each day he offered up, for the salvation of all, the Victim of Salvation.† Upon the occasion of a high and solemn festival, in which it was ne-

* See, upon the Councils held in accordance with the desire of St. Elphegus, HENSCHENIUS, *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 636. note *f.* and COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. pp. 491, 492. One of these Councils was held at Haba, and an extract from it will be found worthy of perusal:—

“And we decree, that every Christian who is of full age, fast upon bread and water and undressed vegetables for three days before the feast of St. Michael. And that every one go to confession, and walk with naked feet to the church, and renounce all his sins, and amend his life by ceasing to commit them again. And that every priest walk in procession with the people for three days with naked feet; and that in addition, every priest sing xxx masses, and every deacon and clerk xxx psalms; and let the corrody of each, without flesh meat, for three days, be prepared in food and drink, as each would have eaten it, and let the entire then be given to the poor. *And let every slave be free from all work for those three days*, in order that he may the better fast, and do for himself what he wishes. These are the three days, viz. on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, immediately preceding the feast of St. Michael. If any one break his fast, let the slave who does so pay with his hide, the poor freeman with xxx pence, and the king's thane with cxx shillings, and let this money be divided amongst the poor.” *Laws of Ethelred*, apud Habam. *De jejunio et feriatione trium dierum ante festum S. Michaelis.* § 2. p. 144.

† “Ac pro omnium salute binis per singulos dies vicibus salutarem hostiam offerre.” OSBEN.

cessary for him to appear as the officiating priest, for the benefit of the people, it was usual for him to be conducted by the priests into the sacristy, and whilst hymns were with joyous tones sung in the church, to retire to the celebration of private masses, which he was able to attend to with far more recollection and devotion than when in the presence of the multitude; and then, when it might be said he was replete with the Deity, to return to the high altar, and complete there the office which he had commenced.* He always appeared dressed in white robes, and his shoulders covered with a white mantle, and his head ever encircled with the mitre. Thus it was that he appeared daily; and with him, the exterior habit of the body was symbolical of the interior purity of the soul; and men could not but bow in reverence before him, whom they were conscious was clothed not merely as a sanctified person, but whose mind shone with virtue, and whose heart was adorned with the abundance of grace.

The ornaments of the Church, over which he, with the divine permission, was the director, were increased in number, in value, and in beauty by him, and then were afterwards disposed of by him for the use and benefit of the poor,† or they were seized upon by the Pagans, as a

* "Quod si præcipua solennitas instaret, in qua illum Sacerdotalem pro populo gratiam exhibere oporteret, deductus sacerdotum manibus in sacrarium, illico se in partem tulit, ac inter hymnos festivo clamore decantatos, privatas Missas tanto devotius, quanto a conspectu populi remotius agebat. Inde plenus Deo ad altare rediens, quod prius inceperat officium peragebat." OSBERN. Every one who has been present at a Pontifical High Mass, will recognize its description in these words.

† "Quas postea Elphegus in usus pauperum expendebat." OSBERN.

portion of their spoil.

* * * *

In Elphegus there was ever to be found clemency for the wretched and tears for the unfortunate. He was the pious consoler of the poor, the ready supporter of the oppressed; he was liberal in giving, reserved in receiving—the hope of all who came to him; the sole and steady refuge of the afflicted; and hence it happened, that he who gave, as long as he had anything to bestow upon his neighbours, finally felt no fear as to giving away himself, preferring rather to die to this life, than to live and yet cease to be a benefit to his fellow man.*

—

In the year 1006, King Ethelred deprived of his property and his rank Wlfgeat, the son of Leoveca, for whom he had entertained a most tender affection. These punishments were inflicted on account of the unjust judgments delivered by Wlfgeat, as well as his insolent conduct to his fellow-subjects.† It was too, in this year, that the tricky and treacherous Eadric Streona plotted against the life of the noble Ealdorman, Ælfhelm, and, in pursuance of this plot, invited Ælfhelm to Shrewsbury to a grand festival. Ælfhelm accepted the invitation, and was received by Eadric as a most dear friend. When Ælfhelm had been three or four days at Shrewsbury, he was asked by Eadric to partake with him of the pleasures of the chase in an adjoining forest, and when all the persons that had gone out with them were engaged in the pursuit

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 3. § 16, 17. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 636. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1006. vol. i. p. 158.

of game, a ruffian of Shrewsbury, a man named Godwin *Porthund*, that is, "the town cur," who had been bribed by gifts and promises to perpetrate so foul a deed, suddenly rushed out of the hiding-place in which he had been concealed, and basely assassinated the Ealdorman Ælfhelm. A short time after this occurrence, Wlfeag and Ufeget, the sons of Eadric, were, by order of King Ethelred, deprived of sight at Cocham, where Eadric then lived.*

In the month of July, in the year 1006, an almost innumerable fleet of the Danes reached the shores of England, entered the port of Sandwich, and from thence, their crews spreading themselves over Kent at one time, and Sussex at another, wasted everything wherever they went with fire, destroyed all who had life with the sword, and collected an immense booty out of the maritime districts. For the purpose of restraining and repelling those invaders, Ethelred collected together an army out of Mercia and Wessex; but the Danes, unwilling to have a pitched battle with him, so manœuvred their forces as never to come in direct collision with the English; but making sudden sorties in various and opposite quarters, they collected, as they hurried along, a vast booty, and then retreated rapidly to their ships. By so acting, they were able to harass the English forces during the whole autumn.† "When winter approached, then went the (English)

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 158. See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 437. The best explanation that can be afforded for these various crimes and punishments, will be found in OSBERN'S *Life of St. Elphegus, Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 637. c. 4. § 19. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 132.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1006. vol. i. pp. 158, 159.

army home, and the enemy retired after Martinmas to their quarters in the Isle of Wight, and provided themselves there with whatever they wanted.* Then, about mid-winter, they went to their ready farm through Hampshire into Berkshire, to Reading. And they did according to their custom—they lighted their camp-beacons as they advanced. Then they marched to Wallingford, which they entirely destroyed, and passed one night at Cholsey. Then they turned along Ashdown to Cuckamsley-hill, and there awaited better cheer; for it was often said, that if they sought Cuckamsley, they would never get to the sea. But they went another way homeward. Their army, however, mustered together at Kennet—they came to battle there, and soon put the English force to flight; and afterwards carried their spoil to the sea.

“At that time, the people of Winchester might see the rank and iniquitous foe, as they passed by their gates to the sea, fetching their meat and plunder over an extent of fifty miles from the sea!†

* *Sax. Chronicle*, translated by the REV. J. INGRAM, p. 179.

† “That Winchester was more strongly fortified and garrisoned, during the early part of the war, than other neighbouring places, may be gathered from the following circumstances. In 980, the Danes took and plundered Southampton, killing or leading away, almost all the inhabitants—SIM. DUNELM. In 992, Elwina, second abbess of Rumsey, and successor to St. Merwenna, finding her monastery exposed to the fury of the Danes, fled, with all her nuns, (amongst whom was her successor Elfleda, daughter of King Edward the Elder,) the relics of the Saints and other valuables, to Winchester as to a place of safety. Swayne accordingly advanced and pillaged the monastery. CAP-GRAVE, in Vit. S. Elfled. In 1003, Wilton and Sarum were taken and burnt to the ground. SIM. DUNELM. *Sax. Chron.* In 1011, the Danes burnt down Waltham and other small towns in the neighbourhood of this city (Winchester). *Sax. Chron.*

"Then was the King gone over the Thames into Shropshire; and there he fixed his abode during mid-winter.

"Meanwhile, so great was the fear of the enemy, that no man could think or devise how to drive them out of the land, or hold this territory against them; for they had terribly marked each shire in Wessex with fire and devastation. And then it was that the King began to consult seriously with his council, what they all thought most advisable for defending this land, ere it was utterly undone.

"Then advised the King and his Council for the advantage of all the nation, though they were all loth to do it, that they needs must bribe the enemy with a tribute. The King then sent to the Danes, and ordered it to be made known to them, that his desire was, that there should be peace between them, and that tribute and provision should be given them. And the Danes accepted the terms, and they were provisioned throughout England."*

In the year 1007, the stipulated tribute was paid to the hostile army of the Danes. Its amount in money was thirty thousand pounds.†

During all this time, the barbarians did not attempt to besiege Winchester." MILNER's *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129.

* *Sax. Chron.* as translated by the REV. J. INGRAM, with a few verbal alterations.

† *Sax. Chron.* "Provision was supplied to them from the entire of England, and the amount of tribute paid—was thirty six thousand pounds." F. WIGORN. a. 1007. vol. i. p. 159. "The printed *Sax. Chron.* p. 136, says £30,000. The MS. *Chron. Tib. B. i.*, and *B. iv.* have £36,000. Mailros, 154; Hoveden, 430; Peterb. 34; Al. Bev. 114; Sim. Dun. 166; and Rad.

It was in this year, that King Ethelred appointed as Ealdorman of Mercia the notorious Eadric, the son of Ægelric. Eadric, it is to be observed, was a man of humble birth, but one whose tongue had won for him riches and rank. He was astute in intellect, persuasive in debate, and so abounded in vices, that it might be declared there was more of envy, of malice, of pride, and of cruelty in his nature, than in that of any other man then living in England. At the time that he attained power, he had living, as his brothers, the following persons: Brihtic, Alfrie, Goda, Ægelwine, Ægelward, Ægelmaer, the father of Wlnoth, the father of Godwin, Ealdorman of the West Saxons.*

In the year 1008, the order was given by King Ethelred, "that men should speedily build ships over all England; that is, a man possessed of 310 hides, to provide one galley or skiff; and a man possessed of eight hides, only to find a helmet and breastplate."† The vessels so ordered

Dicet. 462, also give £36,000." *TURNER'S Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 319, note 48.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1007. vol. i. pp. 159, 160. See *ROC. DE WEND.* vol. i. pp. 436, 437. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 265. vol. i. p. 267.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation. "De cccx. cassatis unam trierem, de novem vero loricam et cassidem fieri." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 160. "Ex 310 hidis navem unam, et ex octo hidis loricam et galeam. Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum." H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 360. "The hides of England, according to the best enumeration of them that exists, were 243,600. If we take this as the criterion, the taxation produced an additional force of 785 ships, and armour for 30,450 men." *TURNER'S Hist. of the Anglo*

were duly prepared for sea—chosen soldiers and provisions were placed, and in order that the King's territories might be defended from foreign invaders, all were congregated in the port of Sandwich.*

It was about this time, or a little before it,† that a brother of the perfidious Ealdorman, Eadric Streona, a man named Brihtric—an immoral, ambitious, and haughty individual—preferred an unjust accusation against the King's South-Saxon minister Wlnoth;‡ who, lest he should be arrested on this charge, immediately fled from the land, and, having obtained twenty ships, commenced harassing, as a pirate, various places along the sea-coast. It was announced to the royal fleet, that they might, if they so wished, easily capture Wlnoth and his adherents. Upon this Brihtric, with eighty ships, set out in pursuit of

Saxons, vol. ii. p. 326. "These estimates are in the highest degree questionable, as the calculation of two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred hides in England, south of the Humber, rests on very unintelligible notices; nor is it said whether the same hides which furnished a ship, contributed also to supply a helmet and a coat of mail." * * "The novelty of the above-mentioned way of raising a fleet consisted probably only in the distribution of the burthen, since we find similar fellowships for the building of a ship at an early period throughout this work. Ælfred's naval constructions were probably founded on a like principle * * Like Danegeld, ship-money also long continued in use; and in both (if we do not include ecclesiastical imposts) may be sought the beginning of direct taxation in England." LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1008. vol. i. p. 160.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1008. vol. i. p. 161. The Saxon Chronicle places the events stated in the text in the year 1009.

‡ "Wlnoth, the South-Saxon knight, father of Earl Godwin." Sax. Chron. The accuser and the accused were uncle and nephew.

the fugitive. The royal fleet was employed with success for some time, when suddenly a dreadful tempest arose, by which the vessels were tossed about, and so shaken, that they were driven in upon the shore, where they had not lain for a long time, when Wlnoth pounced down upon them and burned them. No sooner was the intelligence of this disaster conveyed to the King, than he with his generals and nobility returned to their homes. The King's fleet was then brought up to London; and thus were rendered the enormous exertions of the entire people of no avail !*

“ When this naval expedition was thus ended,† then came, soon after Lammas, the formidable army of the enemy, called Thurkill's army,‡ to Sandwich; and soon they bent their march to Canterbury, which city they would quickly have stormed, had they (the citizens) not

* F. WIGORN. a. 1008. vol. i. p. 161. See *Sax. Chron.* H. HUNT. p. 360. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 438.

† *Sax Chron.* as translated by Rev. J. INGRAM, p. 183. We adopt here the translation of Mr. Ingram, not because it is a fine, but a literal translation of an ancient document, respecting the transactions it treats of; and concerning which there is the internal evidence that it must have been written a very short time after their occurrence.

‡ “ The Danish jarl, Turkill, arrived with his fleet in England; and afterwards, that is in the month of August, arrived another innumerable fleet of the Danes, commanded by Heming and Eglaf. The latter first stopped at Thanet island, and immediately afterwards combined with the fleet that had preceded it.” F. WIGORN. a. 1009. vol. i. pp. 160, 161. See H. HUNT. p. 360. S. DUNELM. pp. 166, 167. adopts the account given by Florence of Worcester; BROMTON. p. 887, the statement of Henry of Huntingdon.

rather desired peace;* and all the men of East Kent made peace with the (Danish) army, and gave them three thousand pounds for security.†

“The army (of the Danes) soon after that went about till they came to the Isle of Wight; and everywhere in Sussex, and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, they plundered and burned as their custom is.‡

“Then ordered the King to summon out all the population, that men might hold firm against them on every side; but, nevertheless, they (the Danes) marched as they pleased.

“On one occasion the King had begun his march before them (the Danes) as they proceeded to their ships, and all the people were ready to fall upon them; but the plan was then frustrated through Ealdorman Eadric, as it ever is still.§

* *Deinde ambæ Sandicum portum subeunt, et e navibus pro-silientes, civitatem Cantuariam hostiliter adeunt, eamque effringere cœperunt; a quibus mox cives Cantuarienses cum Orientalibus Cantwariis dextras petentes, &c.*” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 161.

† “*Pro firma pace dederunt.*” F. WIGORN. “*Cives pacem impetrassent.*” H. HUNT. p. 361.

‡ “*Swa heora gewuna is.*”

§ “*Swa hit gyt æfre is.*” “These expressions in the present tense, afford a strong proof that the original records of these transactions are nearly coeval with the transactions themselves.” *Note by Rev. J. Ingram to Saxon Chronicle*, p. 183. Although adopting in the text the translation given by Mr. Ingram, we cannot refrain from translating the account in Florence of Worcester of this remarkable circumstance in the reign of Ethelred:—“Upon a certain occasion, the Danes had made, for the purposes of plundering, a longer incursion into the country, and at a greater distance from the sea-coast than was usual with them; and as they were about to return laden with spoil, the King gained possession of the road by which they could alone retreat to their ships—this road was beset by him, and by several thousand soldiers, all determined, like the King himself, to die or to conquer (*morī vel vincere para-*

“ Then, after Martinmas, the Danes went back again to Kent, and chose their winter quarters on the Thames; obtaining their provisions from Essex, and from the shires that were on both sides of the Thames. And oft they fought against the city of London; but glory be to God! that it yet standeth firm;* and they ever there met with ill fare.

“ Then, after midwinter, the Danes took an excursion up through Chiltern,† and so to Oxford, which city they burned, and plundered on both sides of the Thames to their ships. Being forewarned that there was an (English) army gathered against them at London, they went over at Staines.

“ And thus were they in motion all the winter, and in spring appeared again in Kent, and repaired their ships.‡

It was during the Lent of the year 1010, that the Danes repaired their vessels, and then immediately after Easter—the 9th of April—they sailed to East Anglia, and disembarked near Ipswich; and from thence marched to a place called Ringmere, where they knew that the Ealdor-

tus). The perfidious Eadric Streona, his son-in-law (for Eadric was married to Edgitha, the King's daughter), laboured by his wily pretences, and his ambiguous speeches, to prevent the royal army from fighting, and to enable the enemy to retire unmolested. He succeeded in his plan, and, as a traitor to his country, he rescued the Danes from the hands of the English, and obtained permission for them to betake themselves in safety to their ships.”
F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 161.

* “ Ac si Gode lof thæt heo gyt gesund stent.”

† “ That is, the Chiltern Hills; from which the south-eastern part of Oxfordshire is called the Chiltern district.” *Note by Rev. J. Ingram to the Saxon Chronicle*, p. 184.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1009. INGRAM's translation, pp. 183, 184.

man Ulfkytel had taken up a position with his army.* Here a desperate battle was fought,† but the East Anglians fled from the field—a certain Dane, and officer of Ethelred's, named Turkytel, surnamed Myrenheafod, or "Mare's-head," being the first to give the example, by running away.‡ In that engagement the men of Cambridge manfully resisted the foe; and for their conduct on that day, as long as Englishmen rule and live in this land, the fame of Cambridge shall flourish in glory; for then did the men of Cambridge, with rank firmly bound in rank, battle on to the very last, defying danger and despising death.§ In that battle were slain, Æthelstan, the son-in-law of the King,|| his truly noble minister, Oswy, and his son, Wlfrie, the son of Leofwin, and Eadwy, the brother of Æfic, and many other noble officers of the King, and an immense multitude of the people.¶ The Danes were however the victors, and that in a field which was encumbered with the bodies of the dead.** By this battle they obtained the

* F. WIGORN. a. 1010. vol. i. p. 162.

† The time at which this battle was fought is fixed by the Saxon Chronicle. "This was the day called the first of the Ascension." "Die ascensionis Domini." H. HUNT. p. 361.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1010. vol. i. p. 162.

§ H. HUNT. *Hist. lib.* vi. p. 361.

|| "Gener regis." F. WIGORN. "Thæs cynges athum." *Sax. Chron.* "Sororius regis." H. HUNT.

¶ F. WIGORN. a. 1010. vol. i. p. 162.

** This, however, like their other victories, was attributable to the combined treachery and cowardice of a person of noble rank. In this instance, the traitor was Thurkytel, the Danish minister of the King, who first produced a panic amongst the East Anglians by his flight from the field. "Anglis vero cum memoria fugæ nulla adesset, Turcetil Mireneheved, id est, caput formicæ,

complete command over East Anglia; and the manner in which they made use of their power, was by procuring for themselves horses, and then for three entire months traversing every part of the country, collecting together plunder, burning villages, murdering human beings, and slaughtering cattle. All such enormities were perpetrated by them even in the fens of East Anglia,* where the churches were plundered or burned to the ground by them.† They destroyed and burned Thetford as well as Cambridge, and withdrawing from the latter place, they travelled through lovely hills, to a place named Balsham,‡ which is beautifully situated, and all the grown-up persons to be found there they put to the sword, whilst the young boys were tossed by them from one to the other upon their spear-heads. In this place there was to be found one man, whose deed is deserving of everlasting fame, for he mounted the steps of the turret of one of the churches, and there, equally defended by his position and his courage, alone defended himself from the attacks of the entire army of the enemy !§

The Danes afterwards went back southward to the

primus fugam incepit, et opprobrium meruit sempiternum." H. HUNT.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

† H. HUNT. p. 361. That which occurred in East Anglia on this occasion, was perpetually practised by the Danes, although the fact is not so distinctly referred to upon all occasions by the monkish writers. It was in consequence of this persecution, that the relics of St. Edmund, king and martyr, were removed to London, and deposited for a time in the church of St. Gregory. HARPSFIELD, ix. *sec.* p. 167.

‡ Balshem, see CAMDEN.

§ H. HUNT. *Hist. lib.* vi. p. 361.

Thames, and their horsemen rode towards the ships.* "Then went they westward into Oxfordshire, and thence to Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse till they came to Bedford, and so forth to Tomsford, always burning as they went.† Then returned they to their ships with their spoil, which they apportioned to the ships.‡

"When the King's army should have gone out to meet them as they (the Danes) went up (the country), then that army retired to their homes. And when they (the Danes) were in the east, then was the (King's) army detained in the west; and when the Danes were in the south, then was our army in the north.§

"Then all the Witan were summoned before the King, to consult how they might defend their country. But whatever was advised, it stood not a month; and at length there was not a chief that would collect an army, but each fled as he could: no shire, moreover, would stand by another.

"Before the feast day of St. Andrew (30th November), came the enemy to Northampton, and soon burned the town, and took as much spoil thereabout as they would; and then returned over the Thames into Wessex, and so by Canning's-marsh, burning all the way. When they

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1010 "Pedites navibus devecti, equites vero equis subvecti, Tamensium fluvium repetierunt." F. WIGORN.

† "Villas cremando, homines et animalia trucidando." F. WIGORN.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 185.

§ See H. HUNT. *Hist. lib. v. Prologus*, p. 347, in which there is a remarkable passage, which seems to be borrowed from this sentence in the *Saxon Chronicle*. The passage referred to will be found translated, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12 of this work.

had gone as far as they would, then came they by mid-winter to their ships.”*

In the year 1011, King Ethelred and his Witan sent to the army of the Danes, to entreat of them to grant peace to the English people, and promising on their behalf both to pay to the Danes tribute and to supply them with provisions, on condition that they abstained from plunder,† and the depopulation of the land.‡ The Danes had at this period of time overrun East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, half of Huntingdonshire, a great part of Northamptonshire; and to the South of the Thames, all Kent, Sussex, Hastings, Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, and a considerable portion of Wiltshire.§

“All these disasters befell us through bad counsels—that they (the King’s men) would not in time offer tribute nor fight with them; but when they (the Danes) had done most mischief, then entered the King’s friends into peace and amity with them. And not the less for all this peace, and amity, and tribute, the Danes went everywhere in troops, plundering and spoiling, and slaying our miserable people.”||

For a long period of time, and whilst England was in

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1010. as translated (with a few verbal alterations) by REV. J. INGRAM, pp. 185, 186. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 163. H. HUNT. p. 361.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1011. vol. i. p. 163.

§ *Sax. Chron.*

|| *Sax. Chron.* as translated by REV. J. INGRAM, p. 187. See F. WIGORN. a. 1011. vol. i. pp. 163, 164. H. HUNT. p. 361.

such a lamentable condition, it had been a constant practice with St. Elphegus, to do that which was alike difficult and dangerous,* viz., to go into the very midst of the enemy, to preach to them the words of life, to purchase the captives made by them for a stipulated price, and to feed those that were suffering from hunger. So great were the powers of a persuasive eloquence conceded to St. Elphegus by the Divine grace, that not only was he able to release the prisoners of the Danes from their bodily slavery; but even to free their captors themselves from the bonds of sin—invoking to the faith those who had been infidels, and inviting to the practice of works, worthy of the faith, those to whom he had imparted it. Already had Elphegus added an immense number to the body of true believers in England; but still no inconsiderable portion of the Pagans, from whom those numbers had been gained, continued immersed in the darkness of unbelief, and hence they hated their fellow-countrymen because they had adopted a new faith, and were excited to such animosity against him who had converted them, that they concocted a foul conspiracy against his life. The reason for their animosity was this—they were fearful that they might lose as auxiliaries in their wars those with whom they had been accustomed to act in England—that by the diminution of their associates they would possess a less aggressive power against the English, and an inferior defensive power, should they be assailed by the English. It was a grief, and to them a calamity, that the brutal pas-

* "In tanto igitur rerum discrimine, Elphegus id quod factu difficillimum erat." OSBORN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 4. § 19. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 636. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 132.

sions of human beings should be mastered by their reasoning faculties, that the practices of cruelty should be superseded by those of piety, and that the turmoil of the battle should be abandoned for the peace, repose, and tranquillity of religious contemplation. For these reasons it was, that in the same proportion as Elphegus was loved, respected, and almost worshipped by the devout portion of the population, he was despised, detested, and hated even to the death, by the multitude of infidels. The saintly Elphegus, who preferred, as long as he was performing the work of the Lord to be called a Beelzebub, rather than to be hailed as "Rabbi" by the Pharisees, never ceased to toil in the task he had commenced—in strengthening believers in their faith, in converting infidels to the faith, and to do these things with that authority which he was conscious had been conferred upon him. It was not to be supposed that he would yield to the fear of a few men on this earth, who hitherto had guided all his actions in conformity with the Divine Will, and who also had the consolation of reflecting that what he did was in conformity with the wishes of the great majority of his countrymen.*

It was in this year (1011), between the nativity of St. Mary (8th September) and of Michaelmas (29th September), that the Danes beset Canterbury.† In this siege the town was surrounded by them on all sides.‡

No sooner had the siege of Canterbury been determined

* OSBORN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 4. § 19. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. pp. 636, 637. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 132.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ "Cantuariam circumvallantes, obsederunt." F. WIGORN.

upon by the Danes, than the entire of the nobility gathered around the Archbishop, and with tears besought of him that he would depart from the city—that he would do so, if he wished to save his life—that life to each man was valuable, but that his beyond all others then in existence was the most valuable.* The Saint felt fully the pious and affectionate motives that suggested this advice, but he also considered that its adoption would be unworthy of himself, and unbecoming of the position he occupied.

“Far, far,” said he, “be from me the thought of thus “departing, or of choosing that manner of death by “which I must be separated from this life. Whilst I “think of the labours I have gone through, I also ponder “upon the rewards which God has promised. Wherefore “give you such advice to me, when you know that there “is nothing in this life which is deemed to be a joy or a “pleasure that I have not despised, and that what I have “with my whole heart desired, is that I might be deemed “worthy to be offered up as a victim to my God. Far “then be from me the thought to change what this world “regards as an ignominy, for that which it calls a glory ; “or to evade, from a base and craven fear of death, that “immortality, which God, the Author of every good, “tenders to me, as to all mankind. If, through any “means, whether they be what the world calls full of “honour, or of dishonour, immortality can be gained, “then be assured for that immortality, I will struggle “with all my strength. Under present circumstances, “there would, however, be an honour in dying to gain

* OSBORN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 4. § 21. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 637. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 133.

“immortality; for how much more worthy of praise is he
“who willingly loses his life, than he, who by baseness
“would preserve it? Who would not prefer a death
“which was to give him life for ever, than, through a
“sordid love for this life, devote himself to a never-ending
“death! We too, it must be borne in mind, have com-
“mitted no crime, for which we ought to fear the pun-
“ishment of death. Is this conduct on our part to be
“regarded as a crime?—viz.—that we have withdrawn
“the chosen few amongst the Pagans from their errors,
“and brought them to the knowledge and the worship of
“the One, true God? Blessed, in sooth, shall I be, if
“for such a cause death be inflicted upon me, when it is
“for such a death have struggled and laboured all Chris-
“tian martyrs. Or is this to be regarded and treated as
“an offence, that we have restored our captive country-
“men to the liberty they had lost, and that those whom
“we were not able to liberate, we supplied with food in
“their captivity? If, indeed, the cruelty of their rage is
“to consume me, whose lives of sins and crimes I have
“daily reprehended and inveighed against, then, I say,
“let it be so, for that I did upon the authority of Him
“who has declared that He would require at my hands
“the blood even of the impious man, if I did not announce
“to him his crime, and its inevitable punishment. If
“there be no other things than these, which a love for
“them has made me do, although they regard such as
“offences, and which therefore are things which should
“win for me their love instead of exciting against me
“their hatred—still, I say, whether they have that result, or
“the opposite, I should consider as the very last matter
“to be desired or prayed for, that I should leave the best

"and the noblest citizens of Canterbury in danger of death, and thinking only of the safety of my own life, do that which could not tend to my salvation. I ought to be regarded as the hireling, if seeing my sheep about to be devoured, I only thought of saving myself by flight. Come then what may—let them do whatever God may inspire them to do—be it good, or be it evil—they shall find me prepared to meet with fortitude whatever may befall me."

These words were heard by some men to whom all other circumstances and chances were preferable to the extinction of life, and torture of the body. These held a hurried council among themselves, and therefore departed from the city in different directions; whilst several amongst them, for the sake of conciliating the Danes, repaired to their encampments, supposing that they could be in safety amongst the enemy who could not believe themselves to be safe when guarded from the same enemy by the walls of a city! The very contrary of what they had fancied, occurred—but these are circumstances which it is loathsome to think of, much less to detail.*

As to Elphegus, he gathered around him all the poor of the city, exhorted them to take courage, to have God always before their eyes, and excepting Him, who can plunge body and soul into the pains of hell, to feel nei-

* "*Sed è contra omnia venere: sed me piget ista narrare.*" OSBORN. These words refer, we imagine, to persons who acted like Archdeacon Ælmar, the abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, and through whose treason the Danes, on the twentieth day of the siege, obtained admission into the city. See F. WIGORN. a. 1011. vol. i. p. 164. "Elfmar," says the Saxon Chronicle, "delivered the city to them, whose life Archbishop Elfiah (Elphegus) formerly saved."

ther dread nor fear. He admonished them to imitate both the humility and the patience of Christ, who, although Himself God, and when power over all things was given to Him by the Father, was not only unwilling to avenge Himself upon His enemies, but prohibited Peter, when infuriated for love of Him, from taking vengeance on His persecutors, and commanded him to sheathe the sword that was stained with the blood of Malachi. He shewed to them that there are two species of enfranchisements, which may be bestowed upon, or possessed by mankind—the one of these is a public, general, and civil enfranchisement; the other is secret, hidden, and applicable but to the individual himself; one that neither emanates from, nor is dependent upon the favour or the judgment of a human being—that the civil enfranchisement is such that any bad man may participate in it, whereas the other, which comprises a knowledge of the Divine Law, and the practice of its precepts, is, as the mightiest and greatest good, to be sought after by untiring efforts, and is too of that nature, that none but a good and virtuous man can aspire to its attainment or hope to possess it. He also proposed to them the examples of the martyrs—their constancy, their victories—the fidelity exhibited by them, not in words, but in the midst of torments, and which, through their innocence as Christians, shone forth gloriously, winning honour from the very circumstances that had been intended as a disgrace and a punishment.

By discourses like these, the saintly Elphegus strengthened the minds of his hearers to such a degree, that they were perfectly prepared to endure any torments that persecution might inflict upon them. He then gave his

episcopal benediction to them all—bestowed upon them the kiss of peace, made them participators, with himself, in the Holy Eucharist; and then he commended them, and they him to God, Who is the Protector of all.*

At length the day appeared destined to behold the first tumults of war, and then, the entire city being on every side invested by the enemy, all means of egress from Canterbury were cut off.† As to those who manned the walls, they shewed not so much bravery as they simulated a courage in resisting the attacks of the enemy. On the twentieth day of the siege, all the provisions that had been stored in the town were exhausted, and then a messenger was sent from the Archbishop to the Danish commander, to warn him that he should abandon his evil undertaking—that he should no longer subject an innocent and unoffending population to the miseries of a siege; that he should be careful how he, who was an instrument for a time of the Divinity, for the punishment of His children, abused the power that had been given to him; that he should bear in mind, that the staff with which the father struck his child, was often afterwards cast as a brand into the fire. Such was the message of Elphegus; but the East Anglian Danes—those the most eager and willing for every act of impiety‡—perceiving the distress of the besieged, urged on

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 4. § 21, 22.

† OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 5. § 23.

‡ “Sed *Angli* (nam *illi* ad impietam procliviores extiterant).” OSBERN.

Angli is the term generally used by the writers of this period of English history, to designate the Anglo Saxon race—that is, the people then inhabiting England. We feel ourselves justified, in this instance, by interpreting it as the *East Anglian Danes*;

their attacks with increased ferocity; they constructed covered ways, erected towers, dashed against the walls the battering rams, flung flaming torches, tried all the means that war has devised for the capture of a town. They succeeded. The flaming firebrands cast by them lighted on houses contiguous to the ramparts, and then the conflagration started up in its strength, to scatter its horrid blazing weapons around; and a furious south wind aided in dispersing its fury over the city. The Danes looked upon the destructive progress of the flames, as Nero admired the incendiary fires of Rome—the Christians looked upon them, as Æneas looked and wept to behold the burning palaces of Troy. At that moment there sprung up, in the hearts of the people of Canterbury, a most miserable and pitiable strife — namely — whether should they forsake the ramparts, and abandon the walls, to fly and save their homes and families; or abandoning

first because we find the leader in the persecution and martyrdom of St. Elphegus, described by William of Malmesbury as an East Anglian Dane: “ Resederat autem in Anglia Turkillus Danus, qui fuerat inceptor ut lapidaretur archiepiscopus: habebatque Orientales Anglos suæ voluntate parentes.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 176. vol. i. p. 288. Secondly, because the description here given by Osbern of the *Angli*, as “ illi ad impietatem procliviores,” completely coincides with the deeds of the Danes in East Anglia, as portrayed by Henry of Huntingdon: — “ etiam paludes * * cum Ecclesiis vel prædati sunt, vel combusserunt * * puerosque jactantes super acumina lancearum recipiebant.” *Hist.* lib. vi. p. 361.

If our interpretation be not correct—and the *Angli* here be taken to mean Englishmen—then we must suppose the term to be purposely applied to Eadric Streona and his adherents, to renegades from their faith and traitors to their country—a class of men, that have, at all times, been the worst, and most unrelenting persecutors of the pious and patriotic. See OSBERN. *Vit. S. Elpheg.* c. 1. § 15, 20. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 637.

both to destruction, devote all their exertions to the general defence of the city? Private affection overmastered all thought for the common weal—the tender thought of their children; the innate compassion in the heart of every man for his family—the hope of saving them, at least, overpowered every other sentiment. They ran, as if seized with a species of madness, from the wall—there was rashness in such daring—it shewed that they were regardless of their own lives, and yet they did not know how to die as soldiers! They snatched from the midst of the flames their wives, and their darling children, who were almost immediately afterwards to be transfixed with the swords of foes; for whilst they were engaged in extinguishing the fires that had seized upon their habitations, lo! that occurred, which is most miserable to tell; the enemy burst into the city, and at one and the same moment, the terrible piercing sound of human shrieks, and the clangour of trumpets arose together, so that in the midst of the horrid din, the very city itself seemed to be shaken from its foundation.

The circumstances that then occurred; the miserable confusion of diversified calamities that presented themselves to the view, were such as no man can describe; and that none but a person who had been a witness of their horrid atrocity could imagine. Some of the citizens were slain by the sword, some were cast living into the flames, some were flung headlong from the walls, and some were tortured in such a manner, that language has no words which can, with a due regard for decency, describe the inhumanity practised upon them.* Matrons, alike illus-

* It is a fact that the cruelty of those Pagans was so diabolical

trious by their rank and virtues, were, for the purpose of compelling them to tell where were those riches, which they had no longer in their possession, dragged through the streets by the hair, and then cast into the flames. The cruelty of the Danes, which was inflicted upon all, raged with particular fury against those in a state of infancy. Little babes were torn from the breasts of their mothers, either to be tossed upon pikes, or to have their puny bodies ground into minute particles by the wheels of heavy waggons! But all the evils were to be followed by one—and that a calamity so supremely heart-rending, that we scarcely have strength or courage to narrate it.*

The venerable archbishop, who was in the church of the Saviour, and surrounded by a crowd of weeping monks, no longer able to submit unmoved to such an awful depopulation of his flock, slipped away from those who still sought to detain him, made his escape from the church, ran to the place which he saw most filled with the bodies of the dead, and then flinging himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, he thus in a loud voice, and in sobbing accents, appealed to them:—

“ Spare, oh! spare the lives of my people, and if you
 “ be men, and admit that you are human beings, cease to
 “ persecute the innocence of infancy, as if it were a crime.
 “ This is no victory, that your triumph is wept for by

in its ingenuity, that it protects them from the infamy which otherwise must attach to them. The English tongue has not words that can, with propriety, detail their deeds. Yet there are philosophers—Christians, and Englishmen too—who think these barbarians were, as *a race of men*, superior to the Anglo Saxons!

* “ Jam vero ea quæ sequuntur mala, prædoloris magnitudine vix enarrare valeo.” OSBERN.

“ children’s tears ; and that cannot, assuredly, be a subject
“ of laudation, that in making war, you were ingenious in
“ tormenting those whom you had subdued. If you do
“ hope for glory in such victories, then here is for you the
“ life of one who is the greatest amongst the con-
“ quered, and whom heaven itself has placed as a shepherd
“ and a protector over all the others. Behold ! before
“ you and in your power—one—even I myself—who, that
“ I might increase the fold of Christ, have deprived your
“ ranks of many a valiant soldier : look upon me—it is I
“ who, with free speech and unreserved language, have
“ rebuked your crimes, and condemned your impiety—here
“ then am I, who, when your captives were condemned
“ to incarceration in loathsome dungeons, have nourished
“ them, have fed them, and have liberated them. If the
“ perpetration of crime, for the mere gratuitous pleasure
“ of being wicked, be a satisfaction to you, then let your
“ rage satiate itself upon me, who have most offended you,
“ when you had most abandoned yourselves to every
“ species of sin.

The dauntless champion of the faith was immediately laid hold of by unnumbered hands of the barbarians. He was grappled by the throat so as to prevent his voice being heard ; his hands were bound by chains, and his cheeks were torn by nails. Whilst such torments as these were inflicted upon him, the servant of God was like to one born dumb—not even one word was given utterance to by him as expressive of his grief ; but, strengthened with the consolation of a sanctified spirit, all he was observed to do was to move his lips, as if communing with his God in prayer. Thus it was that he was dragged, rather than led, by the hands of impious men before the porch of the

church, and there commanded to be the witness of a new iniquity, so that before his own death he should see death in all its terrors, or, rather, that there should be no kind of death in which he should not be a participator, either as it was endured in the person of others, or as he should experience it in his own body.

Those children of the devil then proceeded to the temple of the Son of the Almighty God, and there set fire to pitched barrels,* with the intention of thus burning down the roof of the church. The lead, melted by the fire, soon began to pour down in burning liquid showers into the church, and then the holy multitude of monks, covering their heads with their robes, and their faces bedewed with tears, emerged from their church, and as they did so, placed their entire, thorough, and complete confidence in God—ready and prepared to give up for their Saviour, that existence which He had deigned to yield for the salvation of mankind. Before them stood the grim executioners—prepared to meet their defenceless breasts with the sword—to thin their numbers by a merciless and miserable massacre!

What then, we may ask, must have passed in the mind of the Archbishop!—what must have been his feelings, when he saw that church, the mother of all the rest in the kingdom, sink down in fire, and disappear in ashes; when he beheld the numerous troops of its sons, perish by hundreds, and by deaths of a hundred diversified forms, and that he himself was cramped by chains, smarting with

* “Cuppas.” OSBERN. “*Cupas tæda ac pice refertas.*” CÆSAR. *Bell. Civil.* lib. ii. c. 10.

wounds, steeped in opprobrium, and utterly deprived of all consolation !

For the general loss of this land it was sufficient, either that such wrong should be done to the Archbishop, or that there should be the utter destruction of such a city as Canterbury ; but once that England was deprived of two such glorious possessions, the hope even could not be entertained, that it could possibly be re-established in its former condition. Whatever may have been the wise disposition of Providence in permitting such events, this at least we are certain of, that the occurrence of both tended to increase the renown, and add to the glory of the excellent Archbishop in his martyrdom—so that by the one martyrdom, he should grieve as a father grieves for the loss of his children, and that by the other, he should pass through the pangs of a bitter death.

Of the entire number of persons that were in the city of Canterbury on the day of its downfall, and that amounted to eight thousand, there were left living but four individuals of the monastic profession,* and as we have heard, but eight hundred of persons in an inferior rank of life, and even these were, as a matter of grace, excepted

* In Florence of Worcester there are mentioned the names of four persons, "monasticæ professionis ;" Godwin, Bishop of Rochester, Leofruna, Abbess of the monastery of St. Mildrytha, in the Isle of Thanet, Ælfred, the King's Prior, and Ælmar, Abbot of St. Augustines. The last was the traitor through whose connivance the Danes gained admission into Canterbury, and of him only is it said, that he obtained permission to depart—"abire permittitur." F. WIGORN. a. 1011. vol. i. p. 164. As to Godwin, bishop of Rochester, see ERNULFUS, *de Reb. Roffens*, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 332.

by the decimation of the population,* and then their flesh torn by bitter stripes, or reserved by the Danes as individuals whose freedom might be purchased, or to be carried off by them for the purpose of being employed in servile works. As to the few monks, we believe they were solely spared by the Danes, in order that at no period of time should there be wanting those who might proclaim the sanguinary victory they had gained; but God, who knoweth how to turn to a good purpose even the evil designs of men, provided by this means, that what infidels intended to be but as a testimony of their ferocity, should be converted into an instrument of edification to all future ages.

Up to this point we have given expression to our grief for the destruction of a great city; but now, we must prepare to shed our tears for the piteous death of a sanctified man.

Now had the population been slain; now had Canterbury been destroyed by fire; and now had Christ's holy temple been violated, ransacked, spoliated, when the Saint was dragged forth fettered in every limb, and presented as a victim to be slaughtered by the brutal hands of an infuriated mob. Thus was he pulled by those who went before, and pushed by those who came behind, until he reached the northern gate of the city, and there were to be found those, whom we have before alluded to, as the only persons to whom, out of the entire city, life

* "Grege monachilis et turba virilis, *sed muliebris nec infantilis*, decimatur, novem trucidantur, decimus vitæ reservatur. Quatuor monachis et d.ccc. viris decimatorum summa perficitur." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 164.

had been spared, and who were now clustered there together under a military guard, and their feet fettered by stocks.

These persons no sooner beheld the Archbishop, and witnessed the manner in which his persecutors were treating him, than in their indignation they raised their hands to heaven, and with a loud groan, exclaimed—"How is it possible that God can in patience permit such an enormity?" All these poor captives saw their bishop, and all with loud groans and bitter tears lamented his condition.

The great priest, Elphegus, stopped as he beheld them, with the intention of cheering their broken hearts, by addressing a few words to them, when suddenly a frightful wound between the top of the shoulders was inflicted upon him, by those who were urging him on from behind. So dreadful was the wound, that the shoulders seemed to be split asunder, and in a moment his whole body was covered with a torrent of blood. The chained prisoners were horror-stricken at this sight—even the Danes themselves were horrified at it; and there was no one individual, who had a single particle of humanity in his heart, who did not shudder at the perpetration of such a crime. As to Elphegus, all he did was to pray—to raise his eyes to heaven, and thus to encourage all others who saw him to fix their minds and thoughts alone on Him, Who stands above heaven itself.

In this manner was the victim of Christ dragged from Canterbury on board the fleet, and from the fleet to a prison, and from the prison to an iniquitous judgment.

St. Elphegus was placed in prison, if prison that could be called, which complete darkness rendered horrible,

that narrow and confined walls made a place of torture, and that the slime and croaking of frogs converted into a foul, noisome, and even disgusting cell. In such a place was the man of God for the space of seven long months guarded by twelve soldiers—the Danes supposing that he would despoil his church of its patrimony, and bestow it upon them as the price of his liberation. No such thoughts, however, entered into the mind of Elphegus, for to him life itself was a wearisome burden, which he would gladly throw off, that he might enjoy the presence of his Creator. Hence all things were borne by him in patience—the sufferings of the Saviour were there, to the utmost of his ability, duly meditated upon by him, and all that he said, did, or endured, emanated from the sincere and tender feelings of a contrite heart.

Meanwhile, the wrath of an Almighty God began so to rage against a homicidal people, that in a short space of time two thousand of them were stricken with death—that death being induced by the most dire pains of the intestines, and the remaining portion of the multitude similarly afflicted, expected a like termination to their sufferings. They were admonished, however, by the Christians, that they were bound to acknowledge not only that they had sinned greatly against Christ, against His Church, and His people; but that they should openly proclaim they had done so, with tears repent of what they had perpetrated, and for all their other offences tender a due and sufficient satisfaction to the Archbishop. Such advice as this the Pagans would not listen to, or rather they deferred until another time attending to it; because they were impressed with the notion that the calamity that had befallen them was less to be ascribed to the will of God,

than to an accidental misfortune. But whilst they still doubted upon this point, a dire pestilence swept away all those who had determined upon the death of the Archbishop, so that at one moment ten, at another twenty, and at another a vast number more, were seized with an agonizing intestinal disease, which wasted them away with its furious tortures, and impressed the living with an apprehension that they might be overtaken with that terrible, violent, and sudden death, which carried off their companions.

A convocation of the Danes was under such circumstances suddenly called, and readily attended by all. From the council they ran to the Archbishop, and in his presence, and with tears, even though these were unwillingly shed, they deplored the sin of which they had been guilty, and besought of him to make supplication to the King of heaven for its forgiveness.

The day on which this circumstance occurred, was that solemn day of reconciliation for mankind, on which the Saviour commended to His disciples, the most holy Mystery of His Body and Blood. Then he, who but a short time previously had been afflicted by the perverse malignity of his torturers, was now by the hands of those persecutors carried with every mark of honour, in presence of the public, and then being placed upon a moveable throne, he gave utterance to the following words:—

“Although your incessant cruelty had afforded to me
“neither the means nor the opportunity of bestowing upon
“you my pardon; still it belongs to my office, not to consider what it is you ought to suffer, but what is in my
“power to do for your good. We have in the events of

“this day,* the mighty examples afforded to us by our
“Lord and Saviour, as to what is our duty; for on this
“day, the church celebrates what the Saviour of mankind
“did, when He condescended to wash the feet of His
“disciples, when He did not omit doing so, even for him,
“who He foresaw would betray Him, but even with His
“most sanctified hands presented to that traitor the Holy
“Bread of life. And even when His enemies laid their
“hands upon Him to arrest Him, He, who first struck to
“the earth, by the mere power of His word, all the mi-
“nisters of Pharisaical impiety, instantly afterwards
“raised them up again, through the tenderness of His
“compassion. In these, as in all other actions of the
“Saviour, we shall find, the more diligently that we con-
“sider them, that He was always more desirous to bestow
“upon mankind the blessings of His clemency, than to
“overtake their evil deeds by a fitting and condign pun-
“ishment. What more remarkable instance of His bene-
“ficence can there be than this—that those who obstinately
“resist His heavenly commands are permitted—patiently
“permitted by Him, who from Heaven looks down upon
“them—to live: nay, not merely to live, but to abound in
“all the enjoyments this world can bestow—to breathe a
“balmy air, to behold their lands bearing fruitful crops,
“to be blessed with children, to have crowds of friends,
“to possess a store of wealth, and to win victories over
“their foes? Hence it happens, that even you—men in
“appearance, but living as if you were beasts—even you
“experience His compassion and His patience; for long

* That is, Holy Thursday, the 10th of April, 1012. Easter Sunday, in this year was the 13th of April. See HENSCHENIUS, *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 640, note c.

“since must you have fallen beneath the sword of His
 “wrath, if He willed not your repentance rather than your
 “death. That of which, beyond all other things, I am
 “most desirous, is to be a devout imitator of the example
 “He has given, and therefore am I now forgetful of the
 “burning down of a city, forgetful of the massacre of
 “innocent beings, forgetful of the wrongs done to myself
 “and of your impiety, and as He prayed to His Father to
 “forgive those who crucified Him, so shall I pray to Him
 “to have mercy upon, and to spare my torturers. Bring,
 “therefore, bread to me—soon afterwards to be made the
 “saving bread of life for you ; and through its means re-
 “freshed, and by it obtaining the blessing of full salvation,
 “either return solemn thanks to your Saviour, or remain
 “still more accursed blasphemers than ever.”*

As soon as the Archbishop had concluded his address to the Danes, he invoked with prayer, Christ, the Creator of the world—he then gave to all, bread blessed by himself, and freed them from the deadly pestilence with which they had been stricken. Although they had been thus relieved, and thus comforted by the pious prelate, they still persisted in the project which they had originally entertained. The holy sabbath and day of rest was waited for by them, in order that the health of the army might be perfectly restored—and during the intervening three days it was observed, that not a single person out of the entire multitude died of the plague. At the end of that

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 5. § 23—27.—
 “Afferte ergo panem, statim vobis reddendum salutarem ; quatenus ex hoc refecti, et cupitæ salutis beneficium adepti, aut solennes Salvatoris gratias reddatis, aut sceleratiores blasphemæ remaneatis.”

time, four leaders of the troops were sent to the Archbishop. They first returned thanks for the benefit he had conferred upon them, and then proposed to him the conditions on which his restoration to liberty might be obtained. They told him that if he wished to save his life, and to regain his freedom, he should pay to them sixty talents in silver—each talent being of the weight of fifty pounds. Besides this, he should promise to persuade the King, that since it was impossible for the English to win the favour of the Danes, without bestowing upon them a large sum of money, his majesty should bestow upon them two hundred talents of the weight previously specified, and that having done so, a firm and lasting treaty of peace might be established between the two nations.

Upon the announcement of such terms, the Archbishop is reported to have used these words :—

“A proposal cannot be considered as legitimate and proper which asks for that which with justice can be denied to him who requires it. That can be justly denied, which, consistently with reason, cannot be granted. It may with reason be said, that a man has not that which fire has destroyed, or a robber has taken from him. Now, if, for the purpose of gratifying that cupidity which is the dominating passion in your hearts, you suppose either that I will aid in the spoliation of ecclesiastical property, or that I will persuade my King to do anything which it would be dishonourable for him as a sovereign to do, you grossly deceive yourselves. It is not the duty of a man who is a Christian to give the flesh of Christians to be torn by the teeth of Pagans. This I do for you—I give up to you this body, which poverty has macerated—tear and destroy it as you list.”

Upon hearing this answer, some of those, who were on terms of greater familiarity with the Archbishop than the rest, approached him, and entreated of him to use milder language—to affix his seal to a document which might be sent about, and used for the spoliation of whatever wealth the churches might still retain, in order that the price of his liberation might be obtained. But Elphegus, who had ever been a father to the poor, and an indomitable defender of his country,* became indignant that such unbecoming proposals should be made to him, and he embodied his feelings in these expressions :—

“ If you could persuade me to be guilty of such a flagitious crime as you now propose to me, what greater or more flagrant enormity could you afterwards suggest to me, and not hope to find me willing to perform? Better to die in a virtuous cause, than to buy life by such a base expedient. What, I ask, could be more unworthy of the name and the reputation of Elphegus, than that at the close of his life he should prove himself to be cruel, who was supposed to be adorned, even from his most tender years, with the virtues of meekness, mercy, charity, and compassion? Or, how could I hope for mercy from a most just God—the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked—if those good works done by the faithful for the church, were through my means, and for my selfish purposes, utterly destroyed? Is it to be supposed that the spirit and the laudable motives of St. Laurence the Martyr have departed from this earth—that spirit and those motives which induced

* “ At ille, qui semper erat pater pauperum, et invictus patrie defensor.” OSBERN.

“ him to hide the treasures of the church lest persecutors
“ should lay violent hands upon them? And wherefore
“ were such treasures prized—but because they might be
“ distributed constantly and abundantly amongst the poor?
“ If, then, he diligently concealed the treasures that he
“ had received—shall I, as basely, as cruelly, seek after
“ treasures that I never have received, in order that I may
“ still more basely, and far more cruelly, squander them?
“ And if he gave to the necessitous that which they had
“ not, shall I take from them the little that they have?
“ Is the man who takes from the poor that which is their
“ own, to be supposed as acting more mercifully and bene-
“ volently towards them than he who will not aid them by
“ bestowing upon them any relief from his private pro-
“ perty? See, then, what impiety there is in the words
“ you have spoken, when you supposed that you were not
“ saying any thing but what might, with propriety, be
“ addressed to me.”

Such were the words that St. Elphegus spoke, and other words than these he would not speak.

As soon as it became known in the Danish encampment what had been the reply given by St. Elphegus to the requests made of him, then all the poison of the pent-up hatred against him burst forth; a shout of execration arose; men gnashed their teeth in rage; and the thoughts of the malignant were at once engaged in devising by what means they might satiate their rage upon him. The hunger that they had made him suffer, the chains with which they had oppressed him, the foul cell in which they had confined him, the military guard that had acted as spies over all his actions, had not in the slightest degree abated his spirit, nor shaken his firmness: and there-

fore, they determined upon forging new and heavier fetters for him, and increasing by new tortures all his previous afflictions. Such was the deplorable state to which they reduced St. Elphegus—his sufferings were, in consequence, such as would wring tears of pity from dumb animals, and might move to compassion even stocks and stones. It was upon that very day on which all nature has reason to rejoice, on account of the resurrection of the Saviour of mankind, that the person of St. Elphegus was outraged with unheard-of tortures, by the hands of unrelenting executioners. But he, because of the hope that he had in the Lord, was as much delighted with all the evils that were done to him, as if he were the favoured guest at a rich banquet.*

At the time that Elphegus endured a terrible agony in the close confinement of his cell, Satan appeared before him, and assuming the semblance of an angel of light, falsely declared that he had been sent from God to conduct the archbishop out of his horrid prison†—that he should entertain no doubt that he ought to do so, nor be apprehensive that he could be accused, by his flight, of yielding to an unworthy fear, for he was not more exalted in dignity than St. Peter, nor more brave than St. Paul, who escaped from their enemies; the latter by being concealed in a basket, and the former by being conducted through his prison gates by an angel—that for the course

* OSBERN. *Vit. S. Elpheg.* c. 6. §. 28, 29, 30. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. i. p. 640.

† BROMTON. *Chron.* p. 889. The passage here inserted is an abstract from Osbern, and is adopted on account of its brevity. The statement made in it will be found in OSBERN. c. 6. § 31, 32, 33. pp. 640. 641. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 138, 139, 140.

proposed to him, he had the ever-to-be-venerated example of Christ, who departed from the Temple, to avoid the hands of those who would have cast stones at Him—that there was thus the sanction of the gospel, which should be regarded as a command to him to fly from the hands of his enemies.

St. Elphegus, moved by these examples, and touched by these exhortations, did leave his prison—followed the footsteps of his seducer through the darkness of night, and by many dangerous paths, until at last, when he arrived at a place where he stood most in need of the assistance and advice of a guide, the Tempter vanished from his view! This circumstance recalled the saint to his recollection; and then he gave utterance to these words:—“ Oh! God, thou aid of Christians in every tribulation, “ be thou my consoler in my grief, and my Guide in the “ darkness of this night, and in the perils that beset my “ path.”

An angel of God, on the instant, stood by his side, and thus addressed him :—“ Return, oh! holy man, to that “ place where heaven has destined thee to receive thy “ crown. Know that, in the course of the coming day, “ God will honour thee with great glory in heaven; and “ that thou shalt be with His only begotten Son for all “ eternity.”

Elphegus was then led back by the angel; but as soon as he approached his prison, he was surrounded by a number of his executioners, who inflicted stripes and wounds upon him, and then cast him into the foul dungeon, the mere noisomeness of which was a dire torture to endure.

Upon the dawn of the day of Saturday, in Easter week,

there appeared to Elphegus St. Dunstan, the former archbishop of Canterbury; and with him many other saints, singing a hymn of joy.

St. Dunstan thus addressed Elphegus:—"Invincible
"soldier of the eternal King, willingly now receive the
"remaining portion of thy passion; for well dost thou
"know, that the fleeting torments of a transitory world are
"not to be compared to that glory which an hereafter will
"reveal to thee. One day, and that the present, shall be
"a day of punishment; but thenceforth and never-ending
"shall be its reward."*

Whilst these words were pronouncing, the bonds that fettered the limbs of Elphegus were unloosed, the gaping flesh of his many wounds closed, all the infirmities of his bruised body dissipated, and he stood restored to perfect health. His voice was uplifted in a joyous chaunt with the songsters of heaven, and he paced his cell firmly, exulting with those who exulted for his coming victory.†

The guards, terrified at the tremendous circumstances that were thus occurring within their own immediate cognizance, announced to those who were in a distant part of the encampment, that the very place which had formerly seemed doomed to be an abode of horror and of despair, was now converted into an abode in which the Gods themselves seemed to take an especial delight.‡ Upon hearing this intelligence, the Danish soldiers ran in

* BROMTON. *Chron.* pp. 889, 890. See OSBERN. c. 6. § 31, 32, 33. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 138, 139, 140.

† OSBERN. *Vit. S. Elpheg.* c. 6. § 33. *Act. Sanct.* (April), p. 641. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 140.

‡ OSBERN. *Vit. S. Elpheg.* c. 7. § 34. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 641. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. 140.

crowds to the prison—they leant against the walls of the prison, to try if they could perceive that power of the Almighty which they were told was then present; but on the instant they were driven back, as if each had been struck with a sudden shock that thrilled through him. At the same moment, the leaders of the army were told that their associates were deserting them by troops, and running, as if in rivalry of each other, to the man of God. On the instant those leaders pronounced sentence of death upon him, for they were fearful that if they permitted him to live much longer, those on whose arms they relied would abandon them; and greater injury would be inflicted upon them by the archbishop, than they had ever suffered in battle from their wars with foreign nations.

A large band of armed men was sent for Elphegus. By these soldiers he was conducted from a horrible prison to a terrible death; from an abode of filth to the judgment-seat of vain glory. As his persecutors were aware that his legs had become paralysed, from the long and wearisome confinement to which he had been subjected, they, for the double purpose of hastening the period when they might exercise their cruelty upon him, as well as of exhibiting him as a mark for scorn, placed him upon a pack-horse, and thus led him to the synagogue of Satan. As soon as he was thus seen, a loud lamentation arose amongst the Christians—and they followed the animal on which the prelate was borne, with tears and sighs. Thus was Elphegus in the midst of the encampment—a spectacle to men and angels—and being so, he begged of the Christians, that they would not, by their sorrow, so affect his feelings, that in the contest in which he was engaged

against the dark Prince of this world, he might not afford to their common adversary any advantage over him; but that they, on the contrary, would aid him to the utmost of their abilities by their prayers. In reading this account of Elphegus, there will probably be suggested to the mind of the reader, the description of the Son of God, as He is portrayed seated on an ass, or as bearing the cross on his shoulders, with the holy women weeping for Him, the Pharisees insulting, and the soldiers crucifying Him.*

Elphegus thus proceeded until he came within an arrow's flight of the Danish council, when with a loud roar all its members thus saluted him. "Give us gold, Bishop, "or you shall this day be made a spectacle to the world."

The archbishop, received with sufficient reverence by them, and overpowered at first by extreme lassitude, was silent; but as soon as he had recovered his breath, and could respire freely, he thus answered them:—

"Gold, indeed, I do propose to give you; but it is the "gold of the divine wisdom—it is, that abandoning the "vanity that you love, you turn all your thoughts and desires "to the One, Living, and True God. But if this counsel "of God, which through me is now announced to you, be "obstinately rejected, and perversely despised by you, "then I tell you, that the death by which you shall "perish, shall be worse than that of Sodom, and that you "never shall have a permanent abode in this country."

Then did these fitting ministers of the devil, animated

* "Jam tibi in mentem veniret Filius Dei, aut vili asello residens, aut crucem humeris ferens; plangentium mulierum miserandæ lacrymæ, insultantes Pharisei, et milites crucifigentes." OSBORN.

with an infernal spirit, foam with rage—they were no longer able to bear the weight of his words; and hence, bounding up from their seats, they sprung upon him as the fierce lion springs upon its prey, and striking him with the backs of their battle-axes, they dashed him to the earth, whilst crowds followed crowds to bury him beneath a mass of stones.* Elphegus felt that the moment was fast approaching when life must be parted with, and then, calling to mind that Christ our Lord, whilst hanging upon the cross, had prayed to his Father for a persecuting nation, he knelt with his right knee on the earth, and steadying himself as well as he could, by fixing his left foot firmly upon the earth, he thus prayed aloud for himself and for those who were at that moment persecuting him:—

“ Oh! Lord Jesus! only begotten Son of the Most High Father, Thou who from the womb of a stainless Virgin camest into the world to bring salvation to sinners, receive me in peace, and have mercy on these men.”

With these words Elphegus fell prostrate to the earth, but again he struggled to rise—succeeded in doing so, and said:—

“ Good shepherd!—only shepherd!—dying I commend to thee the children of the church—protect them—”

As he said these words, a certain man,† whom he himself had received from the sacred font of baptism, per-

* “*Hovedenus, Wigorniensis, Dunelmensis et Gervasius, lapidus ossibus, bovinis capitibus obruunt.*” *Bromton et Dicetus lapidibus et ossibus bovinis obruunt.*” HENSCHENIUS. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 643, note *a*.

† “*Westmonasteriensis Danus quidam, Thrum nomine.*” HENSCHENIUS. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 643, note *b*.

ceiving that the archbishop was struggling too long in his mortal agony,* and moved by an impious pity for his sufferings, ran up to him, and buried his battle-axe in the brain of St Elphegus; and, on the instant, the Saint rested in eternal peace, and his victorious spirit sprang up in triumph to heaven!

Excepting those who were the leading members of the first flock of the Lord, what person, we may ask, lived more innocently or died more meekly than Elphegus? Or, amongst all the saints, we may enquire, what saints were there more like in their merits than this champion of heaven and the protomartyr Stephen? unless that the one could perform and complete all the mysteries of religion, whilst the latter could but participate in them. Both, however, were like in this—in their knowledge of the proper mode of dispensing the revenues of the church—both like, in their urgent and vehement rebuke of the wicked—similar to each other in the mode of their being put to death, and equal to one another in love for their enemies. Behold! then, these stones of the sanctuary, once trodden upon by the foot of every passer-by, now conjoined with that supreme corner-stone, Christ, and made by Him, although coming from opposite directions, one and the same in Himself—in love, in will, in beatitude, and in eternity!

The leaders of the Danes, anxious to cover their own foul deed in darkness, and the glory of Elphegus in obscu-

* “Danus quidem, Thrum nomine, cum videret sanctum Archiepiscopum tantis affligi tormentis et *quasi mori non posse*.” R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 440. The words marked in italics in this extract, denote the awful agony to which St. Elphegus was exposed in his martyrdom.

rity, assembled together, and came to the resolution, that his body should be committed to the waters of the river, as they supposed such to be the most certain means that could be adopted for destroying all recollection of the archbishop, and with it the remembrance of the enormous crime of which they had been guilty. The means proposed by the Danes, as an insult to the memory of Elfhægus, were prepared by our Lord for his glorification; for the instant it was promulgated, an immense number of persons, who through his instructions had abjured the errors of Paganism, at once armed themselves, and in a body declared to their leaders, that they preferred dying with their martyred father, than seeing the remains of him, through whose exertions the mystery of sanctification had been bestowed upon them, swallowed up in the darkness of a deep river. Thus, that pure and sacred body, which was, while the spirit of a holy life animated it, to be found in a multitude of good works, was preserved by the contention of two different descriptions of persons, and was neither consigned to burial in the earth, nor submerged in water.

As the sun was fast setting beneath the horizon, chosen men belonging to the adverse parties met together, and agreed that such a dispute as this could alone be satisfactorily arranged by means peculiar to itself. The result of their agreement was, that all should in common demand of the saint, that what was then the subject of a doubt, he should remove all cavil about by an exhibition of his power and virtue. When the question was comprehended in these terms, the hostile Danes said it was their right to select the mode of proof:—"Let," said they, "this branch of an ash tree, long-since cut off from its parent-trunk,

“and now denuded of sap and bark, be smeared with his blood, and if in the morning it be found green and blooming, then it will demonstrate that a just and holy man has been slain by us, and it will be your right to bury him with whatsoever honours you choose to exhibit for his memory. But if this wood shall retain its present aridity, then we shall be justified in affirming, that you are wrongfully attached to him, and it will be for us to dispose of the dead body as we wish.” These conditions were approved of by all, and the result shewed that they were conditions calculated to demonstrate to all mankind that Elphegus still lived; for, contrary to all the laws of nature, the dry wood in the course of a single night became a leafy branch, and that which the Danes at a late hour in the evening had thrust into the earth a sapless thing, was found in the following morning to be rooted to the soil, and flourishing in the full vigour of vegetable life.

Here then was a proof which the obstinacy of ignorance could not contradict—the Danes beheld it, and they ran in eager crowds to embrace the deceased, to kiss his remains over and over again, to bow down their heads before his body, and to fill the encampment with their sighs and their groans. The heavenly pearl was uplifted from the earth—the body of the victim was borne upon the shoulders of his appalled and trembling foes, and it was carried to that growing tree which was now the remarkable trophy of his triumph—and being placed there, the power of the Almighty God was shewn in the exhibition of numberless signs and prodigies; for there the sick were restored to health, sight was diffused over the darkened orbs of the blind, sound was poured into the ears of the deaf, utterance

unloosed the tongues of the mute, and motion animated the crippled limbs of the lame. In that spot a house was constructed over the body of Elphegus—it was a house of prayer, and there even great men amongst the Danes were regenerated in the waters of baptism, and received into the bosom of our holy mother, the Church.

When the report reached London of the cruel crime that had been perpetrated, and at the same time that the miracles performed by the martyr had filled the mouths of all with his praise, hostages were delivered, and an embassy sent to the Danes, whose ferocity was somewhat abated by the spread of the new religion amongst them. The object of this embassy was, by the delivery of a sum of money, and in consideration of performing other conditions, that the people of London should become the possessors of the remains of St. Elphegus. The Danes reluctantly assented to this request. The Londoners obtained a treasure more precious than gold, and it was borne to the gates of the city by an escort of not less than twelve thousand Danes and English, who all united in deploring with bitter tears the base deed that had been committed. In London itself, the martyr's relics were received with joy by the entire body of the citizens: they were borne to the church of "the Apostle of Nations" (St. Paul's): there they were placed, and there they were honoured. In that church, those relics for several years* shone with the glory of many miracles, and when a period of peace was restored to England, and the mighty Canute reigned as King,† they were raised from the earth, and

* For ten years—"decurso decem annorum spatio." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 440.

† "In the year 1017, Canute obtained the sovereignty over all

the body was found free from every mark of decay. It was then carried to the church of which he had been the patriarch, that living he had always loved with a most tender affection, that he had strengthened with his virtues, and for the sake of which he had died.

As to the Danes, whoever amongst them had witnessed the wondrous miracle of the growing branch, and still refused to be converted to the true Catholic faith, he was punished with some terrible affliction, and died a dreadful death. Of such it might be told how many were torn with a demoniac madness, how many eaten away by cancerous ulcers, how many drowned in the sea, how many died by their own hands! That, however, which is particularly wonderful in all these circumstances is, that if any one amongst those unbelieving Danes unjustly retained a particle of the vestments of St. Elphegus, affrighted by nightly visions, he was, despite of himself, compelled to surrender it, and, in the act of restoring it, expired. Oh! faithful testimony of the truth—and one destined to prove the merits of this saint—viz., that whilst honour was paid to his remains, all those who believed and were sick, were cured, and all infidels who were in health, were afflicted with the most frightful diseases. These facts we might state fully, if we did not fear to weary our readers.*

But commending ourselves to the Omnipotent God, by

England, and was consecrated at London, by Living, Archbishop of Canterbury." HENSCHENIUS, *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 643, note c.

* "Hæc inquam, dicere possem, si lectoribus meis fastidio esse non timerem." OSBERN.

whom those miracles alone were worked, we pause in our narrative to turn our thoughts to prayer :—

“ Oh, Elphegus! great soldier of the Great King, thou who hast laved thy stole in the blood of the Lamb of God; and who givest ear to the prayers of those who call upon thee, and who honourest them with thy holy passion, now aid them by thy pious intercession. Strong with the Divine help, thou hast conquered the Prince of Death—now strengthen us against him, and aid us that we may conquer him. Thou who hast pitied those who did stone thee, now pity those who supplicate thee; and let not the rage of those who hated thee, be of more avail than the devotion of those who love thee. Let not the gates of death and of hell be closed upon thy servants; but for them open the gates of Paradise, through that power which has been given to thee by the Saviour, who with the eternal Father, and the co-eternal Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, the One, Sole, and True God, for numberless ages of ages, Amen !”*

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. Arch. Cantuar. c. 4, 5, 6, 7. § 21—38. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. pp. 639, 640, 641, 642. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 133 to 142. See J. SARISBURIENSIS, Vit. Anselm, pars ii. p. 162. R. DICET, de *Arch. Cantuar.* p. 683. vol. i. pp. 5, 54, 84, 86, 87, 105, 223, 226, 799. “Corpus ejus etiam recentis cruoris præferens vestigia labem putredinis *ad hunc diem* ignoverit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. i. p. 203. “Usque *in præsens tempus* recens durat sanguis, et corporis integritas illibata.” ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 440. The fact of St. Elphegus's body remaining so many years free from decay, is repeated by Malmsbury in his *History of the English Kings*, Lib. ii. § 165, vol. i. p. 265; and in the same work he mentions, that Turkill, the inciter of this persecution against St. Elphegus, was put to death in Denmark, Lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p.

In the year 1012,* the perfidious Ealdorman Eadric, and all the leaders of the English of every class and dignity, assembled together in London, before the festival of Easter, and there they remained with the King until a tribute of forty-eight thousand pounds was paid to the Danes, and an agreement was entered into to the effect that all the Danes who were then in England should be permitted, wheresoever they were, to take up their abode—to be there at peace, and there should be between both nations but one mind and one heart. In accordance with this convention, hostages were given on both sides, and the treaty was ratified with oaths. Swein, the King of Denmark, then returned to his own dominions, and the rage of persecution ceased for a time.†

The great Danish fleet, which had formerly been congregated together, was scattered and dispersed over the world. Forty-five owners of ships with their crews gave in

305. For further particulars respecting St. Elphegus, see *Sax. Chron.* 1012. F. WIGORN. a. 1011, 1012. vol. i. pp. 164, 165. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1011, 1012. pp. 39, 40 (Giles). H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 361. R. HOVEDEN. pp. 431, 432. INGULPHUS. p. 57. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 154. *Annal. Burton.* p. 246. (Gale). S. DUNELM. pp. 161, 168, 169. R. DICKT. *Abb. Chron.* pp. 462, 464, 465, 468. BROMTON. pp. 877, 886, 889, 890, 891, 909. GERVAS. *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* pp. 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651. *Evident. Eccl. Cantuar.* p. 2223. KNYGHTON. p. 2315. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 458. § 3, 5; p. 452. § 2. BARONIUS. vol. xvi. pp. 476, 477, 478. § 11, 12, 13. *Chron. Ditmar.* Episc. Mersburg. a. 1012. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 134. HARPSFIELD. xi. Sæc. c. 8, 9. pp. 229, 230, 231. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv. pp. 488, 489, 490. *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i. pp. 233—239. SMITH. *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. vi. c. 27. p. 364. SURIUS. vol. ii. pp. 667—672.

* *Sax. Chron.*

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 440, 441.

their adhesion to King Ethelred, took an oath of fealty to him, and bound themselves, on condition of their being supplied with food and clothing, to defend England against its foreign enemies.*

In the year 1013,† that is the year after Elphegus had been martyred, the King appointed Leving‡ to be Archbishop of Canterbury.§

At this time resided in England a Dane named Turkill, who had been the inciter to his countrymen to be guilty of the martyrdom of Archbishop Elphegus; and he then had the entire of the East Angles subjected to his sway.|| This Turkill then sent to the king of his country, Swein, messengers to represent to him that he ought to come to England, that it was a glorious and a rich country, but ruled by a king who slept upon his throne—that Ethelred was a man who was more engaged in the indulgence of his passions, and the pleasures of the table, than with the cares of state or the perils of war, and that therefore he had become odious to his own subjects and con-

* F. WIGORN. a. 1012. vol. i. p. 166. See *Sax. Chron.* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 176, affirms that only eight thousand pounds was paid as tribute, and not more than fifteen ships took service with King Ethelred. See H. HUNT. p. 361.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ “Lyfing, formerly called Æthelstan, was translated from Wells to Canterbury in the year 1013; he died 12th June, 1020.” HARDY, note to W. Malmsbury, *Gest. Reg. Ang.* vol. i. p. 288. (E. H. S.)

§ *Sax Chron.* See *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 7, in MASERE’s *Historiæ Anglicanæ Selecta Monumenta* (London, 1807).

|| W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 176. vol. i. p. 288.

temptible to foreigners—that the nobility of the land were at enmity with each other; and the armed force in the provinces so weak, that at the first sound of the trumpet they would fly from the field of battle.

Swein was ever ready to shed blood, and required no great incitement to perpetrate deeds of cruelty. Ships were at once got ready by him—the voyage speedily accomplished by him, and the port of Sandwich reached by him.* It was in the month of July that Swein entered the port of Sandwich, in command of an immense fleet.† He made there a delay of a few days, and then sailing round East Anglia, he entered the mouth of the river Humber, and then up the Trent, and then reached Gainsborough, where he placed an encampment. No sooner had he done so, than the Earl Uhtred and the Northumbrians, the chief men of the Lindissians, and then the Five Burghers,‡ and soon after the entire of the inhabit-

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 176, 177. vol. i. p. 289. The author then introduces the assassination of Gunhildis as occurring at this time, and of which event an account is given in pp. 116, 117 in this volume, as having happened at an earlier period. We cannot but believe that revenge for his sister's death, as well as the indignity done to himself by Ethelred, might have been amongst the motives that brought Swein to England at a former period. The ambition of conquering all England was plainly the great cause for his last invasion:—"Itaque multo tempore multis præliis adversum Anglos exactis, Suein veteranum regem depulit Edilredum, et insulam tenuit in sua ditione, verum brevi tempore." ADAM. *Gest. Hammaburg*, lib. ii. c. 89. PERTZ. *Monument. Germ. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 324. *Encomium Emmæ*, in MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 7, 8, 9.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1013. vol. i. p. 166. For a gorgeous description of this fleet, see *Encomium Emmæ*, in *Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 8, 9.

‡ "They were the inhabitants of the five towns of Leicester.

ants dwelling to the north of Watling Street, that is of the great road of King Weatlas' son, which traverses England from the eastern to the western seas, submitted to him, yielded hostages, and swore fealty to him.* The

Stamford, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln." COXE (R. de Wend. vol. i. p. 446, note). E. H. S.

* The inhabitants of the Five Burghs were Danes. See PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 877, 879. As to the submission of the other places mentioned in the text, without fighting a battle, it is positively affirmed by Malmsbury, that it was not for want of courage in the people, but through the treachery and cowardice of such men as the Earl Uhtred :—"ditione eos suæ sine pugna subdidit; non quod in illorum mentibus genuinus ille calor et dominorum impatiens refriguerit, sed quod princeps eorum Uhtred primus exemplum defectionis dederit." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 177, vol. i. pp. 289, 290. This was another of the many instances afforded in the reign of Ethelred that a religious people were ready and willing to fight in defence of their creed and their country, but were prevented from doing so by an irreligious nobility. The historians of this reign complain constantly of the treachery and cowardice of the nobility. The Councils of the Church, and the Witans of the King, complain, on the other hand, of their spoliation of monasteries, and their irreverent conduct to those who had devoted themselves to the service of God.

"— Bishops are heralds and teachers of God's law; and they shall fervently, oft, and frequently, call to Christ, and meditate diligently for all Christian people; and they shall preach and diligently set example, for the religious behoof of a Christian nation.

"For him who scorns to listen to them, let that be only between him and God Himself.

"But there are some men who, on account of their pride, and also on account of birth, scorn to obey divine superiors, as they ought to do if they desired right; and often apply themselves to blame what they ought to praise, and account the worse for their humble birth, those whose forefathers were not in the world either wealthy or proud, through worldly splendour, nor, in this transient space of life, flourishing or powerful: but these are neither wise nor wholly discreet, who will not obey God, nor better understand, how often he has from little raised to great, those who obeyed him and justly spoke. We know that through God's

command that was given by Swein to those who had thus submitted, was that they should at once supply his army with horses and provisions. As soon as these commands had been complied with, he entrusted his fleet and the hostages to the care of his son Canute, and then taking a picked body of men as his auxiliaries, he marched forward on an expedition against the South Mercians, and passing through Watling Street, he promulgated an edict to his followers, viz., that they were to lay waste the fields, to burn the vills, to despoil the churches, to massacre every person of the male sex they encountered, without mercy for their grey hairs, and without pity for their infancy, and that a doom worse than death should be inflicted upon every female—in fine, that every species of mischief that malice could devise and wickedness perpetrate, should be accomplished by his followers.*

Swein, when he burst out of the Lindesey district,†

grace a *thrall* has become a *thane*, and a 'ceorl' has become an 'earl,' a singer a priest, and a scribe a bishop." Ethelred's Laws—Of Grith and Mund. § 19, 20, 21. pp. 142, 143. See also § 22, 23, p. 143 (THORPE, folio edition).

"And, oh! with what thought can any man, indeed so do, that he fervently pray in church, and zealously bow to God's altars, and before or after, within or without, *plunder the Church, or corrupt or impair that which to the Church belongs.*

"Or with what thought can any man even think in his mind, that he inclines his head to the priest, and desires blessing, and attends their masses in church, and kisses their hand at the passing of the bread, and then straightway thereafter should injure or revile them by word or deed.

"But sanctity and sacred orders, and the hallowed houses of God, shall always be zealously venerated, for dread of God, and God, with inward heart, be ever loved." Ethelred's Laws. Of Grith and Mund. § 26, 27, 28, p. 143. (THORPE, folio edition).

* F. WIGORN. a. 1013. vol. i. p. 166.

† INGULPHUS, Hist. p. 56. The extract here inserted will con-

set fire to the villages, cut open and disembowelled the rustics, and killed by various kind of tortures all the religious persons he met with.* He consigned Baston and Langtoft to the flames. This was in the year 1013. He next burned, at one and the same time, the monastery of Saint Pega, and all the manors contiguous to it—viz.—Glington, Northumburtham, Wakesey, Etton, Badyngton, and Bernake. All the persons dwelling in those several places were killed, or taken away as captives. The abbot, however, and the entire of the brotherhood, were fortunately able to effect their escape at night, and sailing to Croyland, were saved. The monastery of Peterborough, and its adjoining vills and manors, Ege, Thorp, Walton, Wytheryngton, Paston, Dodisthorp, and Castre, were treated in like manner—that is, they were spoliated and then consigned to the flames. The abbot, and the greater part of the community, taking with them the sacred relics of the holy virgins, Kyneburga, Kineswitha, and Tilba, fled to Thorney. The prior and a few of the monks, carrying with them the arm of the sainted King Oswald, repaired to the Isle of Ely. The sub-prior, and ten of the brothers, travelled to Croyland.

It was a fortunate circumstance that there had been a great deal of rain this year, and that, in consequence, the lands had been so much inundated, as to render the lakes and the marshes lying around Croyland monastery impassable but to those acquainted with them. Hence it was that all the English were able to reach it, and an

vey an accurate idea of the state of England at this period, and the various persecutions to which the religious were subjected.

* “Religiosos omnes variis tormentis necat.” *INGULPHUS*.

immense multitude fled to it as a place of safety, Hence, too, the choir and cloisters were filled with monks, the other portions of the church with priests and the clergy in minor orders,* and the entire of the abbey with laymen; whilst in the cemetery, in which tents had been erected, there were women and children, sheltered by night as by day. During all this time the healthiest of the laymen, as well as some of the youths, were stationed amongst the reeds and groves of alders, and there kept a constant watch on the openings of the rivers.†

At that period, there were to be seen daily (not to mention the other burthens borne by the monastery), not less than a hundred monks seated at table. Worse, however, than this and all the rest, a messenger from King Swein arrived at Croyland, stating that he imposed upon it a payment of a thousand marks, and that if that sum were not delivered by a certain day at Lincoln, he would burn down the entire of the monastery. Three months had not elapsed from the time of paying this sum, when wicked extortioners again appeared at Croyland, and compelled, by frightful threats, the abbot to pay another thousand marks to supply the Danish army with provisions.

It was, too, about this period of time that the news reached Croyland, and was everywhere talked about, respecting the martyrdom of Elphegus, the holy Archbishop of Canterbury, who, because he would not pay the enormous sum of money demanded for his ransom, had been most cruelly put to death by the ferocious Danes.

* "*Cetera Ecclesia Sacerdotibus et clericis.*" *INGULPHUS.*

† In this single sentence, we learn the constant state of alarm in which lived the poor monks of Croyland, and those dependent upon their hospitality.

All men lamented the sad and awful times in which they lived, and regarded those as happy who had been removed from this world, no matter in what guise death had seized upon them. The abbot of Croyland felt this especially, who had the care and safety of such a multitude of persons imposed upon him, who was supposed by King Ethelred to have heaps of money at his command, and who was at the same time regarded by King Swein and his army as the protector of the refugees—that is, of persons who had escaped death by their hands, and, therefore, snares were laid to destroy him, and threats uttered to terrify him.

At length, and in consequence of the expenses to which the monastery was exposed in maintaining so many within its walls, as well as the exactions imposed on it from without, the entire of the wealth bestowed by the Lord Abbot Turketul had disappeared, and the granaries filled by the two Egilrics exhausted, and yet extortionate demands for money were day after day made by King Ethelred. The King's messengers declared to Abbot Godric, that they would treat him as a traitor to his country, because he had acted as commissary to the Danes, in supplying them with provisions; and that for such an offence he ought to be instantly arrested, his legs fettered, and finally consigned to condign punishment.

The venerable father and abbot, Godric, heart-sore with his many afflictions, and frightened by such terrible threats as these, convoked the entire community to a chapter, and there told them that all the money of the monastery had been expended, and then prayed and besought of them to tell him what they thought ought to be done in order that they might protect themselves against the wiles of a

wicked world. A long discussion ensued, and its result was a proposition that met the approval of all—namely—that they should interest in their favour some one of the ministers or satellites of Eadric, the Ealdorman of the Mercians; and as they had not any longer money, that they should bestow upon him lands and tenements, on the condition that he should be, during the period of his natural life, their defender and protector against all the dangers with which they were threatened. This Eadric was, next to King Ethelred, the most powerful man in England, and on terms of most intimate friendship with that King, as well as King Swein, and subsequently with King Canute. The interest was then secured of one of the greatest amongst his satellites—a person named Normann, one of illustrious birth, the son of Earl Lefwin, and brother of Leofric, the noble Earl of Leicester. To this person, as he demanded, was given, for a term of one hundred years, the manor of Baddeby. He accepted this manor, promising to hold it of St. Guthlac at a peppercorn rent, payable every year on St. Bartholomew's day, and binding himself by his own sign manual, that he would be the future procurator and protector of the monastery against all adversaries. This protection was of service to the monastery for some time—that is, as long as Normann lived.*

* *INGULPHUS. Hist.* pp. 56, 57 (Gale). Such was the position of monasteries at this period. In addition to what is mentioned in the text, we have a frightful picture of the condition of society, induced by the invasion of the Danes, given by Bishop Wolstan:—

“Soldiers, famine, flames, and effusion of blood abound on every side. Thefts, murder, pestilence, diseases, calumny, hatred and rapine, dreadfully afflict us.

The cruel orders that had been given by King Swein, were but too punctually executed by his followers, who seemed to rage through the land as if they were influenced by a species of canine madness;* and thus conducting themselves they arrived at Oxford, and sooner than it otherwise could have been supposed possible, they obtained possession of the town, and had hostages delivered to them.† The Danes made a hurried march from Oxford to Winchester. The citizens of Winchester, terrified by the enormous cruelties perpetrated by Swein, made, without a moment's delay, peace with him; and gave to him, not only hostages, but whatever else he chose to demand.

From Winchester, the army of Swein was moved upon London; but in crossing the Thames several of the Danes were drowned, as they would not tarry in their eagerness

"Widows are frequently compelled into unjust marriages; many are reduced to penury and are pillaged. The poor men are sorely reduced and cruelly betrayed, and, though innocent, are sold far out of this land to foreign slavery. Cradle children are made slaves out of this nation, through an atrocious violation of the law for little stealings. The right of freedom is taken away, the rights of the servile narrowed, and the right of charity is diminished.

"Freemen may not govern themselves, nor go where they wish, nor possess their own as they like. Slaves are not suffered to enjoy what they have obtained from their allowed leisure, nor what good men have benevolently given them. The clergy are robbed of their franchises, and stripped of all their comforts." *Sermo Lupi ap Hickes, Dessert. Epist. p. 99—106*; as translated by Mr. Sharon Turner. *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 325, note 74.

* "—suis edictum posuit, videlicet, ut agros devastarent, villas cremarent, ecclesias spoliarent, quicquid masculini sexus in manus veniret, sine respectu misericordiæ, jugularent * * Quibus ita facientibus, et rabie ferina debacchantur, &c." F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 166.

† F. WIGORN, a. 1013, vol. i. p. 166.

to proceed onwards, either to seek for a fordable passage, nor to be delayed by passing a bridge in due order.*

Upon Swein's arrival in London, he resorted to every species of stratagem, as well as to every effort which the force at his command placed in his power, either to capture the city by treachery, or to take it by storm. At that moment, however, King Ethelred was in the city, and at the head of the citizens, and he was aided by the Danish jarl Turetyl, who was then also with the King in London; and thus were the walls manfully defended, and the enemy driven away from them.

Repulsed from London, Swein first marched to Wallingford, and thence to Bath, spoliating and destroying, according to his usual practice, all that came in his way. At Bath Swein halted his entire army, for the purpose of allowing them refreshment and repose. Whilst Swein was at Bath, Æthelmar, the Ealdorman of Devon, as well as all the western thanes, came to him, made peace with him, and yielded him hostages.

These events having all occurred in accordance with the desires of Swein, he returned to his fleet, and he then was hailed as King by the entire people of England—if King indeed he could rightfully be called who always conducted himself like a tyrant—and who must always

* "Quia nunquam pontem neque vadum querere voluerunt." F. WIGORN. "Thence went they eastward to London; and many of the party sank in the Thames, because they kept not to any bridge." *Saxon Chronicle*. Upon this passage, the following note is appended by Mr. Ingram:—"This expression, though unnoticed by the Latin translators, implies that there were at that time many bridges over the Thames." p. 190, note 3.

bear the name, and be esteemed as nothing better than a tyrant.*

At this time, even the citizens of London sent hostages to and made peace with him;† for they were very much afraid that his fury and cruelty would be exercised particularly upon them—that he would deprive them of all their property, and order their eyes to be torn out, or their hands and feet to be cut off.

As soon as Ethelred perceived the state to which things had been reduced in his dominions, he immediately sent out of the country his Queen Emma to her brother, Richard II., Duke of Normandy, and with her, their two sons, Edward and Alfred, and their preceptor Ælfhun, Bishop of London,‡ as well as Alsius, Abbot of Peterborough.

Ethelred remained for a short time with the Danish

* “Non rector sed destructor,” is the character given to Swein by DITMAR, Lib. vii. see *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 133.

† W. Malmsbury declares that the citizens of London never would have submitted if they had not been deserted by King Ethelred. “Nec adhuc flecterentur Londonienses * nisi Ethelredus præsentia eos destitueret sua.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 177. vol. i. p. 290.

‡ “That he might instruct them,” *Sax. Chron.* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 448. and W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. vol. i. p. 392, state that the tutor of the King’s children was a Bishop of Durham and not of London. The last authority mentions that it was in the month of August that Queen Emma sailed to Normandy. The words ascribed to Ethelred by Malmsbury upon sending his wife to seek the hospitality of her brother, are worthy of a King:—‘Vadabitur enim,’ inquit, ‘mihi meam salutem conjugi et liberis impensus favor. Quod si ille adversum pedem contulerit, non deerit mini animus, plane non deerit, quin malum hic gloriose occumbere, quam illic ignominiose vivere.’ *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 177. vol. i. p. 292.

fleet (that had submitted to his command) in the river Thames, in a place called Greenwich, and he afterwards proceeded to the Isle of Wight, where the festival of Christmas was celebrated by him.* Upon hearing of the honourable reception that had been given to his wife and children, Ethelred himself, in the month of January, crossed the sea to Normandy. There he exposed to its illustrious duke, the whole extent of the misfortune to which he had been subjected. The deepest compassion for the calamities of the King were felt by Duke Richard, and he endeavoured to assuage them by all the consolatory words his mind could suggest.† He did all that it was possible for a kind host to do, for the purpose of mitigating the grief of an honoured guest ‡

* F. WIGORN. a. 1013. vol. i. pp. 166, 167, 168. According to William of Malmsbury, Ethelred had secretly fled from London to Southampton, and thence to the Isle of Wight, when it was determined to send Emma to Normandy. In the Isle of Wight, Ethelred was joined by the abbots and bishops, who would not desert him in his difficulties—"abbates et episcopos, qui nec in tali necessitate dominum suum deserendum putarent." To them Ethelred complained, and with perfect justice, that he had been driven an exile from the throne of his ancestors, through the perfidy of the nobility: "se perfidia ducum avito extorrem solio." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 177. vol. i. p. 291.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 448.

‡ "Miserias suas sedulitate hospitis consolatus est." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 178. vol. i. p. 292. "A quo decenter acceptus, cum magnis opum apparatibus omne sui incolatus Rotomagi cum eo exegit tempus," is the more modified mode of describing the hospitality of Duke Richard, adopted by WILLIAM OF JUNIEGES, lib. iv. c. 7. p. 636. This writer adds, that in flying to Normandy, Ethelred took with him treasures that he had buried—"sublatis a terra thesauris." See ORDERIC VITALIS, lib. i. in *Rev. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 235. MICHEL, note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. p. 424 (Doc. Inedit. Hist. France).

Whilst these transactions were taking place abroad, the tyrant Swein gave orders that his fleet should be abundantly supplied with provisions, and that an almost intolerable tribute should be imposed upon the English people. Similar orders were issued by the jarl Turcetyl, who commanded the fleet at Greenwich. Of both commanders it is to be told, that in addition to such extortionate requisitions, they both did as they pleased in England, spoiled and plundered the country, and perpetrated many deeds.*

The tyrant Swein, who had committed numberless wicked and cruel deeds in England as well as in other countries, at last completed the full measure of his iniquities and his own damnation, by presuming to do that which none before him had had the audacity even to attempt; and that was, to demand an immense tribute from the town in which rested the uncorrupted body of the precious martyr, King Edmund—that town (Edmundsbury) having been given

The following incident was deemed worthy of being inserted in the Annals of England, by the compilers of the Saxon Chronicle.

"Whilst *the lady* (Emma) was with her brother beyond sea, Elfsy, Abbot of Peterborough, who was there with her, went to the abbey called Bonneval, where St. Florentine's body lay, and there found a miserable place, a miserable abbot, and miserable monks; *because they had been plundered*. There he bought of the abbot and the monks the body of St. Florentine, all but the head, for five hundred pounds; which, on his return home, he offered to Christ and St. Peter." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1013. INGRAM'S *translation*, pp. 191, 192. See *Hist. Monast. S. Florent. Salmur*, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. pp. 264, 265, 266, 267.

* F. WIGORN, a. 1013. vol. i. p. 168. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1013.

to the church of the ever-memorable Saint.* Swein frequently threatened that if the tribute he required was not speedily paid, he would most assuredly burn the town and all its inhabitants, uproot the church of the martyr from its very foundations, and put to death, by the most varied and excruciating tortures, all the clergy. Swein had frequently, and in divers ways, disparaged the martyr, and had even presumed to say of Edmund, that he was not a saint at all! Thus since he would put no restraint upon his malice, the wrath of God would not permit the blasphemer any longer to live.

At last, upon the evening of a day on which a general council had been held at Gainsborough, when Swein had in a threatening tone reiterated his blasphemies, and at the moment that he was invested by the close-set ranks of his Danish soldiers, he saw—and he alone was able to see it—St. Edmund armed, and advancing to attack him. As soon as Swein beheld this sight, he was seized with fear, and began to cry out in a loud voice,—“Help! help! fellow-soldiers—lo! St. Edmund comes to kill me!” and as he said these words, he was so deeply wounded by the sacred weapon with which he was struck, that he fell from the horse on which he had been sitting, and from that moment until night-fall, he was afflicted with the most awful agonies, and these agonies were alone terminated by his death—an event that occurred on the third of February, in the year 1014.†

* F. WIGORN. a. 1014. vol. i. p. 168.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 168, 169. “The Chronicle simply records the death of Swein, omitting the miracle. The Knytlinga Saga (p. 184) informs us, that Englishmen say that the holy King Edmund (Játmundr) slew him in the same manner as St.

Upon the death of Swein, the Danish fleet constituted

Mercurius slew Julian the Apostate. The legend of St. Mercurius is printed in the *Homilies of the Anglo Saxon Church*, vol. i. p. 449." THORPE (notes to *Florence of Worcester*, vol. i. p. 169). E. H. S.

The miracle, as stated by Florence of Worcester, is repeated by R. DICET. *Abbrev. Chron.* p. 465. He adds, that at the time it occurred, "there lay confined to his bed by mortal sickness in Essex, a nobleman named Wlmar, and who being without voice or movement, his death was momentarily expected by his relations and friends who surrounded him, when Wlmar suddenly started up and exclaimed. 'This night, and this very hour, King Swein, transpierced by the lance of St. Edmund, has died.' With these words, Wlmar fell back in his bed and expired." R. DICET. pp. 465, 466. See S. DUNELM, p. 170. ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 363. BROMTON, p. 892. INGULPHUS, p. 68 (Gale). *Chron. Mailros.* p. 154. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 449. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179. vol. i. p. 296. ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 468. § 4. 5. Konung Olaf Helges Haraldson's Saga, c. 11. SNORRO, vol. i. p. 383.

"The Danes," says William of Jumieges, "upon the death of Swein, embalmed his body with aromatic spices, placed it on board a vessel, and carried it instantly back to Denmark, to be there interred." *De Ducib. Norman.* lib. iv. c. 8. p. 636. See as to death of Swein, DITMAR, lib. vii. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 133. *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 12. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 183.

An event nearly similar in all its details to the death of Swein occurred in Italy in the year 1103, and to the cruel oppressor of a monastery of which the patron was St. Clement. This oppressor (Riccardus) had purchased from another church-spoliator the monastery, with as little compunction, the author says, as one would buy a common little wench-slave from a merchant—"Sicut a mercatoribus venditur vilis ancillula." Riccardus not only despoiled the monastery of all its valuables, but he even deprived the poor women, on the lands of the monastery, of all their cows and cattle, so as not to leave them subsistence even for a single day! This cruelty afflicted the abbot far more than all the sufferings and losses to which he and his brethren had been exposed—"magis dolens pro cultoribus agrorum, quam pro se vel fratribus." He therefore appealed to God against the oppressor of the church and the poor. How soon his prayers were heard, the following narration, so like in its incidents to the death of Swein, testifies:—

his son Canute as King*. But the nobility of England, with one common consent, dispatched in all haste ambassadors to Normandy to King Ethelred, to say to him, "that there was no one they had ever loved more, or "ever would love than him, who was their natural lord,

"Venit dies, in qua præfatus Comes Riccardus solemnes jussit epulas præparari, et sedens in palatio, cum jam pæne plenus esset ferculis, quæ multa sibi fieri jusserat de præda S. Clementis, cum adhuc ad mensam sederet cum baronibus suis, vindictam Divinam sensit adesse sibi. Nam quædam persona terribilis ei soli apparuit, induta veste sacerdotali et cum clava, quam manu gestabat, super caput illius maximum ictum dedit; quo ictu ipse statim et visum et auditum perdidit, et ejulans magna voce ad proprium lectum advectus est manibus servulorum. Et cum inquireretur a mulieribus quid haberet, quare tam subito exclamavisset, ille recuperato auditu dixit. '*Non videtis, quod video? Iste Presbyter, qui hic astat, cum mazuca confregit uno ictu tempora mea, et elevato ictu si me iterum percusserit, protinus egrediar de præsenti vita. Clemens noli me percutere, noli Clemens,*' in his vocibus expiravit, et sensit quia ille non dormit neque dormitat, qui suos semper et ubique custodit." *Chronicon Casauriense*, a. 1103. MURATORI, *Rer. Ital. Script.* vol. ii. Par. ii. p. 874.

One of the persecutors and spoliators of the monastery of Ely, is stated to have been punished by a sudden death, inflicted upon him in a manner similar to that of Swein. To this man, St. Etheldreda appeared, bearing her abbatial staff, and with her the Saints Wilburga and Sexburga. Etheldreda rebuked him for his oppressions, and then struck him with her staff, which seemed to transfix his heart. Her sister saints also struck him, and he was found dying by his attendants, to whom he addressed the following words:—"Nonne videtis, inquit, S. Etheldretham abeuntem, quomodo mihi transfixit pectus baculi sui aculeo, similia facientibus ejus sanctis sororibus? Ecce iterum me fixura, revertitur; jamque moriar, cum denuo me fixerit? Et his dictis expiravit." Mirac. S. Etheldredæ, Ab. c. 2. § 23, 24. *Act. Sanct.* (Junii), vol. iv. p. 544. For an account of the preservation of Rome, by the destruction of its Saracen invader by St. Peter, in a manner similar to this, see MILKY'S *History of the Papal States*, vol. ii. p. 185.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1014. vol. i. p. 169. See *Sax. Chron.*

“ if he would but more justly govern, and be pleased
“ more kindly to conduct himself towards them than here-
“ tofore.”

Ethelred, upon hearing this, sent to them, along with messengers of his own, his son Edward, who was desired, on his part, to greet, in the most friendly terms, the nobility as well as the inferior classes of the people, and to promise, on his behalf, that he would be for the future a gentle and devoted lord to them, that he would in all things be conformable to their will, and acquiesce in their advice; and that whatsoever to himself or to his adherents had been said or done by them to his disparagement and disgrace, he would with a peace-loving spirit fully and heartily pardon; provided they all unanimously and without guile wished to receive him back into his kingdom.* This benignant message was as benigmantly received by them. Then a full and entire friendship between both parties

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 169. This account of an important transaction occurring so many centuries ago between an English King and his subjects, is translated as literally as possible from the authority quoted. It is in itself an exposition of the terms on which it was understood at that time, a King ruled over his subjects. In the *Saxon Chronicle* the terms of this transaction are thus stated:—

“ Whereupon advised all the Councillors of England, clergy and laity, that they should send after King Ethelred; saying, that no sovereign was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would govern them better than he did before. Then sent the King hither his son Edward, with his messengers; who had orders to greet all his people, saying, that he would be their faithful lord—would better each of those things that they disliked—and that each of the things should be forgiven which had been either said or done against him; provided they all unanimously, without treachery, turned to him. Thus was full friendship established, in word and in deed, on either side.” INGRAM’S *translation*, pp. 192, 193.

was expressed in words, and confirmed by compact. In addition to this, the leading men of the kingdom unanimously promised, that they would never again submit to a Dane as a King over them.*

Due notice of all that had been done was sent by the English into Normandy, and upon receiving it, the King returned in haste to this country, where he arrived in the season of Lent, and was received with every mark of honour by all classes.†

Meanwhile, it had been agreed between Canute and the men of Lindesey, that they should have horses in readiness for his followers, so that they might all, at the same moment, set out upon a plundering expedition; but before the conspirators were prepared to carry this plot into execution, Ethelred with a valiant army came upon them, drove Canute and his war-crew out of the country, and then laying waste and burning the whole of the Lindesey district, he killed all the inhabitants he could meet with.

Canute, who saw that his only safety lay in a speedy flight, turned his fleet towards the south, and in a short time reached the port of Sandwich. He there placed on the shore the hostages that had been entrusted to his father from all parts of England; and having cut off

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 169. "And every Danish King they proclaimed an outlaw for ever from England." *Sax. Chron.* This had reference probably not only to Canute, but to such dangerous allies as Turcetyl.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 169. "Cum uxore laetus ad regnum suum regreditur, sed filios suos Edwardum et Aluredum cum avunculo dimittit." W. GEMETICENS, lib. iv. c. 8. p. 636. See DITMAR, lib. vii. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 133. MICHEL, note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. pp. 431, 432. (Documents Inédits Sur. L'Hist. de France.)

their hands, ears, and noses, he permitted them to depart.* From Sandwich Canute sailed to Denmark, but with the determination to return to England in the following year.†

As an accumulation to the evils endured by the people at this time, King Ethelred ordered a tribute of thirty thousand pounds to be paid to the fleet that lay at Greenwich.‡

“This year, on the eve of St. Michael’s day, came the great sea-flood, which spread wide over this land, and ran so far up as it never did before; overwhelming many towns, and an innumerable multitude of people.”§

In the year 1015, there was congregated a great Gemot at Oxford. This council was composed both of English and of Danes.¶ There the King, in accordance with the advice of the iniquitous Ealdorman Eadric, commanded many noble Danes to be put to death, as persons who had been guilty of high treason towards their liege lord. Some of the dependents of those noblemen, being desirous to avenge the death of their masters, took up arms;

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 169. These atrocities, and even greater than our author describes, were committed on young boys, the children of the noblest families in England. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179. vol. i. p. 296.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1014. vol. i. pp. 168, 169, 170.

‡ See *Encomium Emmae*, in MASERE’S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 10.

§ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1014, as translated by the Rev. J. INGRAM, pp. 193, 194. See F. WIGORN. a. 1014, and note (1) by Mr. Hardy to W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 297. (E. H. S.)

¶ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 450.

but were defeated by the military retainers of Ethelred. They were so closely pursued that they were compelled to take refuge in the tower of St. Fredeswida church; and as they could not be dislodged from it by the King's soldiers, it was, with its defenders, completely destroyed by fire. Immediately afterwards, however, the King was reconciled to the church, and the place that had been destroyed restored to its former condition.* Amongst other noble persons who were at this time put to death, were Sigefrid and Morcar, Earls of the Northumbrians, and sons of Eargrin, an illustrious individual.† Eadric enticed those two persons to become his guests to a grand banquet; there made them drunk to excess, and when their senses were steeped in inebriation, he had them put to death by hired assassins. The motive to his committing this crime, was said to be the desire to possess himself of their wealth.‡

King Ethelred commanded that Algiva, the wife of Sigefrid, should be conducted to Malmsbury, and there guarded with all the care and respect that was due to a lady of illustrious rank. Whilst Algiva was in Malms-

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 451. W. Malmsbury states that this horrible and sacrilegious massacre occurred to the dependents of Sigefrid and Morcar; and as to the fact of the church of Frideswida being restored by Ethelred, he had read a record of the fact in the archives of that church:—"Legi ego scriptum, quod in archivo ejusdem ecclesiæ continetur index facti." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179, vol. i. pp. 297, 298. See *Gest. Pont. Reg.* lib. iv. p. 291; and note to p. 117 in this volume.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 450, 451.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179, vol. i. p. 297. "—the eldest thanes belonging to the seven towns. He allured them into his bower, where they were shamefully slain. Then the King took all their possessions." *Sax. Chron.* See F. WIGORN. a. 1015, vol. i. p. 170.

bury, she was visited by the King's son Edmund, who was designated, both on account of the strength of his body and the vigour of his mind, "Ironside." He, without the knowledge of his father,* married Algiva, and then travelled with her into Northumbria, where he took violent possession of the entire land of the two earls, and compelled all their people to yield obedience to him.†

In the summer of this year, —1015‡—King Canute, having arranged his affairs in Denmark, and entered into friendly alliances with the neighbouring kings, arrived in England, fully resolved that he should either be hailed as a conqueror, or, if defeated, there die.§ Canute ar-

* "Sane patris eludens conscientiam, qui domesticis ut alienis esset ridiculo." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179, vol. i. p. 298.

† ROO. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 451. "After a little interval, Edmund Etheling went and seized her, against the King's will, and had her to wife. Then, before the nativity of St. Mary, went the Etheling west-north into the Five Towns (the Danish Berghs), and soon plundered all the property of Sigferth and Morcar, and all the people submitted to him." *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, p. 194. See F. WIGORN. A. 1015, vol. i. p. 170, agreeing with the account in the *Sax. Chron.* W. Malmsbury says, that Edmund asked the lands of Sigefrid and Morcar from his father, who refused them, and that he then went and won them for himself by his own valour. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 179, vol. i. p. 298. To this transaction—the murder of the two Earls by Eadric in the hope of possessing their property, and the seizure of that property by Edmund—may, we think, be traced the subsequent and fatal treachery of Eadric.

‡ "Eadem ætati." W. MALMSB. "Per idem tempus," ROO. DE WEND. "Eodem tempore," F. WIGORN. "And thæfter tham," *Sax. Chron.* "Cnut arrived in England early in January, A.D. 1016." Hardy, note (4) to W. MALMSB., vol. i. p. 298. (E. H. S.)

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180, vol. i. p. 298. "Canute took the arms of his father, reinforced his army, and made

rived with an immense fleet* at Sandwich, and then sailing round Kent, he entered the mouth of the Frome, and collected an immense spoil in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire.† All places that he passed through, were not merely denuded by his plunderers, but stained with the cruel slaughter of the inhabitants; and, as it unfortunately happened at that time that Ethelred was confined to his bed by sickness at Corsham, Edmund Ironside determined upon leading the King's army against the invaders. At the moment, however, when both armies should be fronted in battle against each other, the Ealdorman and traitor Eadric was contriving an ambush, by means of which he contemplated carrying into effect the assassination of Edmund. As soon as a knowledge of this plot reached the ears of Edmund he withdrew from the field, accompanied and protected by a small band of warriors, and in so doing yielded for the moment to the preponderating power of his foes.‡

Eadric, then perceiving that he could not any longer dissemble the part he meant to take, and since his artifices

the utmost efforts that were in his power, that the Danes should have no reason to regret the perilous undertaking in which they had embarked. Besides this, he sent ambassadors to two Kings, and besought their assistance—these were Laciman, the King of the Swedes, and Olaf, the King of the Norwegians. Both Kings came to his aid, with their military followers, and greatly strengthened by their alliance the power and influence of Canute." W. GEMITICENS. DUC. NORM. lib. iv. c. 8. p. 636. See *Encomium Emmæ*, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Hist. Ang. Sel. M.n.*

* "Itaque mille navibus magnis Chnut armatus oceanum transivit Britannicum." ADAM. *Gest. Hammaburg.* lib. ii. c. 50. PERTZ. *Monument. Ger. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 324.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1015, vol. i. p. 170.

‡ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 452.

had been discovered, resolved to shew himself to the world, with bare and brazen front, a traitor in deed as he was in heart; and, therefore, he deserted to Canute, taking with him forty ships.* All Wessex imitated his example, gave hostages and arms to the Danes,† and Canute remained there until mid-winter.‡

A few days before the Epiphany of our Lord, in the year 1016, Canute, the King of the Danes, and the perfidious Ealdorman Eadric Streona, with a great body of cavalry, crossed the river Thames at a place called Cricklade,§ and then entered into Mercia, which they treated as a hostile country, laying waste a great many villages in Warwickshire, setting fire to houses, and slaying all they met.||

No sooner did this intelligence reach the Etheling Edmund Ironside, than he mustered in all haste an army; but when his entire force was united together, he found that the Mercians were disinclined to expose themselves to all the risks of a pitched battle against the confederated

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* § 180, vol. i. p. 299. The crews of those ships were Danes. "Danicis militibus instructas." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 171.

† W. MALMSB. "Et post exercitui caballos paraverunt." F. WIGORN. "And horsed the army," *Sax. Chron.* "Exercitui Danorum equos et arma paravit," ROG. DE WEND.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1015.

§ "This year came King Knute with a marine force of 160 ships, and Ealdorman Eric with him, over the Thames into Mercia, at Cricklade." *Sax. Chron.*

|| F. WIGORN. a. 1016, vol. i. p. 171.

armies of the Danes and the West Saxons, unless they were supported by King Ethelred and the citizens of London. Edmund was, therefore, under the necessity of abandoning his contemplated attack on the enemy. Hence his army was disbanded, and each of the men returned to their homes.

The moment that the festive season of Christmas was at an end, Edmund collected a greater body of forces than he had ever before been able to unite under his standard.* Edmund then sent messengers to London, beseeching his father that he would with all speed come to him, and bring all the disposable force at his command. This request was complied with, and Ethelred, with a vast body of warriors, marched into the encampment of Edmund. No sooner, however, was the junction between the English armies effected, than it was intimated to Ethelred, that if he did not take great care of himself, some of those who at that moment were apparently on the same side with him as auxiliaries, would betray him into the hands of his enemies.

Ethelred, upon hearing this, dismissed his army and returned to London; but Edmund advanced with his forces into Northumbria.†

Ethelred had been too much and too long accustomed to confide his safety to walled towns, instead of venturing to meet the enemy in the open field; and his constant excuse for remaining in London, was, that he was fearful

* "After this, an army was again ordered, under full penalties, that every person, however distant, should go forth." *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN, a. 1016, vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

of the treachery of those by whom he was surrounded.* Whilst he was thus wasting his time, his great adversary, Canute, was winning for himself and his adherents cities and villages, was losing not one moment in relaxation of any kind, but busy in councils by night, he was fighting battles by day.

Edmund, perceiving the dire distress to which the nation had been reduced, held a consultation upon the state of affairs, and after a long and a mature consideration, came to the conclusion, that the best course for him to pursue was to recover by the sword those cities which had abandoned the cause of Ethelred; and that doing so, those other places which were wavering in their loyalty might be fixed and confirmed in their allegiance, when they saw how dreadful were the punishments that were inflicted upon rebels. The opinion that he entertained upon this point, he induced a Trans-Humbrian Earl, named Uhtred, to adopt and act upon. But Canute, who was endowed with no less sagacity than Edmund, rendered this project abortive by acting upon a policy, and enforcing a mode of action precisely similar to that which had suggested itself to the mind of Edmund.† For as Canute and Eadric were engaged on the one side, so was Edmund and Uhtred, the Earl of the Northumbrians, employed upon the other—that is, laying waste certain provinces—the latter two devastated Staffordshire, Shrewsbury,‡ and Leicestershire, because they would not send out an armed force to fight against the

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108, vol. i. p. 299.]

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* § 108, vol. i. p. 299.

‡ "And Chester." *Sax. Chron.*

Danes.* Edmund and Uhtred plundered on their part, and Canute on his; for he marched his forces through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire; and from thence into Huntingdonshire, and so on into Northamptonshire, along the fens to Stamford, next into Lincolnshire, and from that to Nottinghamshire, and so to Northumbria towards York.†

Upon the Etheling Edmund hearing that Canute was depopulating Northumbria, he ceased from the course of devastation in which he had engaged, and returned to his father to London.‡ As to the Earl Uhtred, he returned in all haste home, and compelled by necessity, he yielded himself with all the Northumbrians to Canute, and gave at the same time hostages to the Danish King. He was, however, either by the permission, or the direct command of Canute, put to death, and with him Turcetyl, the son of Neavana, by the hands of a nobleman, and a Dane, named Turebrand.§ Upon the death of Uhtred, Canute appointed Egric as his successor.|| He then, by forced marches and by a different line from that by which he had

* F. WIGORN. a. 1016. vol. i. p. 172.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1016.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 172.

§ The *Saxon Chronicle* states that Uhtred was slain by the advice of Eadric. "Barbarica levitate jussus et jugulari," is the expression applied by Malmsbury to this murder of a person from whom hostages had been received. As to the murder being committed by a Noble Dane, it was an atrocity in perfect accordance with the manners of the brutal and infidel Northmen. See *Konung Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*. c. 45. SNORRO. vol. i. pp. 255, 256, 257.

|| Quem postea, æquas sibi partes vendicantem, Cruto ab Anglia expulit." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 299.

advanced, returned to the south, and reached his ships before Easter.

It was at this period of time that Ethelred, the King of the English, died at London. Ethelred expired on the 23rd day of April, in the year 1016, having passed through a troublesome life, weighed down with many afflictions, and filled with many tribulations—such as had been predicted by St. Dunstan would come upon him, even the very day, and the very hour, that holy man placed the royal crown upon the head of the youthful king.*

The body of Ethelred was interred with all the honours that became his rank, in the church of the Apostle Paul at London.†

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 172.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 173. See H. HUNT. p. 362. R. HOVEDEN. p. 434. R. DICT. pp. 172, 173, 466. ETHELRED. p. 363. BROMTON. p. 893. W. THORN. p. 1782. KNYGHTON. p. 2315. INGULPHUS. p. 57. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1016. *Hist. Eliens.* lib. i. c. 79. vol. i. p. 179 (Ang. Christ. Ed). W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 300 (E. H. S.) ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 453.

HERR LAPPENBERG concludes his account of the reign of Ethelred with the following words:—

“History contains few reigns so long and so disastrous as that of this unhappy prince; but *merited* as his misery was, *the Catholic Church* has, nevertheless, *enrolled him among her martyrs.*” vol. ii. p. 187.

The Catholic Church has done no such thing. Herr Lappenberg, in his eagerness to hurt the Catholic Church, has fallen into an error—he has mistaken Ethelred, called also Ethelred, King of the West Saxons, who died about the year 872, for Ethelred, who died in the year 1016. The first was regarded as a martyr, because slain fighting in defence of his religion against the infidel Danes. See *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. pp. 95, 96. ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 121, 122. § 21, 22, 23. Vol. ii. pp. 143—147 of this work.

LAWs OF ETHELRED.

BROMTON observes, that "although Ethelred was constantly harassed by the hostile aggressions of his enemies, still he decreed and approved of laws useful to his people" (Chron. p. 893). Of these laws, as beneficial to the poor, and useful to the Church, extracts have already been given in the notes to this chapter. We subjoin some others, as bearing upon the question of slavery, and affecting the condition of the slave-class.

"And if a theowman be guilty at the ordeal, let him be branded the first time; and the second time, let there be no bot except the head." *King Ethelred's Ordinance*, § 2. p. 120.

"And the ordinance of our Lord and of his Witan (*i.e.* both the ecclesiastical and the lay Witan) is; that Christian men, and uncondemned, be not sold out of the country, especially into a heathen nation: and be it zealously guarded against, that those souls perish not that Christ bought with his own life." *Ordinance of Ethelred's*, A.D. 1008. § 2. p. 129. This is repeated in *Council of Enham*, § 9. p. 135. See also "*ne quis vendatur extra patriam*." § 5. p. 145. WILKINS. *Leges. Ang. Sac.* p. 107, note *b*.

"And let festivals and fasts be rightly kept. Let Sunday's festival be rightly kept, as is thereto becoming: and let marketings, and folk-motes, and huntings, and *worldly works be strictly abstained from on that holy day*." *Council of Enham*, § 22. p. 136.

"And if a man, who has forfeited his life, seek a sanctuary, and thereby gain refuge for his life, let there then be one of three for his life, unless he obtain remission more favourably, *wergeld, perpetual thralldom, imprisonment*.

"And be it of these three whichever it may, whether he pay, *whether he serve*, or whether he suffer, let him find 'borh' if he can, and if he cannot, then let him swear, that he will never neither steal, nor bear away cattle, nor avenge his punishment.

"And if he belie any of these, let him proceed no where again for his life, nor gain refuge." *Of Grith and of Mund*. § 16, 17, 18. p. 142 (THORPE).

The "decay of religion and decline of the 'law'" are testified by the legislation of the year 1013. § 36, 37, 38, 43.

The reader can have some idea of the value of different articles in the reign of Ethelred by the following regulations.

"A horse shall be paid for with xxx shillings, a mare with xx shillings, an unbroken colt with xii shillings, an ox with xxx pence, a cow with xxiv pence, a swine with viii pence, a man

with a pound, a goat with two pence." *Ordinance respecting the Dun-selas*. § 7. pp. 151, 152.

As to the Councils and Laws of Ethelred, see WILKINS' *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 285—294, 295, 296, 510—529. SPELMAN. vol. i. pp. 530—533. LABBEÆUS. vol. ix. pp. 789—792.

CHAPTER III.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

GENERAL submission of clergy and nobility to Canute at Southampton. The citizens of London and a portion of the nobility elect Edmund, who is consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The bravery of Edmund. Canute attacks London, and is repulsed. Canute defeated in battle by Edmund. Personal combat between Canute and Edmund. A battle for two days fought between the Danes and the English. Retreat of the Danes. London relieved by the army of Edmund. . he enters the city in triumph. The Danes routed by him at Brentford, and at Oxford. Edmund becomes reconciled to the traitor Eadric, who acts in connivance with Canute. Massacres perpetrated by the Danes in Mercia. Battle of Assington. The English monarch again betrayed by Eadric. The Danes victorious. . many of the English nobility killed. Edmund retires to Gloucester. The English and Danish armies at Deerhurst. Duel between Canute and Edmund in the island of Olney. Canute proposes terms of peace. . they are assented to by

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Edmund. England divided between Edmund and Canute. Assassination of Edmund. Various accounts respecting the manner in which Edmund was deprived of life. The children of Edmund seized and delivered to Canute. Grief of the English for the death of Edmund.

CHAPTER III.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

A.D. 1016.

UPON the death of Ethelred, bishops, abbots, caldormen, and some of the nobility of England, assembled together, and with one common consent elected Canute as their lord and king; and then proceeding to him to Southampton, they, in his presence, repudiated as their sovereign each and all of the children of King Ethelred. These persons then made peace with Canute, swore fealty to him, and he, on his part, made oath, that in all that pertained to the affairs of God and of this world, he would be a true and faithful lord to them.*

The citizens of London, however, and that portion of the nobility who were at the time in London, unanimously elevated to the throne the Etheling Edmund,† and he

* "Quibus et ille juravit quod, et secundum Deum, et secundum seculum, fidelis esse vellet eis dominus." F. WIGORN.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1016. vol. i. p. 173. "After his" (Ethelred's) "decease, all the peers that were in London, and the citi-

was consecrated in London as King, by Leving, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Of the dauntless bravery of Edmund no eulogium can be pronounced that could give an adequate idea of its greatness, and its unceasing development in action. It, conjoined with his untiring strength of body, won for him the name of "Ironside."† The ategar,‡ which he once discharged against an enemy, that enemy never lived to fling back upon him, and the sword once drawn by him in battle was never returned to its sheath unstained by the blood of his foes. To the hostile invaders of his country, he always exhibited the ferocity of a raging lion; but towards his friends his manner always evinced the mildness and simplicity of a dove. As no man was braver in war, so was there none more gentle in peace than Edmund; and his courage in the field was equalled by his wisdom and caution at the council-board. In adversity he was as calm as in prosperity he was temperate.§ No sooner then was he raised to the throne, than he valiantly, and without a moment's delay, entered into Wessex, where he was received with loud congratulations by the entire people.|| The province was very speedily subjected to his power; and no sooner did intelligence of this circum-

zens" (and seo burh-warū) "chose Edmund King, who bravely defended his kingdom while his time was." *Sax. Chron.*

* BROMTON. *Chron.* p. 903.

† ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 363.

‡ "Lanceam, quæ lingua. Anglorum ategar appellatur." F. WIGORN. a. 1040. vol. i. p. 195.

§ ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 363. See KNYGHTON. p. 2316.

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 173.

stance spread abroad, than great numbers of the people of England voluntarily submitted to him as their sovereign.*

Whilst Edmund was thus occupied, Canute, with his entire fleet, sailed to London, at which place he arrived about the period of the Rogation days (7th May).† Canute upon his arrival dug a deep ditch upon the south side of the Thames, and through this, when completed, he was enabled to bring his ships, and station them on the western side of London Bridge. He then surrounded the city with a deep and wide trench and rampart, so as to prevent ingress and egress to and from the place. Having done this, he made several attempts to capture the city by main force;‡ but all his efforts proved vain against the

* “Ab omni populo magna susceptus gratulatione multi Anglorum populi magna cum festinatione illi se dederunt voluntarie.” F. WIGORN. These expressions are of value, as shewing that *the people*, as contrasted with *the nobility* at this period, were true to their country and their native prince, and as long as they had a leader worthy to command them, fought bravely, frequently successfully, against the Danes.

† “Then came the ships to Greenwich, about the gang-days, and within a short interval went to London.” *Sax. Chron.*

‡ In *Konung Olaf Helges Haraldson Saga*, c. xi. it is said that King Olaf (St. Olave) took a conspicuous part in the defence of London, and though it states Olaf's interference occurred in the reign of Ethelred, yet the circumstances described would make it more probable it was in the reign of Edmund. In the siege of London by Swein, and in the reign of Ethelred, Turcetyl is mentioned as a defender, see p. 189 in this volume—in the reign of Edmund, Turcetyl's name again appears, as represented by his nephew (See LAPPENBERG, vol. ii. p. 188. note 1). What is curious with respect to this name is, that all the incidents that are ascribed by our English historian as having occurred in connection with the name of Turcetyl, will be found in *Konung Olaf Helges Haraldson Saga*, as connected with the name of Olaf, who is like Turcetyl in East Anglia (c. xiii.) ; he is also at the siege of Canterbury and he is entrusted with the defence of the land, and

courageous resistance of the citizens, who not only defended themselves but drove him back far from their walls. Ca-

occupied himself in extorting tribute (c. xiv.) See SNORRO. vol. i. pp. 383—385.

Mr. Laing has given a most spirited translation of the part taken by Olaf in the defence of London; we annex the passages, as bearing on this portion of English history, although we place little reliance upon the passages themselves, as being historically true.

“Many people flocked to him (the English King), and among others came King Olaf, with a great troop of Northmen, to his aid. They steered first to London, and sailed into the Thames with their fleet; but the Danes had a castle within. On the other side of the river is a great trading place, which is called *Surdrviki* (Southwark). There the Danes had raised a great work, dug large ditches, and within had built a bulwark of stone, timber, and turf, where they had stationed a strong army. King Ethelred ordered a great assault, but the Danes defended themselves bravely, and King Ethelred could make nothing of it. Between *the castle* (probably the Tower of London) and Southwark there was a bridge, so broad that two waggons could pass each other upon it. On the bridge were raised barricades, both towers and wooden parapets, in the direction of the river, which were nearly breast high; and under the bridge were piles driven into the bottom of the river. Now when the attack was made, the troops stood on the bridge everywhere, and defended themselves. King Ethelred was very anxious to get possession of the bridge, and he called together all the chiefs, to consult how they should get the bridge broken down. Then said King Olaf he would attempt to lay his fleet alongside of it, if the other ships would do the same. It was then determined in this council, that they should lay their war forces under the bridge, and each made himself ready with ships and men. King Olaf ordered great platforms of floating wood to be tied together with hazel bands, and for this he took down old houses, and with these, as a roof, he covered over his ships so widely, that it reached over the ship's sides. Under this screen he set pillars so high and stout, that there both was room for swinging their swords, and the roofs were strong enough to withstand the stones cast down upon them. Now when the fleet and men were ready, they rowed up along the river; but when they came near the bridge, there was cast down upon them so many stones and missile weapons, such as arrows and spears, that nei-

nute then abandoned the siege, and leaving a part of his army to guard his ships, he made a sudden march with

ther helmet nor shield could hold out against it, and the ships themselves were so greatly damaged, that many retreated out of it. But King Olaf, and the Northmen's fleet with him, rode quite up under the bridge, laid their cables around the piles which supported it, and then rode off with all the ships as hard as they could down the stream. The piles were thus shaken in the bottom, and were loosened under the bridge. Now as the armed troops stood thick of men upon the bridge, and there were likewise many heaps of stones and other weapons upon it, and the piles under it being loosened and broken, the bridge gave way, and a great part of the men upon it fell into the river, and all the others fled, some into the castle, and some into Southwark. Thereafter Southwark was stormed and taken. Now when the people in the castle saw that the river Thames was mastered, and that they could not hinder the passage of ships up into the country, they became afraid, surrendered the tower, and took Ethelred to be their king. So says Oltar Swarte :—

' London Bridge is broken down,—
Gold is won, and bright renown.
Shields resounding,
War-horns sounding,
Hildur shouting in the din !
Arrows singing,
Mail-coats ringing,
' Odin makes our Olaf win !'

And he also composed these :—

' King Ethelred has found a friend,
Brave Olaf will his throne defend—
In bloody fight
Maintain his right,
Win back his land
With blood-red hand,
And Edmund's son upon his throne replace—
Edmund, the star of every royal race !'

Sigvat also relates as follows :—

' At London Bridge stout Olaf gave
Odin's law to his war-men brave—
To win or die !
And their foemen fly.

the remainder into Wessex, in order that he might deprive the King, Edmund Ironside, of the opportunity of collecting an army. Edmund, however, even with the small force that he had been able to muster in such a brief space of time, boldly advanced into Dorsetshire to encounter his foes. In doing so, the English King placed all his hope and confidence in God. He met his enemies at a place called Pen, near Gillingham—there fought, there conquered, and there routed them.*

Edmund who had, by the time that midsummer was passed, collected together a larger army than he had previously under his command, determined upon again fighting with Canute. The latter was encountered by him in Hwiccia, in a place which is called Chimney.†

Some by the dyke-side refuge gain—
 Some in their tents on Southwark plain!
 The sixth attack
 Brought victory back.' "

LAING's *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10, 11. *Konung Olaf Helges Haraldson Saga*, c. 11, 12. SNORRO, vol. i. pp. 383, 384, 385, 386. *Historia de Olavo Sancto*, c. 31; see also, c. 32, 33, 34. *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, vol. iv. pp. 47—55.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 173, 174. See S. DUNELM. p. 173. R. DICET. p. 446. BROMTON. p. 904. KNYGHTON. p. 2316.

† "Qui *Scearstan* nominatur." F. WIGORN. "Sherston, in Wilts (the Sorstain or Sorestone of Domesday), according to Camden; but this is not 'in Hwiccia:' according to others, a boundary-stone, separating the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick. May not Chimney be the spot, a hamlet in Oxfordshire, in the parish of Bampton-in-the-Bush, near the edge of Gloucestershire? the name of Chimney being merely a translation (introduced after the Norman conquest) of *Scearstan*, or *Sceorstan* (*Dan.* Skorsteen, *Ger.* Schornstein, a chimney); and may probably have owed its origin to a Saxon house or hall, conspicuous from having a chimney, at a time when that luxury was elsewhere unknown, or of very rare occurrence."

It was on this spot, and taking into consideration both the position he occupied and the number of soldiers in his ranks, that Edmund drew up his men in battle array, placing all his best, bravest, and most experienced warriors in the foremost lines, and stationing the remainder of the army as a reserve. He then appealed to each of the leaders, addressed each by name, and sought to inspire each with his own courage, when he bade them individually and collectively to bear in mind that they were then about to fight in defence of their country, their children, their wives, and their homes ; and with such admirable exhortations as these he fired the souls of his fighting men, and when he saw them so animated, he ordered the trumpets to send forth their cheering sounds, and the cohorts to march onward at a slow pace. So too marched the army of the enemy ; and when at length the opposing lines had advanced so near to each other that hostilities could be commenced, they rushed with tremendous shouts, and threatening gestures, into close conflict. The battle was carried on with spears and swords, and was fought with a desperate courage on both sides. King Edmund Ironside toiled amid the foremost ranks himself—he looked to see how the battle was going on in all parts of the field—he often joined in the combat—he wounded many of the foemen—he at the same time discharged the duties of a dauntless soldier and of a skilful general. Edmund, however, laboured under the disadvantage of having opposed to him those who ought to have been his allies,

THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 174. See note by HARDY to W. Malmsbury, vol. i. p. 300 (E. H. S.). See *Encomium Emmæ*, in MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 14.

such as the perfidious Ealdorman Eadric Streona, and Ælmar Darling, Algar the son of Mean, with the men of Southampton and Wiltshire, and an enormous multitude from other provinces, who ranged themselves on the sides of the Danes, and in the struggle against whom his small army was, although not exhausted, still but too much overstrained in its exertions.

And so was the battle carried on during the whole of a day, which was Monday. This was the first day of the fight at Chimney. It was a desperate and a bloody battle—so fiercely and so cruelly contested, that both armies were broken down at last by lassitude, and the men could no longer fight. As the sun set, they, by a similar and spontaneous movement, separated from each other.

On the following day, King Edmund would have completely overcome the Danes, if it had not been for the wiles of the perfidious Ealdorman Eadric Streona.* “Much slaughter was made on either side, and the leaders themselves came together in the fight.”† It was at this

* F. WIGORN. a. 1016. vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation. “This is,” observes Mr. Ingram, “a new translation; but the word *heras*, the plural of *hera* will justify it, and it points at once to the distinguishing feature of this battle, which was the single combat between Canute and Edmund. See an interesting description of the engagement with many minute particulars, *Antiq. Celto-Scand.*” *Sax. Chron.* p. 197. note 2.

“In the midst of the conflict, Edmund forced his way to Canute, and struck at him vehemently with his sword. The shield of the Dane saved him from the blow; but it was given with such strength, that it divided the shield and cut the neck of the horse below it. A crowd of Danes then rushed upon Edmund, and, after he had slain many, he was obliged to retire. Canute was but slightly wounded.” TURNER's *Anglo Saxon History*.

moment, and when the battle was most furious, that Eadric Streona perceived the English had greatly the advantage over their foes. He then cut off the head of a man named Osmear, who was very like, both in features and the colour of his hair, to King Edmund, and holding the head high in the air, he called out to the English it was useless for them any longer to fight. "See," said he, "ye men of Dorset, and Devon, and Wilts, you are deprived of your leader—fly then with all speed; for lo! I hold in my hand the head of your Lord and King Edmund—away then—retreat instantly."*

The English would have instantly fled, had not King Edmund been informed of what had occurred, and at once hurried to the top of a hillock, where he removed from his head his helmet, and shewed himself to his soldiers.† He then whirled with all his strength a javelin at Eadric, who, anticipating that he would be the person aimed at, shrunk aside, and the javelin plunged into the body of a soldier near him; and such was the force with which it was sent, that it not only transpierced one soldier, but fixed itself firmly and solidly into the body of another.‡ The moment, then, that the English discovered that their King was still living, their courage was reanimated,

"I derive," says Mr. Turner, "these paragraphs from the *Knytlinga Saga*, p. 130. Ottar the Swarthy celebrates the battle, and places it near the Tees, p. 131, in Johnson's *Celto Scandicæ*," vol. ii. p. 328, note 4. See also LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 189. THORPE'S notes to *Florence of Worcester*, vol. i. pp. 175, 176.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 175.

† W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 300.

‡ W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 300.

and they rushed with increased vigour upon their foes, killed and wounded great numbers of them, and thus fought on until nightfall, when both armies, as they had done on the day preceding, separated from each other.* In so separating, the English were justified in calculating upon a speedy and a certain victory.† But when the night had been considerably advanced, Canute commanded his soldiers in silence to break up their encampment, and to march with all speed towards their ships. This was accomplished by them, and immediately afterwards he besieged London.‡ The flight of the Danes

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 175. See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 454, 455. S. DUNELM. p. 173. R. DICET. p. 466. BROMTON. p. 904. KNYGHTON, p. 2316.

† "Discedentibus, Anglis tamen victoriam pene sperantibus." W. MALMSB. lib. ii. § 180.

‡ "Kanutus vero clam noctis silentio cum manu electa bellatorum Londonias tetendit." BROMTON. p. 904. See *Enconium Emmae*, in MASSERE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 17, 18. According to Florence the whole encampment was broken up, with directions to the soldiers to march with all speed to their ships. And it is not improbable that whilst this was carried into effect Canute preceded them with his body-guard, as described by Bromton, to recommence the siege; and thus cover from the knowledge of the London citizens the approach of the main body, who must be delayed by bringing with them a great number of wounded. But of what was composed the "chosen band of warriors?" Mr. Laing, we think, explains it.

"Thing-men were hired men-at-arms; called Thing-men, probably, from being men above the class of thralls or unfree men, and entitled to appear at Things, as being udal-born to land at home. They appear to have hired themselves out as *hired-men*; that is court-men, or the body-guard of the Kings. The Varingers at the Court of Constantinople were of this description. The victories of King Swein, and of Canute the Great, have been ascribed to the superiority of those men who formed bodies of standing troops, over levies of peasantry." LAING's *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. ii. p. 12. In this case, we see "the standing troops" running away from the country folk; and winning in

was not discovered by Edmund until the following day, when he returned to Wessex, for the purpose of recruiting and increasing the strength of his army.*

other battles, victories—not from any want of spirit or daring in the monk-taught peasantry; but through the treachery of monk-despising and monastery-plundering nobles.

As to the “Thing-men,” much information respecting them and their Institution will be found in the following extract from Lappenberg:—

“With greater probability may be reckoned, among the earlier labours of Cnut, the composition of the ‘Witherlags Ret,’ a court, or gild-law, framed for his standing army, as well as for the body-guards of his jarls. As the greater part of his army remained in England, the Witherlags Ret was there first established, and as the introduction of strict discipline among such a military community must precede all other ameliorations in the condition of the country, the mention of this law in its history ought not to be omitted. The immediate military attendants of a conqueror always exercise vast influence, and these originally Danish soldiers (thingamenn, thingamanna-lith, by the English called hus-carlas) have at a later period, both as body guards of the King and of the great vassals, acted no unimportant part in the country. They were armed with axes, halberts, and swords, inlaid with gold, and in purpose, descent, and equipment, corresponded to the Warangian guard (Waräger), in which the throne of the Byzantine emperors found its best security. In Cnut’s time the number of these mercenaries was not very great—being by some reckoned at three thousand, by others at six thousand—but they were gathered under his banner from various nations, and consequently required the stricter discipline. Even a valiant Wendish prince, Gottschalk, the son of Udo, stayed long with Cnut in England, and gained the hand of a daughter of the royal house. Cnut himself appears rather as a sort of grand-master of this military gild, than as its commander, and it is said that, having in his anger slain one of the brotherhood in England, he submitted himself to its judgment in their assembly (Stefn) and paid a ninefold compensation. The degrading epithet of “nothing,” applied to an expelled member of the gild, is an Anglo-Saxon word, which at a later period occurs in a way to render it extremely probable that the gild-law of the royal house-carls was in existence after the Norman conquest.” LAPPENBERG’S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 202, 203.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 175, 176.

An army was for the third time collected by Edmund,* and he marched himself to London with a picked body of soldiers,† in order that he might free from the siege with which they were pressed, its trusty and well-deserving citizens, who were now attacked by a part of the Danish force, who had surrounded with a trench that portion of the city not washed by the Thames. In the defence and attack of this trench many wounds were inflicted and received.‡ The besieging army was driven by Edmund to its ships—the city was by his bravery relieved from its presence, and he entered into London with those triumphant honours that were due to a conqueror.§

Two days afterwards, Edmund crossed the Thames at a place called Brentford, and there he fought a third battle with the Danes, and routed them so utterly, that he could claim to be fully and completely victorious over them.|| On this occasion, however, a great many Englishmen were drowned, in consequence of their own rashness and want of caution in attempting to cross the river.¶

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 176.

† H. HUNT. p. 362.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. pp. 300, 301.

§ H. HUNT. pp. 362, 363. See BROMTON. p. 904. Malmesbury states that the Danes took to flight upon the mere report that Edmund was coming to attack them:—"Audito regis adventu, fugam per prona invadunt." vol. i. p. 301. The *Saxon Chronicle* intimates that Edmund attacked the Danes with all his force:—"Then collected he his force the third time, and went to London, all by the north of the Thames, and so out through Clayhanger, and relieved the citizens, driving the enemy to their ships." p. 198.

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 176.

¶ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 176. "Many of the English were

"After this, the King went into Wessex and collected his army; but the enemy soon returned to London, and beset the city without, and fought strongly against it both by water and land. But the Almighty God delivered them.*

"The enemy went afterward from London with their ships into the Orwell; where they went up and proceeded into Mercia, slaying and burning whatsoever they overtook, as their custom is;† and having provided themselves with meat, they drove their ships and their herds into the Medway.‡

Meanwhile the King, Edmund Ironside, had been engaged in collecting a fourth and a more formidable army from all parts of England.§ This army he had marched across the Thames at the place (Brentford) where he had previously forded. He speedily thus entered Kent, and at a spot called Otford he brought the Danes to an engagement. They were unable to resist his attack, but fled from the field, and retreated as fast as their horses could carry them to Sheppey. Edmund pursued the fugitives, and all of them that were overtaken by his soldiers were instantly dispatched. Upon that day there would, most assuredly, have been a complete victory over the Danes, had not the King been restrained from per-

drowned from their own carelessness. They went before the main army with a design to plunder."

* *Sax. Chron.*

† "Obvius quosque cædunt, more solito villas incendunt, prædam agunt." F. WIGORN. "Vicos et villas rapinis, incendiis, cædibusque depopulans." W. MALMSB.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 198.

§ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 176.

severing in their pursuit, by the perfidious Eadric Streona, who had met the King at Aylesford, there stopped him from following the enemy, and again involved the sovereign in his wiles and his snares.*

Canute had been inspired with a great fear of Edmund, and had therefore mustered the largest army he could collect together to encounter the English. This, however, did not suffice. Canute and Eadric had taken counsel together how they might overcome him by treachery, whom they could not conquer by the sword. Therefore it was, with the connivance of Canute, that Eadric went to Edmund for the purpose of betraying him.† Hence it was, that the perfidious Ealdorman Eadric sought his brother-in-law, made peace with him, and swore to be faithful to him for the future.‡

The day (of the battle of Otford) would, in sooth, have been the last day for the Danes in England, if the King had but persevered, as he had at first intended, in pursu-

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

† H. HUNT. p. 363. "Igitur dux Edricus concordatus est ei, ut eum proderent." These are the words in which Henry of Huntingdon concludes his account of the plot between Canute and Eadric to betray Edmund. W. Malmsbury thus alludes to the same plot. "Vafer ille et pessimus Edricus * * * ficto jamdudum animo in gratiam reversus; consilio etiam Cnutonis cum Edmundo erat." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. 1. p. 301. Roger de Wendover, in giving an instance of Eadric's treachery to Edmund, and thus benefitting Canute, says, "Ut prius fuerat inter eos provisum." vol. i. p. 456. "Ut prius Canuto promiserat." F. WIGORN. p. 177. See also BROMTON. p. 904. With these authorities before him, Herr Lappenberg says: "It was *probably* (!) with the knowledge of, and in concert with Cnut, that Eadric now returned to the service of his natural sovereign." vol. ii. p. 190.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 176.

ing them.* He was prevented, as we have already stated, from doing so by the suggestion of that traitor, who, by assuring Edmund that the enemy would never dare again to molest him, laid the foundation for the ruin of his country, and hastened the day for his own destruction.

The Danes being thus afforded the opportunity for making their escape, were enabled to rally again their scattered forces,† and upon Edmund returning into Wessex, Canute crossed with all his forces into Essex, and then, for the purpose of plundering the land, revisited Mercia, where the order given by him to his followers, was, that the deeds now to be done by them should exceed in atrocity any that, even they, had previously perpetrated.‡

Such an order as this was one that the Danes most willingly obeyed. All human beings who fell into their hands were mercilessly massacred. An infinite number of farms were fired, and the lands were laid waste by those marauders, who, enriched with an immense booty, joyfully made their way back to their ships. They were pursued in their retreat by the English King, who had collected an army from all parts of England, and who came up with them at the hill of Assington.

Edmund here drew up in haste his army in line of battle, distributing them into three divisions, and then riding around every troop, he admonished and besought of them, that they would on this occasion have ever present to their mind, the valour they had formerly displayed, and the

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. i. p. 301.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. i. p. 301.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 177.

victories they had so recently won—that they had to defend their kingdom from the avarice of the Danes, and that they had now only to fight with those whom they had previously defeated.

Meanwhile Canute was marching his army at a slow pace, until he at length planted them on a level piece of ground. The slowness of Canute's movements were contrasted by the vivacity of those of Edmund, who the moment he had arranged his men in order of battle, moved them quickly forward, and then suddenly giving the signal for the onset, dashed in upon the Danes.

The conflict commenced with a frightful vigour, and numbers began to fall on both sides.* At that time and place, the valour of the youthful Edmund was particularly and conspicuously displayed.† No sooner did he perceive that the Danes were fighting better than usual, than he abandoned the position by custom assigned to a sovereign in a field of battle—that is, between the Dragon-Staff and the banner which is called the Standard. He rushed from thence, a terrible warrior, into the foremost rank. There waving his chosen sword—a weapon worthy to be wielded by the hand of the youthful Edmund—he fell upon the hostile line of the Danes—he fell upon them as the thunderbolt falls—riving their serried ranks, bursting in upon, and dashing through the midst of them, and leaving, as he rushed onward, a wide space behind for others to follow. And thus shattering the first line, he flew upon the king's body guard,‡ and as he did so, the

* F. WIGORN. vol. p. 177.

† “Apparuit autem ibi virtus Edmundi juvenis.” H. HUNT. p. 363.

‡ “In aciem regalem.” H. HUNT.

clamour of groans, and the shrill whistling of horrid shrieks began. Eadric, perceiving what had occurred, and conscious that at that moment complete ruin was impending over the Danes, cried out to the English soldiers—"Fly, Englishmen! fly, Edmund is slain!" and so crying out, he, with all the men under his command, commenced a flight, which was speedily followed by the entire of the English army.* Eadric, as he had previously promised to Canute, was the first to run away, and to lead in his flight the men of Worcester, and in so doing, he betrayed by his falsehood, his lord and king, Edmund, and bestowed by his wiles a victory upon the Danes.†

There were, however, some few of the English not unmindful of their fame. These brave warriors, mutually exciting each other to a great deed, formed themselves into a solid and compact body, and they were, to the very last man, destroyed.‡

There then had Canute the victory, although all England fought against him!§

There were slain in that battle, Ealdorman Ælfric,

* H. HUNT. p. 363.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 177, 178. Roger de Wendover, who agrees with the account given by H. Huntingdon of the conduct of Edmund in this battle, declares, however, that "Eadric did not lead the English in their flight; but when the battle was at its height, he deserted with his entire division to the Danes." vol. i. p. 456. See *Encomium Emmæ*, in MASERE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 17.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

§ "Thaer haefde Cnut sige, and gefeagt him with ealle Engla-theode." *Sax. Chron.*

Ealdorman Godwin, Ealdorman Ulkytel of East Anglia,* the Ealdorman Æthelward, the son of the beloved of God, Aylwin, Ealdorman of the East Angles, and almost the entire body of the English nobility, of whom it may be said, that never was such loss endured by them as in this battle. There were also slain in this battle, Eadnoth, Bishop of Lincoln, and formerly prior of Ramsey monastery, as well as the Abbot Wulsius—both of whom were present for the purpose of aiding the soldiers by their prayers.†

Edmund withdrew from the battle, and unaccompanied, it might be said, by one of his adherents. Thus it was that he arrived in Gloucester, where he immediately gathered together new forces, with the intention of again attacking the enemy, who, he supposed, might be rendered idle and indifferent in the first flush of their recent victory. But at such a moment, on the other hand, Canute was not wanting in courage to pursue the fugitive.‡

A few days after this lamentable battle had been fought, in which the lives of so many noble individuals had been lost, King Edmund placed himself on the track of Canute, who had commenced plundering in the province of Gloucester.§ It was the wish of Edmund to fight again with Canute,|| and both armies stood in hostile array against

* See the eulogium upon him in W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. i. p. 302.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 178. The loss on the part of the Danes was immense, it is stated by Roger de Wendover, who adds, that it was fought on St. Luke's day, the 18th October. vol. i. p. 457.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 108. vol. i. p. 302.

§ ROG. DE. WENDOV. vol. i. p. 457.

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 178.

each other.* The place in which the opposing forces were about to encounter was named Deerhurst; the right bank of the Severn being occupied by Edmund, and the left bank held by Canute and his adherents.†

This was, however, a species of warfare of which the fighting men on both sides were weary: for the one saw that the courage of Edmund seemed each day to receive new strength and vigour; and the other, that the military power of Canute was daily increased by fresh reinforcements sent to him from abroad.‡ In accordance then with what were the general apprehensions, as well as desires of all, there was a conference held of the nobility on both sides. At this conference, one of the oldest individuals present arose, and requesting that a silent and patient hearing would be bestowed upon him, he thus proceeded:—§

* W. MALMES. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 101. p. 302.

† ROG. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 457. See *Sax. Chron.* and F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 178.

‡ ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* p. 363.

§ ETHELRED. p. 363. The substance of the speech given in the text, will be found in ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 457; in BROMTON. p. 905; in KNYGHTON. p. 2316, and a brief allusion to it in HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, p. 363. Roger de Wendover attributes it to Eadric Streona, and Florence of Worcester makes Eadric responsible for preventing the general engagement between Canute and Edmund. Neither this author, nor the Saxon Chronicle, allude to a single combat between Edmund and Canute; and W. of Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 302 (E. H. S.) mentions, that Edmund sent a challenge to Canute, which the latter declined, affirming that, though he surpassed Edmund in courage, he did not equal him in bodily size or strength—"animo se quidem excellere, sed contra tam ingentis molis hominem corpusculo diffidere." See also the speech of Eadric, as set forth in the *Encomium Emmae*, pp. 18, 19. (MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.*)

“Valiant heroes, I am very anxious to place before you
“my opinion and advice upon the present perilous state of
“our affairs. I desire to do this, although I am conscious
“I am your inferior in wisdom ; but these wrinkles and
“these white hairs must be my witnesses that I am more
“advanced in years than any one who is now present ;
“and you, perchance, may be conscious that what natu-
“ral genius cannot know, long habit may have taught ;
“and that which the theory of science cannot demonstrate,
“experience may prove. Many are the things that we
“see and know ; many more have our fathers narrated to
“us, and we think, we do not presumptuously ask for a
“patient hearing, when we are about to give a positive
“opinion, upon matters that are certain and plain to
“the view of mankind.

“Here then is a point full of danger to be discussed.
“We suffer certain evils now—we can discern what are
“worse ; and we have to fear the worst. We fight daily,
“and we conquer not ; neither are we conquered—or to
“speak more accurately, we are overcome, and yet no one
“conquers. For how can it be said, that we are not all
“conquered, we who are wounded, who are oppressed,
“who are worn down with fatigue, who are deprived of

Amid these conflicting authorities, it may be a matter of doubt, whether we have an accurate account either of the propositions which led to the peace that was finally established between Canute and Edmund ; or, whether, in point of fact, it was preceded by personal combat, although there can be no doubt, the basis of such a peace was laid in a personal conference between the two kings. We give, however, an account of the arguments used, to show why there ought to have been a personal combat, as well as an account of the combat itself ; because one of the main objects of this work is, to show how, and in what manner, *the monks wrote history*.

“our property, who are spoliated of our arms? We do not fly, when there is no one before us to strike us down. We do not strike each other, when we have alike exhausted our strength in battle. At what time, or when is it, that we may look forward to that which is to be the end of this marvellous state of affairs? When shall there be repose from our labours—a calm succeeding this heavy storm—peace as the fruit of this prolonged commotion?

“Edmund is certainly invincible, because he is endowed with a miraculous courage. Canute is most assuredly unconquerable, for he is favoured by fortune. But in what condition are we? We are ruined—we are slaughtered—we are deprived of property, of the sweet pledges of our affection, and we behold those, dearer to us than our own lives, dying the worst of deaths. And of all this toil, trouble, misery, and misfortunes, what is the fruit? Where the termination? What the profit? and what the reward? What other termination, I ask you, can it have, except that when the soldiers are slain on both sides, their leaders then, compelled by necessity, must either arrange their differences by a mutual accommodation, or that themselves alone, and unsupported by an army, personally fight their own battle? If such must be done some time or another, why not do so now? Better, more fairly, and more securely, if it must be, that it should be whilst we still breathe and live, and there remains to both an army to sustain them.

“Why is there, I ask, the unwonted course of proceedings adopted which are now adhered to? Why so much unnecessary violence, or why, if I must apply to a transaction its proper name, such unmeaning folly? In for-

“mer times, when England was ruled by many kings, its
 “glory was great, and its riches abundant. But now,
 “alas! a fatal ambition, blinded by cupidity, loses all,
 “because it craves for, and fain would have every thing.
 “Why will not that suffice for two kings, which formerly was
 “found sufficient for eight? * Or, if there be such a thirst
 “for domination in these two men, that Edmund cannot
 “tolerate an equal, and Canute spurns the idea of having
 “a superior, then, I pray of you, that they, and they
 “alone, who are desirous of possessing the sovereignty,
 “may themselves, and themselves alone, fight for the dia-
 “dem, which each alone is resolved to wear. Let a single
 “combat between themselves, decide which is to be the
 “conqueror and which the conquered—and let not an in-
 “terminable war be waged, until neither has soldiers to
 “command at home, nor to defend himself, the people, the
 “crown, and the country from the attacks of foreigners.”

The orator was about to proceed—he was in the midst of his harangue, when his words were drowned amid the loud shouts of all who heard him, and an unanimous cry burst forth from the mouth of every listener—“Let them fight, or let them amicably arrange their dispute.” †

Such was the opinion expressed by the nobles on both sides, and as soon as it was communicated to the two Kings they approved of it.

The two Kings, in the presence of their respective ar-

* “Quare rogo non duobus sufficit quod *quinque* olim regibus satis fuit?” ETHELRED. The fact is more correctly stated by Roger de Wendover.—“Anglia modo duobus non sufficit, quæ olim *octo* regibus satis fuit.” vol. i. p. 457.

† “Aut pugnent ipsi aut componant.” ETHELRED. “Pugnent singulariter qui regnare student singulariter.” H. HUNT.

mies, and each equipped in the most gorgeous armour, were rowed* to the island of Olney in the Severn, and there, with their soldiers as spectators, the duel between them began.

The two Kings made their first assaults on each other with their stout lances,† but the points of both weapons were met with their still stronger shields, and fell alike ineffective, and shattered to the earth. They then advanced towards each other, and joined in close combat with their swords. They fought well and valiantly; Edmund sustained by his wonted bravery, and Canute aided by his accustomed good fortune. Their blade-swords rattled around their helmeted heads, and fire-sparks spurted forth in the collision of the clashing metals. The brave heart of Edmund, warmed then as it had ever done before in the active struggle of a combat, and new strength seemed to be infused into every limb, as the perils of a death-strife became more urgent. He raised his right hand, waved his sword, and rained down with such rapidity his blows upon the head of his adversary, that he seemed not so much to strike, as to envelop the casque of Canute with a ring of sparkling fire—the flashes appeared to rise, not as starting up as the sword edge dashed in separate and distinct blows upon the helmet of the Danish King, but as if one uninterrupted and continuous blow made the helmet glow with a lasting, glittering, flame.

His panting breath convinced Canute that his strength

* “*Trabarii advehitur.*” F. WIGORN.

† Higden states that they first fought on horseback, and then on foot. *Polychron.* p. 274.

was fast failing him in such an encounter; and despairing of victory, the thought suggested itself to his mind of entering in an amicable arrangement with his youthful and vigorous opponent. A clever and astute man, he was apprehensive lest his juvenile antagonist, observing that his strength was leaving him, would refuse to listen to any terms of peace. Hence it was that he gathered up all his courage, and concentrated all his energies in one great attempt—then rushed upon Edmund—and then drawing back a few paces, he asked the young man to pause for a moment, and give his attention to the two or three words that would be addressed to him.

Edmund, who had ever been of a gentle disposition, let fall his shield, so that the lower end rested upon the ground, as he gently bent forward in an attitude of attention, leaning upon the upper party of the shield; and as he did so, he held in his right hand his sword with the point turned to the earth.

Canute then addressed to Edmund these words:—

“Until this moment I have been desirous of obtaining
“thy kingdom, but now I am much more wishful that I
“possessed thy valour; which is, in my estimation, not
“only far more preferable to thy dominions, but to all
“other things in this world. Denmark is mine, Norway
“succumbs to me, the Swedish King acknowledges me as
“his superior lord. I, who believed that no mortal could
“resist my attacks, have been taught by thy wondrous
“courage that there is one man I cannot overcome. Fortune
“hitherto has so favoured me, that I might well feel
“assured that whithersoever I went I should be victorious. Still, so strong is the impression produced
“upon me by thy marvellous gallantry in arms, that I had

“ rather than all else this world could bestow upon me,
 “ be regarded by thee as thy friend, and in kingly power
 “ thy participator. What I wish is, that I should reign
 “ with thee in England, and thou with me in Denmark ;
 “ for when thy valour should be conjoined with my for-
 “ tune and power, Norway would be appalled, Sweden
 “ shake with fear, and even France, long accustomed as
 “ it has been to war, tremble with apprehension for its
 “ safety.”

It is almost unnecessary to add, that such a discourse as this produced its due effect. Edmund consented to Canute's proposition for the division of the kingdom. That was won by words which could not be gained by swords, and Edmund yielded in a colloquy, what never could have been wrested from him in a combat.

The royal combatants laid down their weapons, embraced in presence of their armies, who shouted with joy to behold them, whilst there pealed forth from the priesthood in clear and joyous tones the exulting hymn—“ Te Deum Laudamus.”*

It was in the island of Olney that both Kings made peace with each other, and vowed fraternity ; and that the terms on which the kingdom was to be divided between them were confirmed by a treaty and corroborated by oaths.† Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, the City of London,

* ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg. Ang.* pp. 363, 364, 365. See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 458, 459. H. HUNT. p. 363. BROMTON. p. 905. KNYGHTON. p. 2316. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* p. 274. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 192, 193, note 2 (THORPE).

† “ Dein uterque rex in insulam quæ Olanegæ appellatur * * * ; ubi pace, amicitia, fraternitate, et pacto et sacramentis confirmata, regnum dividitur.” F. WIGORN. a. 1016. vol. i. p. 178.

and the entire of the island on the south side of the Thames were retained by Edmund, as well as the imperial crown of the kingdom, whilst to Canute was allocated all the northern parts of England.*

Canute and Edmund then exchanged arms and robes with each other,† and the tribute which had been agreed upon, being paid to the Danish fleet, they separated.

The Danes returned to their ships with the spoil which they had taken, and having made peace with the citizens of London, and received a stipulated sum of money from them, they were permitted to establish their winter quarters in the city.‡

A few days subsequent to these transactions, Edmund was slain at Oxford.§ The manner his death was said to be effected, is thus described. This King, who had ever been terrible to his enemies—an object of the greatest

* F. WIGORN. vol. p. i. 178. See RUDBORN. *Hist. Mag. Winton.* lib. iii. c. 15. for a detailed specification of the several provinces and the manner in which they were allocated to Edmund and Canute on this occasion. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

† "Dein armis et vestibus mutatis." F. WIGORN. "In signum pacis vestes mutantes et arma." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 459. "In signum fœderis vestem mutant et arma." ETHELRED. p. 365. This exchange of arms between combatants, as a testimony that amity was established between them, is older even than the age of Homer. See *Iliad*, lib. vi. 235, 236. The most curious instance that we know of exchanging articles of dress as a demonstration of the mutual feelings of regard between the giver and receiver, is that mentioned by St. Gregory of Tours, who states, that formerly lovers used to change shoes with each other! "Cumque, ut ætati huic convenit, amoris se puellari præstaret affabilem, et cum poculis frequentibus etiam calceamenta deferret." GREGOR. TURONENS. *Vit. Patrum.* vol. ii. p. 449.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

§ BROMTON. p. 906.

dread to his foes—was basely slain by a son of Eadric—the father being the instigator to such a crime—he was slain at night, and while performing one of the functions of nature, by young Eadric, who twice stabbed him with a long knife, and left the fatal weapon plunged into his bowels.*

Some of our chroniclers affirm that King Edmund was slain in a manner totally different. It is affirmed by them, that the perfidious Eadric (who ever had been a traitor), when peace was re-established, and the former cordial communication between himself and Edmund renewed, requested that his sovereign would honour him by partaking of a banquet at his mansion. Edmund acceded to this request, and at the appointed time paid his promised visit to Eadric. Upon the conclusion of the royal banquet, Edmund, with his domestics, entered the sleeping chamber prepared for him. In that chamber there was a statue representing an archer holding an outstretched bow, and on it an arrow, as if on the point of discharging it. This statue, which was wonderfully well executed, stood in one corner of the chamber. When the King perceived it he was filled with admiration, and advanced towards it, in order that he might the better examine it in all its parts. He did so, and in his examination touched the statue, and the moment he did so, the arrow was dis-

* It has not been deemed necessary in this passage to give a close translation of the original. There will be found in Lambert of Aschaffneburg, two instances, under the dates of 1069 and 1076, of the deaths of two illustrious persons—Dedi the younger, and Duke Gozilo—effected by the same base means with which the gallant Edmund is here described to have been assassinated. See LAMBERTUS SCHAFNABURG. *De Rebus German.* a. 1069; 1076. PISTORIUS, vol. i. pp. 178, 234.

charged, and shot the King dead—for such was the intention, and such the object for which Eadric had this statue constructed.

Some historians declare that it was neither in this, nor in the manner previously described, that Edmund came by his death; but that friendship having been established, and England divided between the two Kings, Edmund reigned for a year, and then, about the feast of St. Andrew, died at London, and was buried by the side of his grandfather Edgar, at Glastonbury. However, it is considered, that the more true and probable mode of his death is held to be that which is the first above described; namely, that he was slain by the knife of the treacherous Eadric.*

* "Sed primus modus, videlicet quod rex Edmundus ad requisita naturæ sedens proditione dicti Eadrici occisus fuit, verior aliis et autenticior habetur." BROMTON. p. 906.

Of the authorities here referred to by Bromton, it may be observed that the oldest and most authentic mention nothing of the King's death by violent means. "On the feast of St. Andrew, died King Edmund." *Sax. Chron.* "Post hæc, rex Eadmundus Ferreum Latus, 'circa festivitatem S. Andreæ Apostoli, xv. indictione, decessit Lundoniæ." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 179. The year of the indiction given by Florence corresponds, as it is observed by Mr. Hardy (note to Malmsbury, vol. i. p. 303, E. H. S.), with the year 1017, and therefore coincides with one of the statements of Bromton, "Cum uno anno regnasset." H. HUNT. p. 363. W. MALMS. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 303. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 459, 460. HIGDEN. p. 274. ÆTHELRED. p. 365. R. DICET. p. 466. INGULPHUS. p. 58. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 155. RUDBORN. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 229. *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 79. vol. i. p. 196. and others, state the assassination of Edmund, and most of them attribute it to Eadric. The strange manner of putting him to death by the contrivance of an armed statue, mentioned by Bromton, is also repeated by KNYGHTON. pp. 2316, 2317. Mr. Turner remarks, that the death of Edmund was directly attributed to Canute, and he quotes the following authorities in sustainment of the assertion:—

There are others also, who mention that the chamberlains of Edmund were corrupted by the bribes of Eadric; and that through their means the King was murdered in his bed. But whatever way his death was effected, there is one fact connected with it of which there cannot be the slightest doubt, namely, that he was treacherously assassinated, and that Eadric was the instigator to that assassination. No sooner was that base and foul deed perpetrated, than Eadric went to the wife of Edmund, and before she had been apprised of her husband's death, took from her Edmund's two sons, Edmund and Edward, and conducted them to Canute.*

The death of Edmund was bitterly lamented by all England, for with Edmund as its ruler, it had hoped to have been freed from the domination of the Danes.†

"Erat tunc temporis inter Anglos vir potens, Heidricus Striona nomine. Is a rege Canuto pecunia corruptus est ut jatmundum clam interficeret. Hoc modo jatmundus rex periit." *Knyttl. Saga*. p. 139. To the same purpose Saxo, "Memorant alii, Edvardum clandestino Canuti imperio occisum," lib. x. p. 193. Snorre says, "Eodem mense Heinrikus Striona occidit Edmundum regem." Olaf Helga, p. 24. Adam of Bremen says he was poisoned, p. 31. TURNER's *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 332. note 19. (Sixth Ed.) See LAPPENBERG's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 193.

* KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. i. c. 2. p. 2317. The fate that befel the children of Edmund will be found stated in the next chapter.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 460.

CHAPTER IV.

CANUTE.

THE claims of Edmund's family to the throne rejected. . Prince Edwy doomed to banishment. . And subsequently put to death. Canute made King of all England in 1017. "The King of the Churls." King Edmund's son sent to Sweden, and from thence to Hungary. Marriage of Canute with Emma, the widow of King Ethelred. The just punishment inflicted on the traitor Eadric by Canute. A large tribute paid to the Danes, and a portion of their fleet sent to Denmark. Council of Danes and English at Oxford, in 1018. A code of laws agreed upon. Canute places English and Danes on terms of perfect equality. The crime and repentance of the rich man, Leofwine. . His pilgrimage to Rome. . His splendid donations to Ely. Death of Leving, Archbishop of Canterbury. . Succeeded by Ethelnoth "the good." The character of Ethelnoth. The great sanctity of Wlstan, Archbishop of York, testified by a miracle. Canute's rich gifts to Edmundsbury. Edmund elected Bishop of Durham. Anecdote respecting the

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pious priest, Elfred. . Discovery of the relics of the venerable Bede, the father of English history. Banishment and death of a persecutor of St. Elphegus. Death of Bishop Algar, "the abundant alms-giver." Archbishop Ethelnoth's visit to Rome. The relics of St. Elphegus removed by King Canute, Queen Emma, and Archbishop Ethelnoth, from London to Canterbury. Rich donations made to Winchester by Canute. Victory of Canute over the Swedes, won by Godwin and English soldiers. Journey of Ælfric, Archbishop of York, to Rome. Deaths of the Dukes of Normandy. Abortive efforts of Robert, Duke of Normandy, to invade England. The vision of a monk respecting the future accession of St. Edward the Confessor to the throne. War of Canute with St. Olave, King of Norway. St. Wolfred, an Englishman, martyred in Sweden, in 1028. Haco banished by Canute. The monastery of Ely . . Abbot Leofsin's rules for its management. Canute's love for Ely. . He is charmed with the singing of the monks, and composes Anglo-Saxon poetry in compliment to them. Canute visits Ely in a sledge. . Enfranchises and endows with property his rustic guide. Birth of William the Conqueror. . The pilgrimage of his father, Duke Robert, to Jerusalem. King Canute determines on making a pilgrimage to Rome. . His vow to St. Augustine, respecting the relics of St. Mildrida. . The vow fulfilled. . Removal of the relics from Thanet to Canterbury. Canute's donation of the port of Sandwich to Christ Church, Canterbury. Canute's pilgrimage to Rome. Magnificent donations to various churches made by him. King Canute in the Church of St. Omer, described by an eyewitness. Canute in Rome. . his liberality and piety. Canute's letter from Rome to the clergy and people of England. Canute conquers the King of Scotland. The shrine of St. Cuthbert visited by Canute. . The King, in honour of the Saint, walks barefooted for five miles. Canute on the sea-shore with his courtiers. Canute places his crown upon the head of an image

of the Saviour. Dedication of Bury St. Edmond's in honour of the martyred King. Canute's visit to Glastonbury. Canute's Charter to Glastonbury. Canute's donations to foreign churches. Letter of Fulbert, the poet, philosopher, and Bishop of Chartres, to King Canute. Charter of Croyland monastery confirmed by Canute. Bishop Etheric, the friend and adviser of Canute. Ramsey monastery rebuilt by Canute. Dispute between the monks of Ramsey and of Ely respecting the relics of St. Felix. Rich gifts made by Etheric to Ramsey. Anecdote respecting Thurkyll, a Dane, his wife and child. Proceedings against a suspected murderer described. Canute makes his son Swein King of Norway, and has Hardecanut crowned as King of the Danes. Death of Canute. The laws of Canute. His Forest Law, compared with the Game Laws of other countries.

CHAPTER IV.

CANUTE.

A.D. 1017—1035.

UPON the death of Edmund, King Canute directed the bishops, ealdormen, thanes, and all others, the chief men of the English nation, to assemble together in London.* Upon those persons appearing before him, Canute, as if he were ignorant of the facts of the case, and thereby acting with great sagacity, interrogated those individuals amongst them who had been witnesses to the treaty between him and Edmund, when peace was established, and a division of the kingdom agreed upon, as to "what was the manner "in which he and Edmund had referred in conversation to "the brothers and children of the latter?" "Whether Edmund's brothers, and Edmund's children, were to reign "over the West Saxon kingdom, if Edmund should die "during his (Canute's) life-time?" The witnesses so interrogated said in reply, that they knew for certain that King Edmund had not assigned, and had not intended to have assigned, whether living or dead, any portion of his sove-

* F. WIGORN. a. 1017, vol. i. p. 179.

reign powers to his brothers: the same witnesses also added, that they were aware that King Edmund wished Canute to be the friend and guardian of his children until they reached the age when they might be crowned.*

Now, the men who said this, and who called upon God as their witness that they told the truth, gave a false testimony. They foully lied, in the hope that Canute would be a kind sovereign to them, because of their mendacity, and that their crime might win from him a great and a rich reward. No long period of time was, however, permitted to elapse until some of those false witnesses were put to death by the king.†

Upon the aforesaid interrogation having been made, and the answers given, Canute's next effort was to obtain from all the great men of the land who had been so summoned before him an oath of allegiance. The persons then present made oath that they willed to elect him as their king, humbly to yield obedience unto him, and to give provision and pay to his army; and having accepted the pledge of

* F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 179.

† F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 179. The expressions used by Henry of Huntingdon would lead to the conclusion that all the persons subsequently visited in England with punishment by Canute were amongst those who, either from "fear or affection," had misled, by their false testimony, the Witan in 1017: "Postea vero rex dignam retributionem nequitiae Anglis reddidit. * * * Rex vero Cnut Edricum occidit: Turchillum exulavit: Hyrc fugere compulit. Præterea summos procerum aggressus Normannum ducem interfecit. Edwiadelinge exterminavit; Adewoldum detruncavit. Edwicheorleging exulavit; Bridric ferro vita privavit."—*Histor.* lib. vi. p. 363. The only persons to whom this observation cannot with justice apply, were the two Edwys. See *ETHELRED, Gest. Reg. Ang.* p. 365.

faith from his naked hand,* and being sustained by the oaths of the Danish chiefs, they rejected altogether the claims of the brothers and children of Edmund, and abjured them as their kings.†

One of those members of the royal family who was thus rejected by them was Edwy, the illustrious and worthily-honoured brother of King Edmund, and who was, at the same time, by a most wicked doom, declared to be a person that ought to be driven into exile.

No sooner did Canute notice the base adulation of the members of the Witan, and the manner in which they had marked their contempt for the claims and the person of Edwy, than he joyfully retired to his private chamber, and summoning the perfidious Eadric thither, he inquired from him in what mode Edwy might best be trepanned, and put to death. Eadric replied that he knew a person named Æthelward, who, if so disposed, could readily slay Edwy: this Æthelward, he said, he could speak to, and promise him a large reward for such a service. Canute no sooner

* "Et accepto pignore de manu sua nuda." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 180. They did homage to him as Harold, the Dane, in the year 814, did homage to Louis-le Debonnaire:—

"Mox manibus junctis Regi se tradidit ultro -

Et secum regnum, quod sibi jure fuit.

Suscipe, Cæsar, ait, me, necnon regna subacta

Sponte tuis memet confero servitiis.

Cæsar at ipse manus manibus suscepit honestis :

Junguntur Francis Denica regna piis."—

ERMOLD. NIGELL. *Carmen*. lib. iv. pp. 601, 606.

† F. WIGORN, vol. i. p. 180. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1017. S. DUNELM. p. 176. R. DICET. p. 466. BROMTON. p. 906. KNYGH-
TON. lib. i. c. 3, p. 2317. Both DICET and BROMTON state that Canute was, on this occasion, consecrated as king by Leving, Archbishop of Canterbury.

heard Æthelward's name than he directed him to be sent for, and in this crafty manner addressed him :—" The ealdorman Edric has said such and such things of you to me ; and he has even declared that it is in your power so to beguile Edwy, that he shall not long be allowed to live. Do you, then, attend to our desires, and you shall enjoy all the honours and dignities of your ancestors. Come to me with his head, and you shall be more dear to me than my own brother."

Æthelward replied that he was disposed to do whatever Canute demanded, and that he would seek by what means, if any such were in his power, to deprive Edwy of life. But although Æthelward said this to Canute, he had not the slightest intention of killing Edwy. His promise was an excuse ; for Æthelward was a member of one of the most noble families of the English race.*

It was in this year (1017) that King Canute obtained the sovereignty over the entire of England, and that he divided the supreme command into four parts.† Wessex he retained for himself, East Anglia he bestowed upon Turkill, Mercia upon the ealdorman Eadric, and Northumbria upon the jarl Edric.‡ He, at the same time, entered into a compact with the nobles and people of

* F. WIGORN. a. 1017, vol. i. pp. 179, 180.

† "Hoc anno rex Canutus totius Angliæ suscepit imperium, idque in quatuor partes divisit." F. WIGORN. "— feng Cnut cyning, to eall Angel-cynnes rice ; and *hit* todaeld on feower."—*Sax. Chron.* a. 1017.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 181. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 460. S. DUNELM. p. 176. R. DICET. p. 466. BRIMTON. p. 906. KNIGHTON. p. 2317.

England, and they with him, both parties binding themselves by the most solemn oaths, that there should be a firm, cordial, and lasting friendship between the two, and that all old enmities should be forgotten, and for ever set to rest.*

In accordance with the counsel that was given to him by the perfidious caldorman Eadric, King Canute banished from England the illustrious Edwy, the brother of King Edmund, as well as the Edwy who was designated "the king of the churls."† At a subsequent period of time this Edwy made his peace with, and was fully reconciled to King Canute. Such, however, was not the case with the Etheling Edwy; for, deceived by the snares of those whom he had previously confided in as his most trustworthy friends, he was, in accordance with the com-

* "Foedus etiam cum principibus *et omni populo ipse, et illi cum ipso percusserunt,*" &c. F. WIGORN. a. 1017, vol. i. p. 181. In this compact between the Anglo-Saxons and their new foreign sovereign, we perceive that the privileges of the aristocracy were not those solely that were taken care of: that the great body of the people were recognised as amongst the contracting parties whose interests were to be consulted, and their rights protected.

† "Eadwig ceorla cyng." *Sax. Chron.* "Exlegavit Godwynum fratrem Edmundi qui *rex rusticorum* appellatus est." See H. HUNT. p. 363. Herr Lappenberg supposes that the Edwy was "probably a relation of the royal house, who, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, was called the 'king of the churls or peasants.'" Vol. ii. p. 198. The name of *Godwin*, which is given to him by Knyghton, coupled with the fact that he was subsequently reconciled to Canute, and that the celebrated Godwin was said to be the son of a herdsman, might lead to the inference that this designation of "king of the churls," which has puzzled historians, did in fact belong to one who occupies a conspicuous position in this portion of the annals of England. See the *Knytinga Saga*, pp. 105—131, 133, as quoted in TURNER'S *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. b. vi. c. 10, n. 21, pp. 333, 334. (Sixth edition.)

mand and desire of King Canute, put to death,—he who was perfectly innocent of any crime was this year deprived of life!*

Eadric tendered to Canute the advice that he should slay the young Ethelings, Edward and Edmund, the sons of King Edmund. Canute, however, considered that it would be a great and lasting infamy to himself, if the youthful princes were put to death in England, and he therefore sent them, shortly after his accession to the throne, to the King of the Swedes,† in order that they might be murdered. The King of the Swedes, however, although there was a treaty of alliance between him and Canute,‡ could not endure the thought of complying with

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 181. "King Canute also banished Edwy Etheling, whom he afterwards ordered to be slain." *Sax. Chron.* The account of Edwy's misfortunes is thus given by William of Malmshury:—

"Edwy, the brother of Edmund, a youth of such probity, that no one could regard him with contempt, was, in accordance with the command of Canute, and by means of the traitor Eadric, compelled to leave England. For a long time Edwy was exposed to many hardships, as a wanderer by sea, and a traveller by land, until at length the anguish of his mind affected the health of his body; and having privily returned to the English people, in the midst of whom he lay concealed, he died, and was buried at Tavistock." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180, vol. i. p. 303. Rog. de Wendover states that Edwy was concealed by his friend Æthelward in a certain abbey, and thus escaped the imminent death with which he had been threatened. Vol. i. p. 461.

† "Filii ejus in Ruzziam exilio dampnati." ADAM. *Hammaburg. Eccl. Pont.* lib. ii. § 51. PERTZ. *Monument. Germ. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 324.

‡ A proof of the anxiety which always animated Canute in making and maintaining foreign alliances, will be found in the account given of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine:—

"——— necnon et regem Danamarcorum et Anglorum, nomine Canotum, ita sibi summo favore devinxerat, ut annis singulis

any such base request, and therefore sent them to the King of the Hungarians, Solomon,* with the request that he would not only spare their lives, but carefully nurture them. One of these princes, Edmund, in the course of time, died in Hungary. The other, Edward, was united in marriage with Agatha, the daughter of the Emperor Henry,† and of that marriage was born Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland, Christina, a pure and holy nun, and the Etheling Edgar.‡

It was in the month of July in this year (1017), that King Canute received in marriage Emma, the widow of

legationes eorum exciperet pretiosis cum muneribus; ipseque pretiosiora eis remitteret munera." *Chron. Ademar Cabanens.* Of this truly worthy ally of Canute, it is said, to his honour—"defensor pauperum, pater Monachorum, ædificator et amator Ecclesiarum." See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 149. From a statement made at the Council of Limoges, we learn the nature of the gifts made to this good Prince by Canute—"regalia munera misit, simulque codicem letteris aureis scriptum, in quo nomina sanctorum, distincta cum imaginibus continebantur." BARONIUS. a. 1029. § 16. *Ann. Eccles.* vol. xvi. p. 579.

* "From a. 997 to 1038, Stephen was King of Hungary." THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 181. (E. H. S.)

† "The second of that name. SUHM (*H. of Danm.* Bd. iii. p. 726) takes Agatha for a daughter of Bruno, a brother of Henry II., and afterwards bishop of Augsburg (ob. 1029). THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 181. (E. H. S.)

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 181. Upon this point of English history, much valuable information will be found in Lappenberg, who observes, that the relationship between the King of Hungary and the German Emperor had not previously been noticed by writers on English history—that Stephen of Hungary was the brother-in-law of Henry, by his wife Gisella, and that the young Prince Edmund, who died without issue, had been married to the second daughter of Stephen, and she, on the death of Edmund, was united in marriage to Count Eppo of Nellenburg, and became the mother of St. Eberhard. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*,

the late King Ethelred.* This event occurred upon the death of Algiwa, the daughter of Elfeim, and the wife of Canute, who was also the mother, by Canute, of the two princes, Swein and Harold, although others account in a different manner for the births of both.† An embassy was therefore sent by Canute to Duke Richard, praying that the hand of his sister, the widow of Ethelred, might be bestowed upon him. She accordingly arrived in England in the month of July, and was united with Canute in lawful wedlock.‡ Emma instantly became the mediatrix between Canute and the people of England; for it was she who advised him to send back forthwith his Danish

vol. ii. p. 198, and note 3, 4. See also W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180, vol. i. p. 303. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 462. ETHELRED. p. 366. BROMTON. p. 906. KNYGHTON. p. 2317.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 181.

† ROO. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 462, 463. "The Saxon Chronicle, ad an. 1036, expresses the same doubt of Harold's parentage; Florence and Ralph de Diceto, that Elfgif, unable herself to bear the King a son, passed upon him the son of a cobbler." COXE, note to Roger de Wendover, vol. i. p. 462.

‡ The conditions of her marriage are stated in the *Encomium Emmæ*—"Abnegabat illa se unquam Cnutonis sponsam fieri, nisi illi iusjurando affirmaret, quod nunquam alterius conjugis filium post se regnare faceret, nisi ejus; si fortè illi Deus ex eo filium. Dicebatur enim ab alia quadam rex filios habuisse. Placuit regi verbum." *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 21. MASERE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon. Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 5. 6. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p. 306. William of Jumieges states, that on the occasion of Canute's marriage with Emma, he gave to his army her weight in gold and in silver: "dans pro illa cuncto exercitui in auro et argento pensum illius corporis." *De Duc Norman.* lib. iv. c. 9. p. 639. See also, as to the marriage of Emma with Canute, *Chron. W. Godell.* a. 1017. *Chron. Fontanelle*, as quoted in note by BOUQUET, and *Chron. Turonens.* in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. pp. 262, 281, 282. H. HUNT. p. 363. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.*

fleet, and his stipendiary soldiers to the country from which they had come.*

Upon Christmas day, in the year 1017, Canute, being then in London, the perfidious ealdorman Eadric was, in accordance with Canute's orders, slain in his palace in London.† The iniquitous Eadric had been informed that it was intended to deprive him of that supreme command over the Mercians which he had possessed and exercised for a great many years.‡ He was greatly disturbed by this intelligence, and therefore he presented himself in a very angry mood before Canute, reproached severely the sovereign with the many benefits he had bestowed, and the numerous services he had rendered him, amongst which, he specified two, that tended more than anything else he had said to excite the rage and provoke the resentment of Canute. "For you," said Eadric, "I first forsook King Edmund, and afterwards, as a proof of my loyalty to you, I slew him, and yet you are the person

lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. pp. 303, 304. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1017. AILRED. *Vit. S. Edward Confess.* p. 374. KNYGHTON. p. 2318. *Roman de Rou.* 6034—6036. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 28,006—28,027.

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 462, 463. In the *Encomium Emmæ*, there is a species of epithalamium upon the arrival of Emma in England, as the bride of Canute:—"Lætatur Gallia; lætatur etiam Anglorum patria, dum tantum decus transvehitur per æquora. Lætatur, inquam, Gallia tantam tanto Regi dignam se enixam: Anglorum vero lætatur patria talem se recipisse in op-pida." *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 6. MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 21.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 181, 182.

‡ R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 460.

“who would now deprive me of the Ealdormanship of ‘the Mercians.’”*

These words were spoken before dinner,† and in the presence of witnesses. The King was first amazed when he heard them, then stirred by rage, then shaken by grief; and then anxious that those who heard what Eadric had said, should not suppose that he was a willing participator in the crime of which Eadric declared himself to be guilty,‡ he, with a face reddened by passion, pronounced this sentence.§ “Then, thou shalt justly die, as ‘one who has avowed himself guilty of high treason against ‘me, and against thy God—against me, for in slaying ‘thine own lord, thou hast slain him who was my brother ‘and my ally. His blood then be upon thy head, to

* R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 460.

† “Hæc dixit ante prandium,” KNYGHTON; that is, they were spoken at a period of the day when there could not be any excuse for them, as arising from the inebriety indulged in by the Danes, and to which reference has been already made. Malmsbury, however, declares that the fatal words were not spoken in an angry, but a friendly spirit:—“quasi amicabiliter improprians.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p. 305.

‡ KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. i. c. 3. p. 2318.

§ ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 460. In the *Encomium Emmæ*, a very different account of the conversation between the traitor Eadric and King Canute is given. It is there mentioned, that upon Eadric demanding a reward for his treachery, the King, with a grim countenance, thus addressed him:—

“Qui dominum, inquit, tuum decipisti fraude, mihine poteris fidelis esse? Rependam tibi condigna præmia, sed ea ne deinceps tibi placeat fallacia.”

“Et Erico duce suo vocato. Huic, ait, quod debemus persolvito; videlicet, ne nos decipiat, occidito.”

“Ille vero nil moratus, bipennem extulit, eique ictu valido caput amputavit; ut hoc exemplo milites regibus suis esse fideles, non infideles.” MASERE’S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 20.

"whom thou gavest thine hand in fealty in presence of thy God."

Eadric, the instant these words were pronounced, was, lest there should arise any popular tumult, strangled on the spot, and his body thrown out of the window into the Thames*—and thus was his own perfidy retaliated upon him.

Of the death of this traitor, a different account is given by some writers. They state that Eadric, having treacherously slain King Edmund, went to Canute, and greeted him with the salutation, "Hail! to him who is now the King alone of England:" and, upon his being asked why he addressed Canute with such a salutation, he explained the manner in which Edmund had been deprived of life; and then Canute answered him in these words:—"Such services as thine shall receive their meet reward; for this I shall place thee above all the nobles of my kingdom."† Canute, upon this, ordered him to be decapitated, and his head fixed on a stake, and placed upon the Tower of London, to be devoured by the birds of the air.

It is, however, a matter of little importance, the precise manner in which the traitor Eadric ended his days; that which is of importance, and with respect to which there can be no doubt, is, that he who had deceived and betrayed many, did at last, and in accordance with the just

* In Knyghton a curious account is given of the manner in which Eadric was disposed of:—"Statim jussit ligari manus et pedes, et mitti in unam fundam cum machina et projici per fenestram ab alta turri in aquam Thamesie, et mortuus est." p. 2318.

† "Reddam cunctis regni proceribus *celsiorem*."

judgment of God, suffer a fitting punishment for all his crimes.*

At the same time that Eadric was put to death, the following persons, although free from crime, were slain: viz., the Ealdorman Normann, the son of Ealdorman Leofwin, and brother of Earl Leofric; Æthelward, the son of Ealdorman Ægelmar; and Brihtric, the son of Alphegus, thane of Devon. Leofric, the brother of Normann, was, however, constituted an Ealdorman by Canute, and was afterwards loved by him.†

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 460, 461.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 182. See, as to the death of Eadric and his friends, *Sax. Chron.* a. 1017. H. HUNT. p. 363. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1016. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. INGULPHUS. p. 57. S. DUNELM. p. 177. ÆTHELRED. p. 365. BROMTON. pp. 907, 908.

In Mr. Thorpe's edition of Florence of Worcester, we find a note appended to the year 1017, which is, we conceive, worthy of being translated, as a record found in one of the manuscript copies of Florence.

"Wulgar, the pious pastor and abbot of Abingdon, died at this time, being the eighteenth year in which, by the Divine Mercy, he had presided over the monastery. By means of the vigilant labours of this abbot, as well as through the protecting pity of heaven, the monastery of Abingdon, in the midst of all the commotions of England, remained untouched by the devastating hands of the Danes, even though all places on all sides of it were destroyed by the incessant incursions of foemen, or were compelled to purchase immunity from depredations, by their inhabitants paying enormous sums of money to the aggressors. Wulgar was succeeded in his pastoral office by Ethelwine, whom King Canute, on account of his admirable virtues, selected as his father confessor (*secretorum suorum conscium efficiens*), and under whose advice he sought to abstain from his sins, and to desire alone to do what was right and proper. Hence it happened, that the monastery of Abingdon was loved by the King (Canute), and that he heaped gifts upon it, and amongst other donations made by him, was a shrine composed of silver and gold, in which were placed the relics of St. Vincent, levite and martyr." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p.

In the year 1018 there were paid to the army of the Danes seventy-two thousand pounds, which were collected from England, and ten thousand four hundred pounds, collected from London. Forty-five ships remained with King Canute; but the remainder of the fleet returned to Denmark.*

In the same year, the English and Danes met at Oxford, and there they cordially agreed in maintaining and abiding by the law of King Edgar.†

182, note 1. (E. H. S.) In the *Saxon Chronicle*, the accession of Ethelwiae to the abbacy of Abingdon, is placed in the year 1018. (See INGRAM, p. 201.) This reference to Abingdon is, we conceive, worthy of being made, as shewing that it was one of the few instances that occurred, in those dreadful times, of a religious establishment escaping the rapacity of the infidel Northmen. Its good fortune in this respect, forms a strong contrast with an incident that occurred at Croyland in 1017, and which is thus narrated by Ingulphus:—

“At the commencement of the reign of King Canute, and when peace was everywhere proclaimed, and began again to flourish in all the provinces of England, the venerable father, and abbot of Croyland, Godric, summoned back again to their cells all the monks of his monastery. At that time, the abbot of the church of St. Pega, with his community, returned to his monastery; but the moment he entered the church, and perceived how it had been all destroyed and consumed by fire, he fell down flat upon the ground, and then being carried by the monks to a small house in an adjoining hamlet, he expired five days afterwards, and was buried in his own church!” *Hist.* p. 58.

The merit of Wulgar and the happiness of Abingdon, consisted in their being preserved from such a calamity as that which killed with grief the gentle pastor of St. Pega.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 182. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1018. H. HUNT. pp. 363, 364. See COXE's note to Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 463. (E. H. S.)

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 182. *Sax. Chron.* Roger de Wendover places this event in the year 1022, and states that the laws then accepted by both parties were those of Edward the Elder, and that, by the direction of Canute, they were translated from

Canute having all England thus obedient to himself alone, manifested a great desire to conciliate the affections of the English, and to render them attached to his person, and this desire induced him to concede to them equality in every respect with the Danes—equal laws, equal privileges—a perfect equality at the council table, and in the field of battle. And this was likewise the motive that influenced him in seeking as a wife, and bringing back from Normandy, the relict of the former king; so that the English, yielding obedience to her who had been their former female sovereign, would feel less repugnance to the government of the Danes.*

A great battle was fought this year between the English and the Scotch at Carham.†

There was living at this period of time a certain very rich man named Leofwine,‡ the son of Æthulf, who acquired

the Anglo-Saxon into Latin: "Ab Anglica lingua in latinam translatis." Vol. i. p. 465. See *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1018.

* *W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181, vol. i. pp. 305, 306.

† *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1018, p. 155. See S. DUNELM. p. 177. R. HOVEDEN. p. 437. FORDUNIUS. *Hist. Scot.* lib. iv. c. 39, p. 683. "In 1018, Malcolm conducted his warriors to Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank of the Tweed; and here he was met by Uchtred, the Earl of Northumberland. The battle was long contested with desperate valour. The palm of victory was claimed by Uchtred; but Malcolm enjoyed the perennial fruits of his success." CHALMERS' *Caledonia*, b. iii. c. 7, vol. i. p. 402.

‡ "Tunc quidam valde locuples Leofwinus nomine." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 60, vol. i. p. 177. We shall be found jus-

for himself a high character on account of his amiability, his charity, his hospitality, and his great anxiety to promote the worship of God in the monastery of Ely—a place for which he conceived an especially high reverence. It was reported of Leofwine that he had been guilty of one of the very greatest sins, but in which he lay not long; for, by the grace of God, he repented of it, and felt great fear as to its consequences. A dispute upon some occasion took place between him and his mother, and he, moved by the goads of passion, and no longer able to restrain the impulses of a furious rage—for “anger clouds the mind, and prevents its discerning the truth;” and hence it came to pass that he snatched up a staff, and striking his mother with it, he inflicted some very severe wounds upon her. From the bruises she then received she endured a long and doleful illness; and at last, the result of the blows was that she expired!*

Leofwine was stricken with terror for the act he had done, and he, in consequence, sought to be guided by the counsel and advice of priests and other prudent persons. The answer which he received from these was, that he should present himself before the Apostolic Lord of Rome, who best knew how each crime could be expiated by an adequate punishment, and what was the most fitting measure of penance for each particular sin.

Leofwine upon this proceeded to Rome. With tears and groans he prayed before St. Peter and the relics of

tified in placing the curious and characteristic events described in the text, by the extract from the *Ely Register* as given by Wharton. “Anno MXXIX, quidam locuples Leofwynus nomine,” &c. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 608, n. c.

* See vol. i. pp. 680—689 of this work.

saints, and begged that they might have averted from him, as from the Ninevites, the judgment of God, which had been provoked by his sins; and he then, and not without deep grief, disclosed, precisely as it had happened, his offence to our lord the Pope.

By the Pope, it was enjoined as a penance upon Leofwine, that he should assign, for the purpose of his becoming a monk, his eldest son, to some poverty-stricken monastery,* and that the same monastery should be enriched by him with donations from his abundant possessions, and that he should also, for his soul's sake, give, with a far more generous hand than he had ever done before, his wealth to the poor.

Upon Leofwine's return to his home, that soul-saving resolution which he had adopted, he most thoroughly and completely fulfilled. He gave immense sums to those in need, in every place about him. He distributed large donations upon poor churches, and he manifested a great desire to make the monastery of Ely rejoice in his munificence. It was to that monastery he devoutly presented his eldest-born son, named Æthelmer, and with the several possession sthat are set forth ina charter written in the Anglo-Saxon language.†

Leofwine, after this, in the presence of Archbishop Wlstan, of bishops, of abbots, and of an immense assembly, both men and women, adjured the pious Ælsey abbot, and

* "Suum primogenitum pauperculæ ecclesiæ in monachatum alicubi tradere."

† "Ubi primogenitum suum nomine Æthelmerum cum his qui inferuntur possessionibus, teste cyrographo Anglice descripto, devotissime optulit, videlicet, cingestune," &c. We omit the names of the different lands and gifts bestowed by Leofwine upon Ely.

the monks of Ely with him, that neither he nor they would give away, nor part with, nor permit to be separated, nor disjoined from the church, for gold, for silver, or for any other advantage those possessions which, for the redemption of his own soul, and the souls of his wife and relations, he had given to God, to His Blessed Mother Mary, and to the holy virgin Etheldritha,* and to their holy and devout children; but that in memory of himself and of his family, all that he had given should for ever stand and remain as incorporated with the monastery of Ely. The monks of Ely, on the other hand, promised to Leofwine that they would for ever after offer up, on every Monday, masses for him, and on every Tuesday, masses for his wife, his children, and his relations, and that they would feed the hungry and clothe the naked†—conditions that are set forth, and may be seen, in his testament in Anglo-Saxon.

Leofwine, to make himself acceptable to God, persevered in the good act which he had thus commenced. He extended the walls of the church, widened it at the south end, and at his own expense completed the works which the monks had begun. He also had constructed in one of the recesses of the church an altar, in honour of the Most Blessed Mother of God, and on that altar a throne of the height of a man, and on that throne an image, composed of gold and silver, of the Blessed Virgin holding her Son in her arms—an image which, for its exquisite workmanship and size, was regarded as of inestimable value; but which King William, upon his obtaining possession of this island by force of arms, took

* See vol. i. pp. 386—389 of this work.

† “Egenos alere, nudos vestire.”

away, with several other of the church ornaments, and destroyed.* As to the praiseworthy Leofwine, he ended his days at a good round age, and his body was borne to Ely, and buried in the church of the Sacred Virgin Etheldritha, who was constituted the inheritor of all his goods. To him, be the remission of his sins, and with God, life everlasting. Amen!†

In the year 1019, died Archbishop Elfstan, who also bore the name of Leving. He was a very upright man, both before God and before the world.‡

The same year, Canute, King of the English and the Danes, went to Denmark, where he remained during the entire winter;§ and returned from thence the following year (1020) to England;|| when there was a great council held during the Easter festival at Cirencester, by whose doom were outlawed the Ealdorman Æthelward, and Edwy, King of the Churls.¶

* This reference to the proceedings of "the Conqueror" will suffice to show that "the spoliation of churches," and "image-breaking," did not commence in this country with the Reformation.

† *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 61, vol. i. pp. 177, 178, 179. (Ang. Christ.)

‡ "And he wæs swithe raedfaest man aegther for Gode and for worulde." *Sax. Chron.* See *Evident. Eccl. Cantuar.* p. 2223. SMITH. *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. vi. c. 28. p. 365.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1019. vol. i. p. 182. The *Saxon Chronicle* states that he went to Denmark "with nine ships," shewing that he left a large naval force to guard the coast of England.

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 182.

¶ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1020.

Ethelnoth the monk, who had been dean at Christ's Church, Canterbury,* the son of Ægelmar, a nobleman, and who was also called "the good," succeeded Leving this year as Archbishop of Canterbury,† and "he was the same year, on the ides of November, consecrated bishop of Christ's Church, by Archbishop Wlstan."‡

There were at this time in England very illustrious and extremely wise men, but the most conspicuous amongst them all was Ethelnoth, the successor in the Archiepiscopal see to Leving.§ Ethelnoth was from a dean raised to the very highest rank of the priesthood. He did many things worthy of being mentioned, and each to be mentioned in terms of praise. By the authority of his own sanctity he soothed the spirit of the King into the desire to perform good deeds, whilst his example and his words deterred the monarch from giving way to the violence of his passions. Ethelnoth, who was the first to bestow a new dignity upon his see, by giving to it the relics of St. Elphegus, did, too, by his own presence in Rome, renew and restore to its pristine dignity the Archbishopric of Canterbury; and returning home from Rome, he purchased at Pavia for a hundred talents in silver and one talent in gold, the arm of St. Augustin, doctor, which relic was sent by him to Coventry.||

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1020.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, p. 202.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 184. vol. i. p. 313.

|| W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 184. vol. i. p. 313. *Chron. Petriburg.* p. 43. (GILES.) Of Archbishop Ethelnoth the reader will find frequent mention in this chapter. It is interesting to perceive an Archbishop of Canterbury manifesting such respect for the relics of that great doctor of the church—St.

In the year 1020, the church which King Canute, and the jarl Turkill had built upon the hill of Assingdon, was in their presence dedicated with great honour and glory, by Wlstan, Archbishop of York, assisted by several other bishops.*

Augustin—who died and was buried at Hippo, in the year 430, and whose remains, there can be no doubt, were removed first to Sardinia, and then to Pavia, and where we believe *they still remain*, in the Church of St. Peter—now called St. Austin's. See BUTLER's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. viii. pp. 367, 368.

A few extracts, cursorily taken from the works of the great doctor of the church in the fifth century, will shew why his memory should be peculiarly dear to the successor of St Odo, and the imitator of the charity of St. Elphegus:—

“Cum autem vita ista transierit, nec panem illum quæremus quem quærit fames, nec sacramentum altaris habemus accipere, quia ibi erimus cum Christo *cujus corporis accepimus*.” AUGUST. *Opera omnia. Serm. lix. vol. vii. p. 344.* (Bassani, 1797.) See *Contra libros Petitionian.* lib. ii. § 32. vol. xii. p. 301.

“*Panis ille quem videtis in altari, sanctificatur per verbum Dei, corpus est Christi. Calix ille immo, quod habet calix, sanctificatur per verbum Dei, Sanguis est Christi.*” *Serm. ccxxvi. De Tempore, in die Paschæ. vol. vii. p. 973.* See also *Serm. cclxxii. pp. 1103, 1104.*

“Dives et pauper duo sibi sunt contraria : sed iterum duo sibi sunt necessaria. Nullus indigeret, si se invicem supportarent ; et nemo laboraret, si se ambo juvarent. Dives propter pauperem factus est, et pauper propter divitem factus est. Pauperis est orare, et divitis erogare ; Dei est pro parvis magna pensare. De misericordia ejus parva, magna nascitur copia. Fecundus est ager pauperum, cito reddit dominantibus fructum. Via cæli pauper, per quam venit ad patrem. Incipe ergo erogare, si non vis errare * * Da petenti, ut possis ipse accipere : tribue pauperi, si non vis flammis exuri.” S. AUGUSTIN. *Ser. 367. De Verb. Evang. vol. vi. p. 1461.*

* F. WIGORN. a. 1020. vol. i. p. 183. The account given of this transaction by the Saxon Chronicle is worth transcribing:—

“This year went the King to Assingdon, with Earl Thurkhyll, and Archbishop Wulfstan and other bishops, and also abbots, and many monks with them ; and he ordered to be built there a minster of stone and lime for the souls of the men who were there

Wlstan was a truly good, a really excellent man, who had ever distinguished himself by his great virtues.* He was at first a monk, then an abbot, and finally was the third in succession to St. Oswald as Archbishop of York. All his acts, thoughts, and words, were rendered subservient to the promotion of the cause of religion. He was by birth a nobleman, and in the enjoyment of all those advantages which this world can bestow. His sister's son, Brithagus, was Bishop of Worcester, and several of his relatives were men possessed of great influence, and no less entitled to honour for their rank than their personal virtues. There was this remarkable circumstance connected with Wlstan, that at the time of his birth a surgical operation deprived his mother of life, and that he, by the care of his friends, was nurtured in his infancy on the milk of a cow. He lived during the reigns of Ethelred, Edmund, and Canute, and was alike loved by each of those sovereigns as a brother, and revered by them as a father, and in all the great affairs of state summoned to their presence, and his advice sought for as their chief councillor; as one, in fact, in whom the wisdom of God resided as in a holy temple, and whose lips never failed to give utterance to that wisdom. It was on account of his distinguished merits, that King

slain, (*for thare manna sawle the thar ofslagene waren*), and gave it to his own priest, whose name was Stigand; and they consecrated the minster at Assingdon." INGRAM'S translation, p. 202. Malmsbury, too, is particular in mentioning the motive that induced Canute to found Assingdon, and repair monasteries destroyed during the incursions of the Danes: "Ministros instituit, qui per succidua seculorum volumina Deo supplicarent pro animabus ibi occisorum." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p. 306.

* *Hist. Eliensis.* lib. ii. c. 87. "Wlstanus * * vir optimus, bonis pollebat moribus." vol. i. p. 205. (*Ang. Christ.*)

Canute conferred upon him the honour of specially inviting him to dedicate the church at Assingdon, built by himself and the jarl Turkill—an office which, with assistant bishops, Wlstan performed with glory and with honour.

How great and how worthy a man Wlstan was in the sight of God, was made most manifest to mankind towards the close of his life.

It so happened, that upon a certain occasion, Wlstan paid a visit to the monastery of Ely, with the intention of there offering up his prayers. The brothers of the monastery, for the purpose of shewing the great reverence they entertained for the Archbishop, formed a procession to meet him; and when he had been conducted into the church, and as a bishop stood at the head of the procession, leaning upon his episcopal staff, the staff suddenly sank half way into the earth! Spiritually warned as to what was the signification of this circumstance, he prophesied in the hearing of many, that in that spot should be found the future resting-place of his body, pronouncing the prediction in the words of David: "This is my rest for ever and for ever: here will I dwell."

It was in consequence of this circumstance, that as long as Wlstan lived he manifested a great regard for Ely, that he enriched it with ornaments, and that the several privileges bestowed upon it were confirmed by his signature, which always stood the first amongst the chief subscribers of its charters.

Finally, when he felt that the day of his departure from this world was fast approaching, he ordered that his body should be conveyed from York, and buried in that very spot in which his pastoral staff had sunk into the earth.

In this manner Wlstan came to be buried in the old

church of Ely monastery; and at his tomb, whether in the old church or the new, miracles were worked, and many lived to declare that they had there found a remedy for their most dire diseases.*

Subsequently, when the new church of Ely was built, the monks considered it proper to remove the body of Wlstan from the place in which it lay, and for that purpose they opened his sepulchre. They found that the flesh had dissolved away, but they were astonished to discover, that in the midst of the putrescence of the body, there should still be preserved his chasuble and pall fastened with its gilded pins,† as well as his stole and maniple. The necessity of proceeding with the building of the new church alone caused the temporary removal of the remains of Wlstan—they were deposited in the monk's cemetery in the chancel, until they could be removed to a more fitting place, and such as he was worthy of. * * * Wlstan, full of days, expired on Monday, the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1023. Blessed be God in all things !‡

* The words used by the author shew that he must have been a witness to these miracles:—"Ad cujus tumulum sæpe contingebant miracula, quæ in veteri fiebant ecclesia; ita ut hæc tenus vivi reperiantur, qui a turpibus morbis ibi curabantur."

† "*Pallium auratis spinulis affixum.*" *Hist. Eliens.* From *spinula* is derived the French *espingle*, and our *pin*; but Ducange observes that the word is peculiarly applied to the ornamental fastenings for the pall of an archbishop. "*Maxime vero hæc vox usurpatur pro iis aciculis quibus pallium archiepiscopale constringitur.*" See *Glossarium* in verb. *Spinula*.

‡ *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 87. vol. i. pp. 205, 206.

In the same year, 1020, Canute, the King of the English and the Danes, caused to be constructed at Baderichus-forthe (Edmundsbury), a truly royal monastery, with fitting buildings and offices attached to it—that being the place at which the incorruptible remains of the blessed King and martyr Edmund await the happy day of resurrection.* Canute, in accordance with the advice of Queen Emma, as well as that of the bishops and barons of the kingdom, appointed monks to live in this monastery.† Ælwin was the person who, in accordance with the King's command, first brought a community of monks into Edmundsbury.‡ Some of the monks so placed at Edmundsbury by him were taken from his own monastery at Ely, and others from Hulm. Great and rich gifts were bestowed by Canute upon Edmundsbury, and in this he was assisted by the jarl Turkill. There were ornaments in abundance, and then the donation of a perpetual enfranchisement to a monastery, over which was placed as its father and abbot, Uvi, a humble, modest, meek, and pious man. As to the clergymen who had previously been there, and had led a disorderly life, they were either permitted to remain, on condition of attaining the perfection of a religious life, or, property elsewhere being bestowed upon them, they were allowed to change their place of residence.§

Canute bestowed upon the monastery of the blessed King and martyr so many large estates, and other kinds

* ROG. DE WEND. a. 1020. vol. i. p. 464.

† ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 464.

‡ *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 86. vol. i. p. 204. (Ang. Christ.)

§ *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 86. vol. i. p. 204.

of property, that Edmundsbury might be justly considered as surpassing in worldly wealth nearly all the other monasteries in England.*

Upon the death of Aldun, the Bishop of Lindisfarne (Durham), the diocese remained for nearly three years without the consolation of being governed by episcopal authority.† At a synod of clergy in this year (1020), and when their minds were engaged upon the subject of electing a bishop, a certain truly religious priest, named Edmund,‡ jokingly said—"Why do you not elect me as your bishop?" The word that had been spoken in jest was not, however, treated as a jest by those present; for they elected him as their bishop, and then having fasted for three days, they sought to learn what was the will and what the plea-

* ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 464. William of Malmsbury makes the same statement as to the rich endowment of St. Edmunds, and then adds: "præstat hodieque donorum ejus amplitudo integra, quod locus ille infra se aspiciat omnia pene Angliæ cœnobîa." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 101. vol. i. p. 306, § 184, 185. See also *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 240. Harpsfield remarks, that it was the ancient practice of the Kings of England to send their royal crowns to Glastonbury, and then redeem them by the payment of a large sum of money. See *Sac.* xi. c. 17. p. 248. Under the date of the year 1032, further reference to Glastonbury will be found to be made in this chapter. See ALFORD, vol. iii. pp. 485. § 6, 485. § 1. Of Ælwyn, who first brought monks to Glastonbury, the following particulars are stated by the Ely historian. "Post multa beneficia sacris locis collata, demum relicto proprio episcopatu, ad contemplativam quietem in Elyense cœnobium reversus est, ubi usque ad ultimum vitæ permansit." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 86. vol. i. p. 204. (Ang. Christ.)

† F. WIGORN. a. 1020. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ "Presbyter natu nobilis." Episcopi Dunelmenses, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 701.

sure of St. Cuthbert. Whilst the priest was celebrating mass close to the head of St. Cuthbert, there was heard in the middle of the Canon, a voice issuing from the tomb of the father, and which three times named Edmund bishop.*

It was under the bishopric of Edmund, that the church of Durham became illustrated by the pious and religious works of a priest named Elfred, the son of Weston, and who lived to the time that Egelwin was bishop. This Elfred was in all things devoted to St. Cuthbert; in sobriety, in alms-giving, in unceasing prayer; and like also to the saint, he was an object of terror to the lascivious and the immodest, of veneration to the honest and the God-fearing—in all things a most faithful and trusty guardian of the church.† * * * * It was the practice of Elfred to say the psalter every night, and at its

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 183. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 163, 164. In Simeon of Durham this miracle is testified by one who had been present on the occasion. “Hæc sane de illius electione quidam proveccto ætatis presbyter solet referre, quemadmodum ab avo suo ipso scilicet diacono, qui tunc Evangelium ad missam legerat, atque ipsam vocem audierat, sæpius se audisse testatur.” *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 6. p. 31. The same authority mentions that Edmund refused to be consecrated as a bishop until he had, like his predecessors, put on the habit of a monk: “Nisi illos et ipse monachico habitu indutus imitaretur.” For an account of Edmund’s generous expenditure in the promotion of religion, see *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 701.

† S. DUNELM. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 7. p. 31. We give an abbreviated version of this chapter. It will, we hope, be considered an interesting episode, not merely on account of the character of the priest described in it; but as demonstrating the feelings which formerly prevailed in England, with respect to the father of English history—the Venerable Bede.

completion to give the signal for others to attend to the nocturnal vigils; but that to which, beyond all other things, he was most devoted, was in educating boys for the service of God—every day instructing them in singing and reading, and perfecting them in a knowledge of all matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical offices. * * *

* * * When this priest had long been engaged in a virtuous and religious life, he was commanded, in a vision to visit the ancient sites of monasteries and churches in the province of the Northumbrians, to raise from the earth, in which they lay concealed the bones of the saints, and, to expose them to the people, as objects for their veneration.* The relics so recovered by him, were those of the anchorites Balthar and Bilfrid; of the Bishops of Hexham, Acca and Alcmund; of King Oswy, and of the venerable Abbesses Ebba and Ethelgitha. A portion of the relics of those persons he carried with him to Durham, and deposited them with the body of father Cuthbert. Forewarned by a revelation, he proceeded to Melrose monastery, where lay the bones of St. Boisil, who had formerly been the teacher of St. Cuthbert in the same monastery, and these he transferred from thence to the church of Boisil's disciple, and placed them in a becoming shrine by the side of St. Cuthbert—a situation in which they long afterwards remained.† He also went to the monastery of Were, where he knew that the doctor, Bede, had passed his days, had died, and had been interred; and then each year on the anniversary of Bede's death, Elfred was in

* “*Ossa sanctorum x de terra levavit ac declaranda populis, ac veneranda supra humum locata reliquit.*” S. DUNELM.

† “*Sicut hactenus habenter.*” S. DUNELM.

the habit of employing his entire time in vigils and prayers. Upon one occasion he had, in accordance with his usual practice, travelled to Were, passed there some days alone in the church, in prayer and vigil, and then—that which he had never previously done—departed alone and at an early hour in the morning, without apprising his companions of his intention, and then returned to Durham—acting in such a manner, as to lead persons to suppose that he wished no one to be cognizant of the secret of which he was master. He had so lived many years, and yet no longer manifested the desire to revisit the monastery of Were—as if he had obtained that which he had wished for. In consequence of this course of conduct Elfred came to be frequently asked, by those who were on terms of intimate friendship with him—“Where “the bones of the venerable Bede were actually placed?” and to such a question his answer always was—“No one “knows that more surely and positively than myself. “Rest satisfied of this, my dearest friends, have not the “slightest doubt upon the subject, that the same shrine “which guards the most sacred body of father Cuthbert, “also contains the bones of the venerable doctor and “monk Bede. But outside of this place let no one, I “say, seek for a particle of his relics.” In giving utterance, however, to such words as these, he always desired his friends to guard them in silence, lest the strangers who were then to be found about the church, might contemplate the perpetration of any act of mischief; lest they might seek to purloin any of the relics of the saints, and amongst them those of the venerable Bede, for the possession of which an especial desire had been manifested. This was the reason why, in placing the relics of Bede

with the body of St. Cuthbert, he had been anxious to do so in secret. And here, it may be remarked, that the statement respecting Bede's relics made by Elfred, coincides completely with the Anglo-Saxon poem with regard to Durham Church and the relics of saints contained in it, and in which mention will be found to be made of those of Bede amongst the rest. It is, in sooth, well known now that the bones of Bede were there, and that they were so found with the incorruptible body of father Cuthbert, and they were separated from all the rest of the relics by being deposited in a little linen bag. Many other things besides those we have mentioned, and that are well worthy of being recorded, are told of the venerable Elfred, and that were done by him in accordance with the commands given to him in manifest visions of St. Cuthbert; and in the same manner many things were said by him, that the events proved to have been predictions. The innocence, and the pious simplicity that characterised men in those times, won for them the protection of the holy confessor Cuthbert, defended them from their enemies, and avenged upon the heads of their adversaries every wrong sought to be inflicted upon them.*

In the year 1021, King Canute, a short time previous to the feast of St. Martin (11th November), banished from England the jarl Thurkill, of whom previous mention has been made, and at the same time, Thurkill's wife Edgitha.† Thurkill, upon his banishment from England, fled to Denmark, and in doing so he had no more than six ships

* S. DUNELM. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 7. pp. 31, 32, 33.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1021, vol. i. p. 183.

with him.* No sooner did he arrive than he became an object of suspicion to the leading men amongst the Danes, who were apprehensive that he would seek to stir up civil wars in the kingdom. He was driven away from place to place, and was at last put to death by a base mob, and his body left exposed as that of a most vile wretch, to be devoured by the wild birds and beasts. And thus was carried off by disasters, either of sea or land, all who had participated in the martyrdom of the sanctified Archbishop Elphegus, whose name is never to be mentioned but with honour.†

This year (1021) Bishop Ælgar, the abundant almsgiver,‡ died in the morning of Christmas Day.§

* OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 8, § 40. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. iii. p. 643.

† OSBERN. Vit. S. Elpheg. c. 8, § 40. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. iii. p. 643. See *Sax. Chron.* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181, vol. i. p. 305. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 465, who adds that the jarl Eric was banished, and, like Turkell, slain, on his returning to Denmark.

‡ "Ælgar biscop se ælmesfulla." *Sax. Chron.*

§ *Sax. Chron.* "Algarus orientalem Anglorum episcopus." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 183. This bishop, to whom the glorious title of "the abundant alms-giver" is attributed, was one of the disciples of St. Dunstan, and to whom the beatification of that saint was prefigured even whilst Dunstan was living. (See OSBERN. Vit. S. Dunst. c. 9, § 53. *Act. Sanct.* Mai, vol. iv. p. 374.) He was, to use the words of Osbern, conspicuous for his learning and his virtues. "Doctrina et actionis merito præcipuus." See B. DE COTTON de *Episcopis Norwicensibus*, and WHARTON, note e. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 405, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65 of this work.

Alford places in this year the adoption of the laws for regulating church affairs, sanctioned by Canute. *Annal. Eccles. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 486, § 3, p. 488, § 14. See COLLIER'S *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i.

In the year 1022, Archbishop "Ethelnoth went to "Rome, where he was received with much honour by "Benedict, the magnificent Pope, who, with his own "hand, placed the pall upon him,* and with great pomp "consecrated him Archbishop, and blessed him, on the "nones of October. The archbishop, on the self-same day, "with the same pall, performed mass, as the Pope directed "him, after which he was magnificently entertained by "the Pope himself, and afterwards, with a full blessing, "proceeded homewards.†

"Abbot Leofwyn, who had been unjustly expelled from "Ely, was his (Ethelnoth's) companion; and he (Leofwyn) "cleared himself of every thing which, as the Pope in- "formed him, had been laid to his charge, on the testi- "mony of the archbishop and of all the company that "were with him."‡

pp. 505, 506, 507. LINGARD's *Antiquities of Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii. pp. 324, 325. WILKINS' *Concilia*. vol. i. p. 297, 299—305, 305—309; SPELMAN. *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 534, 536—551, 551—569; LABBEUS, vol. ix. pp. 843, 904—913.

* "And also himself (the Pope) took the pall from St. Peter's altar." *Sax. Chron.* as translated by the Rev. T. A. GILES, p. 410. (Bohn's Antiq. Library.)

† *Sax. Chron.* as translated by the Rev. J. INGRAM, pp. 202, 203.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 203. See, as to the Abbot Leofwine, *Hist. Eliens*, lib. ii. c. 80, vol. i. p. 197. (Ang. Christ.) T. ÉLIENS. *Hist. Eliens*, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 608. "Hunc (Leofwynun) alio nomine Oskitellum fuisse dictum constat ex registro Eliense." WHARTON, note (d).

In the Saxon Chronicle we find the two following statements respecting the proceedings of Canute:—

"A.D. 1022. This year went King Canute out with his ships to the Isle of Wight.

"A.D. 1023. This year returned King Canute to England, and

In the year 1023, King Canute, "in London, in St. Paul's minster, gave full leave to Archbishop Ethelnoth, Bishop Britwine, and all God's servants that were with them, that they might take up from the grave the archbishop, Saint Elphegus.* And they did so on the sixth day before the ides of June.† And the illustrious king, and the archbishop, and the diocesan bishops, and the earls and very many others, both clergy and laity,‡ carried by ship his holy corpse over the Thames to Southwark.§

Thurkyll and he were reconciled. He committed Denmark and his son to the care of Thurkyll, whilst he took Thurkyll's son with him to England." See INGRAM's *translation*, pp. 202, 203. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 207.

In an ecclesiastical council held in the year 1022, we find two rules laid down, one of which appears to be perfectly reasonable ; but we know not what was the policy of the other, unless that persons, under the pretence of performing pilgrimages to Rome, were actually living in a state of sin. In such a case, the permission of the bishop was a proper check upon an abuse.

"It is decreed by the same council, that no one wear a sword in church, unless he be connected with the sovereign.

"This holy synod also decrees, that no one go to Rome, unless with the license of his bishop, or the Bishop's vicar." Concilium Salegunstadieni, a. 1022, § 8, 16. LABBEUS. *Concilia*, vol. ix. p. 847.

* *Sax. Chron.*

† "Sanctum corpus incorruptum, et immaculatum inventum fuit, et recens sanguis, et corporis illibata integritas." OSBERN. as quoted by HENSCHENIUS. *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. ii. p. 644, note e, where reference is also made to the *Chronologia Augustinensi cenobii Cantuariensis*, as containing this statement. "Corpus S. Elphegi, anno 1105, incorruptum fuisse inventum."

‡ And soldiers, also, were, it is said by Osbern, posted in the city, and upon both banks of the Thames, to prevent any tumult on the part of the citizens, upon being deprived of the body of St. Elphegus, "qui vita pctius, quam tanto thesauro et patrono destitui vellent." Vit. c. 8, § 41, p. 643.

§ Osbern adds here a very interesting fact respecting Canute. "Cumque ad ultimas Tamesis ripas delatum esset corpus, navi

“ And there they committed the holy martyr to the arch-
 “ bishop and his companions, and they, with worthy pomp
 “ and sprightly joy, carried him to Rochester. There, on
 “ the third day, came the Lady Emma, with her royal son
 “ Hardecanut; and they all, with much majesty, and
 “ bliss, and songs of praise, carried the holy archbishop
 “ into Canterbury, and so brought him gloriously into the
 “ church, on the third day before the ides of June. After-
 “ wards, on the eighth day, the seventeenth before the
 “ calends of July, Archbishop Ethelnoth, and Bishop
 “ Elfsy, and Bishop Britwine, and all they that were with
 “ them, lodged the holy corpse of Saint Elphegus on the
 “ north side of the altar of Christ; to the praise of God,
 “ and to the glory of the holy archbishop, and to the ever-
 “ lasting salvation of all those who there his holy body
 “ daily seek with earnest heart and all humility. May
 “ God Almighty have mercy on all Christian men, through
 “ the holy intercession of Elphegus.” *

It was by proceedings like to those (which he adopted with respect to Saint Elphegus) that Canute sought to obliterate the evil deeds which had been perpetrated by himself and his ancestors. † Perchance, by so acting, the

eductum rex ipse suis manibus currui imposuit.” Vit. c. 8, § 41, p. 644. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181, vol. i. p. 306, and ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 466, both state, the body of Elphegus was removed from the tomb in St. Paul’s by the hands of Canute. “ *Suis manibus inde levavit.*”

* *Sax. Chron. as translated by the Rev. J. INGRAM*, pp. 203, 204, as to the miracles performed by St. Elphegus, and the translation of his body from London to Canterbury. See HARPSFIELD. xi Sæc. c. 9, pp. 230, 231, 232.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. The text is a paraphrase of the words of the author: *Ita omnia, quæ ipse et*

deep blot of iniquity was thus removed in the sight of God: certainly, it was so in the sight of man.* In Winchester, for instance, he exhibited the magnificence of his munificence, for he amassed within the walls of its church such heaps of the precious metals, that they caused the amazement of foreigners, even whilst their sight was dazzled with the splendid brilliancy of the gems and jewels that on every side flashed before their eyes. These things did Canute upon the suggestion of Queen Emma, who, in such holy gifts, scattered profusely around her the royal treasures with a sanctified prodigality, whilst her husband was engaged with the engrossing thoughts of carrying on desperate battles in foreign lands. Canute was one of those men whose ambition is such that it never can remain satisfied with the position it has attained. Not content with the crown of Denmark, which was his by right of inheritance, nor with England, which he won in battle, he determined upon carrying on hostilities against the Swedes. The Swedes are the neighbours of the Danes, and they had, by the pertinacious malignity of their conduct, drawn upon themselves the anger, and provoked the resentment of Canute.†

In the year 1025, King Canute proceeded to Denmark

antecessores sui deliquerant, corrigere satagens." The paraphrase is used as explaining the words of Malmsbury in reference to the removal of the remains of St. Elphegus, which immediately precede the passage here translated.

* "Prioris injustitiæ nævum apud Deum fortassis, apud homines certe abstersit." W. MALMSB.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 81, vol. i. pp. 306, 307.

with a fleet, and at the holy river* he was encountered by Ulf and Eglaf, who, with a large force, conveyed both by land and sea, had arrived from Sweden. In the battle that then took place, King Canute lost a great many of his men, both Englishmen and Danes; whilst the Swedes, as conquerors, were able to retain possession of the field of battle.† It was determined, however, by Canute, that he would the next day again attack the enemy. Godwin, who was the commander of the English forces, led his men against the enemy during the night, without apprising Canute that it was his intention to do so.‡ Godwin bade his followers to be mindful on this occasion of their former renown—to prove their worth to their new sovereign; and to shew that, as by mischance, and by no fault of their own they had been overcome, that now they could demonstrate their courage by defeating those who had conquered even their conquerors.§ Godwin then, with the English soldiers, boldly charged the Swedes, who neither expected nor were prepared for such an attack—he at once scattered them, slew an immense number, and made prisoners of the Vikings Ulf and Eglaf.||

Canute, on the following morning, no longer finding the English at their posts, supposed that they had traitorously deserted to the enemy. He then placed himself at the

* “Aet ea thaere halgan.” *Sax. Chron.* “On the river Helga, at the foot of the mountain Stanga.” LAPPENBERG’S *Ang. Sax. Kings*, vol. ii. p. 209.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ H. HUNT. p. 364. In combining these two circumstances, we follow the example set by ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 466.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p. 387.

|| R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 466.

head of the Danes with the intention of leading them against their foes, but upon entering the Swedish encampment, he found that he marched upon a ground that was bedewed with gore, and strewed with the bodies of the dead, whilst his English soldiers were engaged on all sides in collecting spoils. It was on account of this transaction, that Canute ever afterwards held the English in the highest honour. Upon the attainment of this victory, Canute returned in triumph to England.*

In the year 1026, Ælfric, the Archbishop of York, travelled to Rome, where he received the pall from his holiness Pope John,† on the second day before the ides of November.‡

* R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 466, 467. See BROMTON. pp. 908, 911. KNYGHTON. p. 2318. See GEIJER'S *History of the Swedes*, pp. 38, 39 (J. H. TURNER'S *translation*), and LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 206, 207, 208, 209, 210. The latter author will be found of great use in tracing out the connection between the Northern barbarians incidentally mentioned in the text, with Canute. There is, in our estimation, much research displayed upon a point of very little interest to an *English* reader. We coincide completely in the sentiment expressed by Herr Lappenberg (vol. ii. p. 211). "The details of Canute's wars with the Swedes and Norwegians, as well as with the Fins and his negotiations with the princes of those countries, *belong not to Anglo Saxon history*, even if the accounts which have reached us of those transactions have any claim to a place in history, and do not, for the greater part, belong rather to the romantic province of the Scalds."

† F. WIGORN. a. 1026. vol. i. p. 184.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* Ælfric succeeded Wlfstan as archbishop. Of Wlfstan's interment at Ely, an account has been already given. Ælfric had been prior at Winchester previously to his elevation to the See of York (F. Wigorn. a. 1023). and was consecrated at Canterbury the same year, by Archbishop Ethelnoth. (*Sax. Chron.* a. 1023.)

In this year died Richard II., Duke of Normandy, who was succeeded by Richard III., a prince, who died in the course of a year, and whose successor was his brother Robert.* During the reign of Richard II., no attempt, as far as we have ever been able to learn, was made by him to restore the young princes (Edward and Alfred) to their country.† On the contrary, he bestowed the hand of his sister Emma upon their foe, and the invader of their native land. In this case, it would be difficult to decide, where lay the greater dishonour of such an union; in the brother who bestowed thus his sister, or in the widow and the mother who became the wife of the very man who had harassed her first husband to death, and had driven her own children into exile.‡ As to Duke Robert, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he very frequently, by the mustering of ships, and embodying of soldiers, prepared an expedition for England, and each time that he did so, boasting that he would be present at the coronation of his young relatives. The words to which he thus gave utterance, there can be little doubt he would have fully realised, if it had not been (as we have heard from our elders) that every time his expedition was on the point of departing, the wind blew directly against him; and this doubt-

* F. WIGORN. a. 1026. vol. i. p. 184.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 304.

‡ Although Queen Emma was a most generous, and even profuse benefactress of monasteries, the honest monk of Malmesbury could not restrain his just indignation in thus denouncing that, which was, assuredly, a most discreditable passage in her life. If history were at all times written with similar candour, the literary labours of the monks would be more highly prized than they are at present, and their traducers could never have been adopted, nor would now be prized, as "popular authors."

lessly occurred through the hidden judgment of God, by Whose Will are guided the destinies, and controlled the powers of the kingdoms of this earth. The remains of Robert's vessels, decayed by length of years, were long to be seen lying at Rouen.*

* W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 180. vol. i. p. 304. The expressions in this paragraph "ut a majoribus accepimus," and "reliquiæ ratium, multo tempore dissolutarum, Rotomagi adhuc nostra ætate visebantur," bring strongly before the reader's mind, the idea of how near to the period (the events which he is describing) the venerable monk of Malmesbury lived. Malmesbury, who died in 1142, refers, almost as an eye-witness, to the remains of a fleet, which preceded by many years that which carried "the Norman conqueror" to England. See W. GEMITICENS. lib. v. c. 10. p. 647. MICHEL, note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. p. 548.

Upon the death of Richard II. of Normandy, it is said by William of Junieges, "lugebant quoque catervæ egenorum per compita oppidi, pro destitutione sui consolatoris et patroni." *Duc. Norman.* lib. iv. c. 18. p. 639. In lib. v. c. 2. p. 640, it is stated that Richard III. was poisoned (A. 1028). See MICHEL, note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. pp. 508, 509. This Richard had a son named Nicholas, who, though scarcely noticed in history, may be regarded as the most noble, the most glorious, and the most happy member of his family. We cannot refrain from doing that justice to his memory, which others have neglected. His biography is his eulogium, and we give it in the words of William of Junieges.

"Richard had a young son, Nicholas, who remained without that terrestrial inheritance which was his by right, because he desired to be with God both in this world, and, for all eternity, in the next. He had, from his infantile years, devoted himself to literature, and was educated at St. Andrew's monastery, in the suburbs of Rouen; and there, for a long time, he submitted to the monastic yoke. Upon the death of the Abbot Herfastus, he succeeded to the government of the monastery, and retained it for nearly fifty years, and was occupying it during the reign of William, Duke of Normandy, the great King of England. He expired in the month of February, in the year 1092." W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib. v. c. 2. p. 440. See *Roman de Rou.* 7447—7452. ORDERICUS VITALIS. lib. iv. as quoted in *Rer.*

It was about this period of time, that Brithwald, a monk of Glastonbury, and afterwards Bishop of Wilton, was one day lost in thought, as to the fate of the royal family of England, which then appeared to be almost completely obliterated.* Whilst Brithwald was so engaged, sleep came upon him, and, lo! he beheld in a vision the Apostle Peter, holding by the hand Edward, the son of Ethelred, who was then an exile in Normandy. Peter then seemed to consecrate Edward as King, to notify to the beholders the sanctity of the future sovereign, and also to indicate distinctly that he should reign for four-and-twenty years. And when the monk asked respecting the posterity of Edward, and those who should be his successors, Peter answered, "The kingdom of the English is the kingdom of God, and after Edward, God Himself will provide for it."†

Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. xi. p. 244. See same page, note *a*, for an account of the generous gifts by Nicholas of a manor upon a monastery, as denoted by his placing a small piece of wood on the altar "super altare unum lignulum posuit." In p. 321, doubts are cast upon the legitimacy of the birth of Nicholas; but the reasons given are not sufficiently cogent to induce us to subscribe to them. They no more demonstrate his illegitimacy, than the conduct of King Richard III. is demonstrative that Edward V. was not the rightful and legitimate successor of his father, Edward IV. See, with respect to the architectural taste of Nicholas, the testimony of M. Prevost, in his notes to *Ordericus Vitalis*, vol. ii. p. 247. (*Soc. Hist. Franc.*)

* R. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* lib. vi. p. 275.

† R. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* lib. vi. p. 275. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 249. AILRED. *Vit. S. Edward Confess.* pp. 373, 374. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 497. § 14. 15. In the same page will be found an account of the munificence and charity of Brithwald, as bishop.

In the history of nations, centuries are no more than so many days in the lives of those who reach to an old age, and hence, de-

An intimation was given in the year 1027, to Canute, the King of the English and the Danes, that the Norwegians felt the greatest contempt for their King Olaf (Olave), on account of his unaffected simplicity, his tender disposition, his love of justice and of religion.* Canute, upon hearing this, dispatched persons with rich gifts, both in gold and silver, to the Norwegians, and with the earnest prayer to them that they would discard Olaf as unworthy to rule them, submit to him, Canute, as their superior lord, and permit him to reign over them. The messengers thus sent were eagerly received by the Norwegians, and word was sent back to Canute to announce to him, that the Norwegians wished him to come amongst them, as they were most willing to receive him.†

In the year 1028 Canute sailed with fifty large ships to Norway, drove King Olaf out of the land, and rendered the country completely subject to his power.‡

In the year 1030, King Olaf again returned to Norway, "but the people gathered together against him, and fought against him; and he was then slain in Norway by his own people, and was afterwards canonised."§

spite of all that has occurred in England from the reign of Henry VIII. until now, there is, to those who have faith, a confident hope in the prophecy of St. Peter to the benevolent Bishop Brithwald, "regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est, post istum providebit Deus."

* F. WIGORN. a. 1027. vol. i. p. 184. In this specification we find what were the Christian virtues the most offensive to the barbarous and sanguinary Northmen.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 184.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1028. vol. i. p. 184.

§ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1030. Ingram's translation, p. 205. We have united together all those transactions respecting the expulsion

About this period of time (1028), mention is made of a certain Englishman named Wolfred (Vlfred), who moved

of St. Olave from his dominions, and his subsequent martyrdom. Although Canute may be acquitted of participating directly in the latter, infamy will always attach to his name for the part he took in the former transaction. See, for further particulars respecting those events, authorities quoted in LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216: TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, book vi. c. 9. vol. ii. pp. 340, 341 (tenth edition). Respecting the death, the sanctity, and the miracles performed through the intercession of St. Olaf, see TORFEUS. *Hist. Rer. Norreg.* vol. iii. lib. iii. c. 8, 9, 10, pp. 198—208. BARONIUS. vol. xvi. pp. 569, 570, 571. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 468. H. HUNT. p. 364. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 181. vol. i. p. 307. BOSCHIUS. *Comment. Hist.* c. 5—9. § 46—102. Vit. c. 1. § 3—10. *Act. Sanct.* (Julii), vol. vii. p. 96—108; 114, 115. DEPPING. *Expeditions Maritimes des Normands*, vol. ii. pp. 176—180; pp. 336, 337, 338, 339. *Historia de Olavo Sancto.* c. 211—220; 224, 227, 228, 229. *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, vol. v. pp. 88, 101, 107, 108, 109—118, &c.

The character of St. Olave is more interesting to us as a saint in the Catholic church, than as a King, and therefore we subjoin the following particulars respecting him:—

“ St. Olave's body was honourably buried at Drontheim, and the year following, Bishop Grimkele commanded him to be honoured in that church among the saints with the title of martyr. His son Magnus was called home from Russia in 1035, and restored to the throne. * * * Magnus exceedingly promoted the devotion of the people to the memory of his father the martyr, who was chosen titular saint of the Cathedral of Drontheim. This church was rebuilt with such splendour and magnificence, as to have been the glory and pride of all the north. Munster has given us a minute description of it, after Lutheranism was introduced; but it was soon after burnt by lightning. The body of St. Olave was found incorrupt in 1098; and again when the Lutherans, in 1541, plundered the shrine, which was adorned with gold and jewels of an immense value, a treasure nowhere equalled in the north. The ship which carried the greatest part of the sacrilegious booty perished at sea in the road to Denmark, and the rest was robbed at land, so that nothing of it came into the King of Denmark's hands. The Lutherans treated the saint's body with respect, and left it in the same place where the shrine had

by the instinct of divine love, proceeded to Sweden, and boldly persisted in preaching the Word of God to the pagans.* By means of his discourses many were converted to the Christian faith. Upon one occasion he stood in the midst of an assembly of the Pagans, whose idol Thor he anathematized, and at the same moment, striking it with an axe, he smashed it to pieces. For daring to do such a deed as this, he was on the instant stabbed by a thousand weapons, and his heroic soul ascended to heaven, bearing the crown of martyrdom. His body, which was first exposed to many indignities, was then flung into a lake.†

In the year 1029 Canute returned to England, King of the English, the Danes, and the Norwegians; and after the feast of St. Martin, the Danish jarl Haco, who had become united in marriage with a noble matron, Gunnilda, the daughter of Canute's sister, and of Vortigern, the Wen-

stood, in the inner wooden case, till in 1568 they decently buried it in the same cathedral. A shirt or inner garment of St. Olave's is shown at St. Victor, in Paris. His shrine became famous by many miracles, and he was honoured with extraordinary devotion throughout all the northern kingdoms, and was titular saint of several churches in England and Scotland. He was called by our ancestors St. Olave, and more frequently St. Tooley." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vii. pp. 149. 150. See also *Act. Sanct.* (Julii), vol. vii. pp. 96—115.

* ADAM. *Gest. Hammaburg. Ecc.* lib. ii. c. 44. § 60.

† ADAM *Gest. Hammaburg. Ecc.* lib. ii. c. 44. § 60. PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 327, 328. We follow Baronius, in placing the death of this English missionary and martyr in the year 1028. See vol. xvi. pp. 571, 572. See *Roman and British Martyrology*, p. 30. (Dublin Ed. 1846.)

In the year 1028 was born the great Marianus Scotus. See F. WIGORN. a. 1028. vol. i. p. 184. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 468.

dish King, was, under the pretence of an honourable mission, sent into banishment by Canute, who feared either that he might have been deprived of life, or driven from his throne by Haco.*

Canute, like to his predecessors upon the English throne, was animated with a sincere devotion toward the most blessed Etheldritha, and to those who ministered in her monastery at Ely.† Amongst them was Leofsin, who succeeded Leofric as abbot, but who had long remained without the episcopal benediction, until invited by Canute to visit him at Walewich,‡ where (in the year 1029) he was, in accordance with the King's commands, consecrated by Ethelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Leofsin was a man who never sought for his own glory, but always desired to promote the glory of God; and hence he studied how he might promote the welfare of the monastery. It was in accordance with such views that he was opposed to there being received by the brotherhood any persons but those who had distinguished themselves by their learning, and were illustrious by their rank; and this because it was necessary that the church should,

* F. WIGORN. a. 1029. vol. i. pp. 184, 185. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.

† *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 84. vol. i. p. 200. (Ang. Christ.) We follow the chronology of the Editor in placing the consecration of the Abbot Leofsin in the year 1029.

‡ See, as to the proper modern name to be given to this and other places mentioned in this volume, that invaluable aid for scholars, literary men, and antiquarians, the *Notes and Queries*, vol. i. pp. 60, 106, 121, 236, 405. (London, G. Bell, 1850.)

through their donations, be possessed of an augmented property, and that the monks should for the time to come have a more plentiful supply of food and of clothing than they had hitherto at their command.* Upon individuals possessed of personal property being admitted into the community at Ely, Leofsin divided whatever they then offered into as many parts as there were monks in the monastery, and like to the loaves of bread for all in the refectory, so was treated and regarded whatever was offered, whether it was gold or silver—each received his portion of it, and each, as there was a necessity for it, placed it in the common stock, to be applied to the general use of each and all as required. By such means as these the monastery was made to increase in the abundance of its possessions outside its walls, and to increase within the walls of the church, by the beauty of its decorations and the richness of its vestments.

Leofsin was particular in prohibiting the monks who were natives of Ely from discharging the principal duties of the monastery, and holding its conspicuous offices: he preferred such to be entrusted to strangers; for his great desire was to preserve them from the vice of vanity and vain-glory, against which our Lord warned his disciples, when he bade them beware of the leaven of Pharisaism.*

* "Et ut neminem in congregatione monachum susciperent nisi electos in scientia et præclaros genere, quorum, largitione ecclesia sublimius ditaretur, et frates solito deinceps victum et vestitum abundantius haberent." *Hist. Eliens.* These were exceptional rules as to the admission of persons to monasteries; and in this case seem to be justified by the desire of the abbot to raise Ely to the former state of dignity and usefulness which it had enjoyed and exercised previous to the invasion of the Danes.

† "Prohibuit maxime nullum permitti de indigenis ministrare

He also increased the beauty of God's House with some very remarkable ornaments; amongst which were to be noticed an exceedingly beautiful alb and amict, superhumeral, stole, and maniple embroidered with gold and decked with diamonds, and along with these a crimson vestment, which back and front, inside and out, was worked in flowers with such marvellous skill, and that in front was so stiffened with gold and gems, that we cannot find expressions sufficiently strong to depict the exquisite manner in which it had been made. In addition, he had procured for the service of the Lord both gold and silver vessels, but which were afterwards carried off when the country was subjected to the Normans.

Leofsin was ever found a diligent shepherd in the care of the flock over which he had been placed by God—his prayers were mingled with his gentle rebukes, and each employed as the occasion required it; but that which he most wished for, and at all times sought to attain, was the realization of the words of St. Benedict—that is, as an abbot,

in loco, sed potius de externis," &c. *Hist. Eliens.* See DUCANGE in verb. *ministeriales*. In the life of St. Procopius, an instance is afforded of what were the dangers against which Leofsin wished to guard his community; for we there find a monk punished by St. Procopius for the vain-glory experienced by him in singing mass. "Unus ex congregatione, Missarum insignia die quadam solennizans, digne egit, sed vociferatione cantus et lectionis pronuntiatione, heu! male quod facere non debuit (proh dolor!) sese jactavit, et a populo laudum extollentiam consecutus est; qui diceret, cum sicut unum ex Angelis Missam cantasse." Vit. S. Procop. c. 2, § 26, 27. *Act. Sanct. (Julii)*, vol. ii. p. 143. Upon the question of singing in churches, a dispute took place in the year 786, between the Roman and Gallican clergy, of which an account will be found in EINHARD. *Annal.* PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. i. p. 171.

"rather to be loved than feared." With the assent, and by means of the favour that he enjoyed with King Canute, he was enabled to have farms assigned to the monastery, the produce of which might be sufficient to supply it with food throughout the year. For this purpose, lands known by the richness of their soil and their productions, were appropriated to the uses of the monastery.*

Upon a certain occasion, King Canute directed his course, when he was at sea, towards Ely. He was, at the time, accompanied by Queen Emma and the chief persons of the kingdom, because he intended then, as it had become his practice, to celebrate with due solemnity the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary at Ely, that, too, being the same period of time when the abbots of Ely had to discharge the official duties required from them in the king's palace. When the king's ships were approaching the land, he directed his sailors to make all speed towards *portum Pusillum*,† but as they entered it to advance slowly. Canute, meanwhile, kept his eyes fixed upon Ely church, which was conspicuous at a great distance, from the fact of its being built on the utmost height of a steep rock; and as he stood thus gazing on the church, his ears were filled with the sound of a dulcet harmony; his attention was excited, and he observed that the more he advanced on

* The author here specifies the names of the estates that were to supply the monastery, some for a fortnight and others for a week, as for instance: "Scelford duarum solvit firmam edomadarum, Stapelford unius, Littleberi duarum, Tripleave duarum, Havechstune unius," &c. These provisions were not merely for those who dwelt in the monastery, but for all who came there to obtain food. "Et ad suspiciendum ingredientes et egredientes monasterio."

† See *Notes and Queries*, vol. i. pp. 60, 106, 236.

his way the more distinctly could he hear the melody that had at first attracted him; and he was able to recognise that the sweet tones that charmed his senses arose from the monastery, where the monks were then singing in choir, and thus pouring forth in psalms, at the regular hours, their feelings of devotion towards the Deity. Canute commanded all his friends who were in the vessels around him, to draw close to that in which he was sailing, and to unite with him in his song of joy. He, in the extreme of a heart-felt happiness, on this occasion composed a ballad in the Anglo-Saxon language, which commenced thus:—

“ Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely,

“ Tha Cnut ching reu ther by :

“ Roweth cnites noer the land,

“ And here we thes muneches saeng.”

Words that bear something like the following signification:—

“ From Ely's good monks came a merry good song,

“ As by Ely's deep walls sail'd King Canute along ;

“ Said the king to his knights : ‘ Sail ye close to the shore,

“ ‘ To hear such sweet singing as you ne'er heard before.’ ”*

In this strain proceeded the words of a ballad which was long publicly sung by bands of minstrels, and the words of which are still as well remembered as proverbs.

The king, greatly excited on this occasion by what he had heard, never ceased from chiming in with the tune,

* “ Quod latine sonat, dulce cantaverunt monachi in Ely, dum Canutus rex navigaret prope ibi, nunc milites navigate propius ad terram, et simul audiamus monachorum harmoniam.” *Hist. Eliens.*

and repeating the words of the pious community of monks as they reached his ears, until his feet touched the earth. There a procession was formed for him, as it is the custom with the members of the monastery when it becomes their duty to receive a prince or any exalted person in the church; and thus was Canute conducted, with all due marks of honour, into the church. On the instant, Canute confirmed, by the privileges and authority vested in him, all those properties that had been bestowed by the English kings, his predecessors, upon the Church of Ely—these he declared to be for ever inalienable from the monastery; and he, moreover, in front of the high altar, and on the spot where rest, in their sepulchre, the remains of the sacred virgin and spouse of Christ, Etheldritha, and in the face of the church, and in the sight of all present, declared in perpetuity the rights and freedom of the monastery.

The king was at one time particularly anxious to be present at the great solemnity of Ely (the Feast of the Purification), but so severe had been the cold of the season, and such the quantity of ice accumulated, that it appeared to be an impossibility for him to make his way to the monastery across the frozen lakes and streams. The desire of the king was to fulfil his good intention, although he was grievously anxious as to the possibility of being able to carry it into execution. Placing his confidence in the Lord God, he conceived the project, provided the severity of the frost did not abate, of passing over the ice from the sea of Saham* to Ely, in a

* "Soham Mere once covered 1369½ acres." Lysons' Cambridge, 254, as quoted in *Notes and Queries*, vol. i. p. 236. See pp. 60, 121.

sledge; but, he said, if any one could be found who would undertake to walk before him, then he should not only move securely, but with less fear proceed upon the perilous journey, and would not delay it even for an hour. It happened that when the king said this, there was present a huge, hulking man from the Isle of Ely, a person of the name of Brithmer Budde, and who was so designated on account of his bulky figure. This man volunteered to walk before the king across the ice. Not an instant was lost. The king hurried into his sledge, and was, to the admiration of all, seen courageously proceeding upon his perilous expedition. He arrived in safety at Ely, and there, with great joy, celebrated the festival; for as it is said in the book of the Wise Man—"Love is as strong as death," and "Love is the fulfilling of the law;" and as it was alone from his love and devotion to the glorious Christian Virgin, Etheldritha, that this famous king had made his dangerous journey, so was there completed for him that which our Lord himself has said—"All things are possible to him that believeth." The king was in the habit of saying, that the circumstances accompanying this event had occurred to the honour of the holy Maiden, Edeldritha, and had been so permitted by God, namely, that a great, ignorant, and monstrous boor should be able, without the slightest difficulty or obstacle, to proceed on a road so beset with danger, and that he himself, a man of agile frame, and of small stature, should have been permitted, directly and intrepidly, to follow such a guide.

Canute was a man of generous disposition, and always munificent in his gifts. He wished to pay his rustic conductor for his trouble, and therefore bestowed upon the man his freedom, and with that the free and perpetual holding of the property to which he was at the time

attached. The children's children of the man remained on that land, and ever afterwards retained it as a property, discharged of all claims and charges from any persons whatsoever.*

In the year 1030, the jarl Hacon perished at sea. Some, however, state that he was put to death at Orkney island.†

Robert, the son of Richard (II.), Duke of Normandy, had for seven years governed with great vigour his province, when he, this year (1030), devoutly determined to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.‡ His son William was then seven years of age. The mother of William had attracted the attention of Robert whilst performing her part amid a band of dancers, and she subsequently lived with him as his wife.§ As the boy was not born in wedlock, he was called "William the Bastard." Before his birth,

* *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 84, 85, vol. i. pp. 200, 201, 202, 203, 204. (Ang. Christ.) See *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 26, 27, pp. 504, 505. (Gale). THOM. ELIENS. *Hist. Eliens.* In *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 608. The following are the expressions used by the historian of Ely, in describing the enfranchisement of the person and property of Canute's guide:—"ipsum cum possessione sua æternæ libertati donavit, unde filii filiorum ejus usque ad hanc diem liberi ex istiusmodi donatione et quieti consistunt." (Vol. ii. p. 204.)

† F. WIGORN. a. 1030. vol. i. p. 185. "Hacon, the doughty earl," is the term applied to him by the *Saxon Chronicle*. See R. HOVEDEN, p. 437.

‡ R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 468.

§ His wife was, according to the assertion of Lappenberg, "Astrith, or Margaret, the widow of Ulf Jarl." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 217, and same page, note 2. See also MICHEL, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. ii. p. 548.

his future greatness was manifested to his mother in a dream, which indicated to her that his power would extend over Normandy and England, and at the moment he was born, he grasped in his tiny hands the reeds with which the apartment of his mother was strewed—a circumstance, which, combined with his mother's dream, was declared by the nurses to augur that the child would yet be a king.*

The Duke Robert, when he was on the point of proceeding on his pilgrimage, summoned the nobles of Normandy to a conference at Fescamp, and there, in their presence, he constituted William as his heir, and made them all swear oaths of fealty to the boy.† The Duke Robert, having arranged all these matters to his wishes, confided his son to the care of wise guardians and of faithful directors, until he should attain the age of reason. Thus were all suitable regulations made by him for the good government of his country, and, then taking a tender leave of all, he departed with a befitting and worthy escort for the most holy pilgrimage. What tongue could tell, what words describe, the abundant alms that he every day distributed to the poor? What widow, what orphan, what needy person, ever yet was seen and not relieved by him? The voyage he undertook was happily completed. He reached the venerable sepulchre in which had rested the most holy

* See *Roman de Rou.* 7991—8050. M. Pluquet, the editor of *Le Roman Rou.* declares, that William the Conqueror was born either at the close of the year 1027, or at the commencement of 1028. See vol. i. p. 398, note 7 (Rouen, 1827). See *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 31216—31575, and notes by the editor, M. Michel, vol. ii. pp. 555, 556, 557, 566, 567, 568, 569.

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 468, 469.

body of the King of Heaven. And when there—what man could count the number of tears with which, for the space of eight days, he bedewed the holy sepulchre, or how many golden gifts he piled upon the sacred tomb?*

At the time that King Swein, with the Danes and other infidels, had arrived in England—that is, about the year 1011—no longer with the intention of merely plundering, but of making a complete conquest of the country, the first place that was laid waste by them was the Isle of Thanet.† They spared there neither age nor sex, and amongst other places that felt their fury, was the convent of Minstre, which, with all its virgin inhabitants, was destroyed by fire. In the midst, however, of all that conflagration, through the wonderful work of God, the tomb of St. Mildreda‡ remained perfectly uninjured. From that time forth, however, there were no longer nuns in Minstre; but the place being rebuilt, the church was occupied by two or three clergymen who discharged parochial duties,

* W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib. v. c. 12, p. 648. The same author states. (c. 13. p. 648,) that Duke Robert died at Nicæa, on 2nd of July, 1035, and that it was his belief that God had been pleased to remove Robert from the earth, lest “his blessed soul, now brilliant with splendour, and purified by good works, should be soiled by its renewed contact with the world.” “Ne beata anima plurimo jam optimorum operum splendore candidata, post mundariis actibus implicata maculas colligeret.” See *Roman de Rou*, 8100—8398. vol. i. pp. 402—414 (Rouen, 1827).

† Reyne, tract 1. fol. 62, as quoted in ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 500. a. 1030. § 2.

‡ For an account of St. Mildreda, see authorities quoted in vol. i. pp. 353, 354 of this work.

until at length, in the reign of Canute, the aforesaid monastery of nuns was, with all the property attached to it, incorporated with the monastery of St. Augustin (at Canterbury). The King, in doing this, was, however, indisposed to grant his permission for the removal of the remains of St. Mildreda from Minstre, until he had determined upon travelling to Rome.*

Then it was, that King Canute, placing his hand upon the altar of St. Augustine, made a vow to God and to the Saint, in the presence of all his nobles, of Abbot Elstan, and of numbers of the monks, in these words:—"If, through the mercy of God and the intercession of my patron, Saint Augustine, the grace be bestowed upon me of safely travelling from, and safely returning to, this country, then do I truly promise that the body of St. Mildreda shall be removed to this, the monastery of St. Augustine, Apostle of the English nation."†

Upon making this vow, the King proceeded to the Apostolic See, and having fulfilled the duties for which he had visited Rome, and obtained the Apostolical absolution and benediction, he directed his steps homewards. Canute, on his return, was at sea and in sight of the English coast, when he, as well as an immense fleet of his English subjects, that had come out to meet him, were on the point of being lost in a dreadful tempest that suddenly arose, until he invoked the assistance of St. Augustine,‡ and the mo-

* Reyne, tract 1. fol. 62, as quoted in ALFORD, vol. iii. pp. 500, 501. § 2.

† W. THORN. *Chron.* p. 1909.

‡ The account given in Alford differs from that in the text:—"Qui rediens, in medio mari, beato Augustino visibiliter sibi, in

ment he did so, the tempest ceased, and he was able to reach the wished-for shore, without the loss of a single life! The King, with his followers, hastened to offer up their prayers in the church of St. Augustine, and there it was that he made known to all what had occurred at sea.*

In grateful fulfilment of the vow that he had made, the King gave permission to the Abbot to remove the body of St. Mildreda.†

The Abbot Elstan did not lose an instant of time in proceeding to Thanet.‡ The very day on which he obtained permission, he went to the island, and then invited for the following day, which was the day of Pentecost, his friends and neighbours to partake of a grand banquet which he gave in his own house. The festival took place, and the guests returned to their homes with the benediction of the Abbot, who kept concealed from them the particular purpose for which he had visited Thanet.§ The self-same night, the Abbot Elstan went with his sacristans|| (who

forma, Episcopi, apparente, a naufragio liberatus." Vol. iii. p. 501. § 2.

* W. THORN. *Chron.* p. 1909.

† "Votum gratissime adimplevit. Abbas autem habita licentia, de virgine transferendæ." ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 501. § 2. Thorn adds that the King's Letter, permitting the removal, was obtained through the interest of Queen Emma, and of others, leading noblemen of the Court of Canute, p. 1910.

‡ W. THORN. *Chron.* p. 1910.

§ It was an apprehension of the people that induced the Abbot to conceal his design, for it seems that the inhabitants of Thanet were then remarkable for their ferocity—"Sciens insulanorum ferocitatem." ALF. vol. iii. p. 501. § 2.

|| "Cum secretariis suis." THORN. See DUCANGE, in verb. *secretarius*.

had been made aware of his purpose) to the church. He there prayed, and with fear and reverence approached the sepulchre of the blessed and venerable virgin, Mildreda. The sacristans tried with all their strength to extract from the tomb its hidden treasure, but no means used by them, and no instruments they possessed, were able to open the monument in which the maiden saint reposed. The abbot was greatly grieved by this circumstance, and he therefore, with a humbled and a contrite heart, poured forth a prayer to God and St. Mildreda; and he, with tears, besought of the latter, that having invited him by a revelation to transfer her body to St. Augustine's Church, she would not now permit him to return thither without being able to obtain it. At the same time, the Abbot Elstan then made a vow, that if St. Mildreda would permit her remains to be transferred to the bier, which then stood prepared to receive them, in front of the high altar in the church of St. Augustine, that he would have, on the morning of each day, a mass celebrated to her honour, and that for all time to come, her festival day should be one of those kept with the greatest solemnity in that church. With these words, the hardness of the sepulchral stones seemed to be softened, the tomb of the blessed maiden Mildreda was opened, and there was emitted from it a most fragrant odour. The body of the Saint, which was found to have dissolved away into mere earthy particles, was taken up, and placed in a linen sheet, and the sheet itself, with the relics it enclosed, deposited in a shrine which had been prepared for the purpose.

The Abbot Elstan, Sir Godwyn the dean, and the venerable monks of Augustine monastery, Benedict and Ralph, fled then towards their home, bearing with them

as they went the shrine containing the body of St. Mildreda, and not leaving behind even a single atom of her relics.

The men of Thanet—it is not known by what means they became informed of what had occurred—armed themselves with swords and staves, and set out in pursuit of the abbot and his companions, whom they were desirous of depriving of the body of the glorious Virgin. The abbot, his friends and followers, fortunately got on board a vessel before their pursuers could reach the shore; and, as the latter had not the means of following them, they were compelled to return, disappointed, to their homes, whilst the others reached the opposite shore.* In such a conflict the curses and adjurations of the men of Thanet were of little avail against the devout prayers of the monks.†

No sooner did the report spread abroad that Mildreda had been removed from the Isle of Thanet, and scarcely, it might be said, had the boat which conveyed her relics crossed the arm of the sea, than the entire of the province, or to speak more near to the fact, all Kent moved forth in procession to meet the approaching Virgin's remains. This translation of the relics of St. Mildreda took place on the 18th of May, in the year 1030. * * * *
The body of Mildreda was then deposited before the principal altar of St. Peter. There Mildreda, also, has a high tomb and altar; and upon the altar, in accordance with the vow made by the abbot at the time of removing her

* W. THORN. *Chron.* p. 1910.

† "Quorum tamen juribus, et precibus, prævaluerunt orationes monachorum devotiores." ALFORD. p. 501, § 3.

relics, mass is every morning celebrated. The body of the holy Virgin was placed in a leaden coffin, and this epitaph was inscribed upon her :—

“ In this tomb there lies enshrin'd,
 “ Mildreda, maid of stainless mind.
 “ Mildreda ! Saint of royal birth,
 “ Pray for us sinners on this earth !
 “ And thou, oh God ! in heaven fair,
 “ Hear, for our sakes, her holy prayer.” *

* “ *Clauditur hoc saxo Mildreda sacerrima Virgo :
 Cujus nos, precibus adjuvet ipse Deus.*”

Reyne, tract. fol. 62, as quoted in ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 501, § 3. Alford places this translation in 1030. Thorn (p. 1910) agrees in this date ; but the Rev. Alban Butler states it to have occurred in the year 1033. (See *Lives of Saints*, vol. ii. p. 252.) In Thorn (p. 2127) will be found the Charter of Canute, transferring the body of St. Mildreda, with the entire of Thanet island, to St. Augustine's monastery of Canterbury. See, also, ALFORD, vol. iii. p. 501, § 5. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.), vol. iii. p. 170, c. p. 389, § 4. *Act. Sanct.* (Juli), vol. iii. pp. 519—522.

The respect here paid to an ancient and royal saint of England may have some connexion with the strange story told by Gotzelin and Bromton with respect to Canute, who was, it appears, disposed to disparage the English saints. The anecdote is thus given in the *Life of St. Editha* :—

“ Canute was once dining during the Feast of Pentecost at Wilton, when he was observed frequently to burst out into loud fits of laughter, and was then heard declaring, that he never could believe that Editha, the daughter of a voluptuary and a tyrant like Edgar, could ever be a saint. The assertion was contradicted by Ethelnoth, the archbishop, then present, and on the instant the tomb of the Virgin opened, and she, rising up from the earth as far as her waist, appeared to make an attack upon the contumacious king, who, overwhelmed with fear, fell as if lifeless on the floor ! Breath and animation were at length restored to him—his face became flushed with joy, as he humbly begged pardon for his rashness, and promised ever afterwards to pay the greatest honour to the Virgin Saint. At a subsequent period, he was saved, during

In the year 1031, King Canute "gave to Christ's Church in Canterbury the haven of Sandwich, and all the rights that arise therefrom on either side of the haven; so that when the tide is highest and fullest, and there be a ship floating as near the land as possible, and there be a man standing upon the ship with a taper-axe in his hand, whithersoever the large taper-axe might be thrown out of the ship, throughout all that land the ministers of Christ's Church should enjoy their rights."*

In the year 1031, Canute, King of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, made, with all due and fitting honour, a

a severe storm at sea, by invoking the aid of St. Editha." Vit. S. Eadgith. Virg. § 11. MABILLON. *Act. S. S. O. B.* vol. vii. p. 626. See BROMTON. p. 909.

* SAX. CHRON. INGRAM'S translation, pp. 205, 206. There is great obscurity in this passage. Its meaning, however, may be discovered by a reference to a charter of Canute's, as set forth in the *Evidentiæ Ecclesiæ Christi Cant.* There it is stated, that "King Canute gave to the Church of Christ an arm of the apostle St. Bartholomew" (*brachium sancti Bartolomæi apostoli*), with a pall, and the golden crown from his head, and with it the port of Sandwich, and all the outlets of its waters on both sides of the stream, so that a vessel sailing in its river, at the time that the tide is full, and coming within such a distance of the land, that an axe could be thrown from the ship-board on land, then should that ship pay its dues to the minister of Christ's Church. No one to have claim to the demand of any payment in the port except the monks of Christ's Church. Tolls, also, were to be paid to them on all vessels coming from *Pepernessa* and *Northmuth* to Sandwich. Anything found on the high seas and brought into Sandwich, the half of it was to belong to Christ's Church, and the other half to the finders." pp. 2225, 2226. See also as to Canute's gift to Canterbury of the vill of Heselarc, p. 2223, and the restoration of Folkstone to the see of Canterbury, on condition that no future archbishop should part with it without having first received the permission of the king and the consent of the monks, p. 2224. See, also, THORN. *Chron.* pp. 1783, 1908.

journey from Denmark to Rome.* There was great splendour in the manner in which Canute proceeded to Rome.† The alms that are called “Romescot,” which his ancestors had given to the Church of Rome, he too assigned to it in perpetuity; but who is there that can recount the alms-deeds, the rich presents, the mighty donations, made by that great King in his pilgrimage? There has been no monarch in the entire of the western world who has ever visited with equal glory, and with like magnificence, the holy places of Rome.‡ What church, for instance, was then visited by him that does not still rejoice in the goods wherewith he endowed it?§ Italy daily pours down benedictions on his soul. France, too, prays for him by whose benevolence she has been benefited; and more than these, and all other lands, Flanders earnestly prays that he may enjoy with Christ the never-ending happiness of heaven. He passed through various provinces on his way to Rome, and in all he performed great works of mercy. But in order that the more credit may be attached to statements on this point, the writer of this paragraph will tell what he himself saw with his own eyes done by Canute, in one city for instance—that of St. Omer.||

* F. WIGORN. a. 1031.

† H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 364.

‡ H. HUNT. p. 364.

§ *Encomium Emmæ*, in Rer. Gall. et Fran. Script. vol. xi. p. 6. pp. 23, 24. MASERE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.*

|| “Ut credibilia fiant quæ assero, quid in una urbe, S. Audomari fecerit, dicam pro exemplo, quod etiam oculis meis me vidisse recorder.” *Encomium Emmæ*. p. 24. MASERE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* The author here quoted was a monk of St.

Canute, upon entering the monastery, was received by the community with the utmost honour. He, however, walked forward in a manner that was marked with great humility, and through an excess of reverence for the place, kept his eyes fixed on the ground; shedding tears in such abundance as he went that they might be said to pour forth in streams from his eyes, whilst he devoutly prayed all the time for the intercession of the saints. And then when the moment came at which he should, in accordance with his expressed wish, load the altars with his royal offerings, ah! me! how frequently did he, before he advanced to execute such an office, impress his tearful kisses on the pavement of the church! And how often—how very often—was his venerable breast stricken with his own blows! What heavy sighs he vented forth! How often, and how often, did he pray that he might not be found unworthy of the mercy of heaven! At last his oblation (and it was no scanty one) was presented by him—it was no trifling sum, that shrunk up limpingly in the bottom of a purse; but it was a huge offering, that swelled out with its gigantic proportions the breast of the cloak in which it was borne, and that required the King's two hands to heave it up, and deposit it upon the altar—for Canute was, in all such matters, a strict observer of the admonition of the Apostle, by proving himself to be “a cheerful giver.” But why should one altar alone be specified? when the writer remembers to have seen him going round all the nooks of the monasteries, and passing

Bertin, and the contemporary of Queen Emma, to whom his book was dedicated. BOUQUET. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. Præf. § 2. p. iv. and p. 5. note a.

by no altar, no matter how small, upon which he did not place his presents, and impress kisses full of the most sweet devotion. The poor afterwards presented themselves to him, and all received, man by man, on the spot rich alms from him. These and other things still more munificent were performed by the lord Canute in your churches, oh ! St. Omer and St. Bertin, and were witnessed by him who now makes this declaration, and declares himself, oh ! saints, to be your slave.*

Canute, in Rome, presented gifts of immense value to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.† These gifts consisted of donations in gold and silver, and other things that were valuable ; and he obtained from John the Pope, that the school of the English should be free from every species of tax and tribute. In his going to Rome, as well as in his returning from it, he gave large alms to the poor, and as to the many passes on the road to Rome, at which toll was extorted from pilgrims, he put an end to them by the payment of an immense sum of money. Canute also, in the presence of the sepulchre of the Apostle, made a vow that he would amend his life, and improve his morals.

From Rome Canute did, in consequence of the vow thus made by him, send an epistle, which is worthy of being recorded. This epistle was brought by a very prudent man, the companion of his journey, Leving, then abbot of

* *Encomium Emmæ*, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 6.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1031. vol. i. p. 185. It is stated by Knyghton, that Canute brought with him from Rome a large piece of the holy cross. "Magnamque partem Dominicæ crucis secum detulit." lib. i. c. 5. p. 2325.

Tavistock monastery, but subsequently, and in the course of the same year, consecrated as Bishop of Crediton, in succession to Eadnoth. This epistle was sent to England, whilst Canute travelled from Rome the same that way he came—that is, visiting Denmark prior to his returning to England. The letter so sent by Canute we deem it to be right to insert here. It is as follows:—*

“ Canute, King of all England, Denmark, Norway,† and
 “ part of the Swedes, to Ethelnoth the metropolitan, and
 “ Ælfric, the Archbishop of York, and to all bishops and
 “ ealdormen, as well as to the whole nation of the English,
 “ nobles and plebeians, health!‡

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 185. “Cujus epistolæ textum hic subscribere dignum duximus.”

† “If Canute went to Rome in 1027, as the Danish Chronologists affirm, he could not at that time properly have styled himself King of Norway.” HARDY, note to W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 308. (E. H. S.)

“Great doubt prevails with respect to the date of Canute's journey; it has with much probability been assigned to the latter half of the year 1026. The objection that he was not then in possession of Norway, of which he styles himself King, is of no great weight, being apparently an error of the late chroniclers.” THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 185. (E. H. S.) Upon this disputed point of Chronology, Mr. Thorpe refers to LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 211. Much and valuable information respecting it will also be found in BARONIUS, a. 1027. §. 1, 7. vol. xvi. pp. 558—561. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 494. TURNER'S *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. iii. p. 347, note 34, sixth Ed.) See also ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 470. *Chron. Mailros*. p. 155. *Chron. Petriburg*. p. 44. (Giles Ed.) H. HUNT. p. 364. R. HOWDEN. p. 437. S. DUNKELM. p. 178. R. DICET. p. 468. BROMTON. p. 912. KNYGHTON. p. 2325.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. §. 183. vol. i. p. 308. Copies of this letter will also be found in F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 185—189. INGULPHUS. pp. 59, 60, 61.

“ I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome, to
 “ pray for the redemption of my sins; for the safety of
 “ my dominions, and the salvation of the people under
 “ my command. Such a pilgrimage, I had long since
 “ made a vow to God would be undertaken by me; but
 “ hitherto affairs of state and other causes interfered with
 “ its accomplishment.

“ I now, very humbly return thanks to my God the
 “ Almighty Lord of all, for permitting me, during my
 “ lifetime, to approach the blessed apostles, Peter and
 “ Paul, and that entire sanctuary which is to be found
 “ both within as well as without the city of Rome, so that
 “ wherever to be discovered, I might seek out according to
 “ my desire there, bodily to worship and venerate the relics
 “ of the saints. This is a duty that I have been the more
 “ diligent in accomplishing, because I have learned from
 “ the wise, that St. Peter the Apostle has received from
 “ the Lord great power in binding and in loosing; that
 “ he bears the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and I
 “ have deemed it to be most useful to seek especially
 “ his patronage in offering up my prayers to God.*

“ Be it known to you, that at the solemnity of Easter
 “ a great assembly of princes was present with Pope
 “ John and the Emperor Conrad,† that is to say, all the

* “ Et ideo maxime hoc patravi, quia a sapientibus didici
 sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a
 Domino ligandi et solvendi, clavigerum esse cœlestis regni; et
 ideo specialiater ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile
 duxi.” W. MALMSB.

† “ Conrad II., surnamed Le Salique, was elected King of
 Germany upon the death of the Emperor Henry, by the States,
 and crowned at Mayence on the 8th of September, 1024. / He was
 crowned Emperor, with his Queen, by Pope John XIX. called XX.

"princes of the nations from Mount Garganus (St. Angelo,
 "in Calabria) to the neighbouring sea, and that all these
 "received me with honour and presented me with magni-
 "ficent gifts. But more especially was I honoured by
 "the emperor with various gifts and offerings, in gold
 "and silver vessels, with palls, and exceedingly costly
 "garments. I spoke with the emperor himself, and with
 "our lord the pope, and with the princes who were
 "there, respecting the necessities of the entire of the
 "people in my dominions, of the English as well as the
 "Danes, in order that there should be granted to them
 "an equitable law and more secure peace, on their jour-
 "ney to Rome; that they should not be impeded by so
 "many barriers on the road, nor harassed with such
 "unjust exactions as they are now exposed to. To these
 "requests I obtained the assent of the emperor, as well as
 "of Rodolph the King, who has the chief dominion over
 "these barriers. All the princes declared and confirmed
 "by edicts, that my subjects, traders, as well as all other
 "travellers, who journey for the purpose of offering up
 "their prayers, should peaceably, and in security, go to
 "and return from Rome, without any molestation what-
 "ever from warders of barriers, or tax-gatherers. Again,
 "I complained before our lord the pope, and declared
 "that it was highly displeasing to me, that my archbishops

on Easter day (26th March, 1327), in the presence of Canute, as
 it is said, and Rodolph, King of Burgundy." HARDY, note to
 W. Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 309. (E. H. S.) See THORPE, note to
 Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 187. (E. H. S.) *Herm. Contract.*
 a. 1026. *MARIANUS SCOTUS*, a. 1027. *SCHMIDT'S Geschichte*
der Deutschen, vol. ii. pp. 214, 215. *Knytlinga Saga*, p. 144.
JOHNSTONE, Antiq. Celt. Scand.

“ were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is
 “ demanded from them when seeking the apostolical see
 “ to receive, according to the ancient practice, the pall;
 “ and it was decreed that this should never again occur.
 “ All the demands that I made, for the benefit and ad-
 “ vantage of my people, from our lord the pope, and the
 “ emperor, and King Rodolph, and the other princes,
 “ through whose territories lies the road to Rome, they
 “ willingly granted, and confirmed their concessions by
 “ oaths, with the attestation of four archbishops, and
 “ twenty bishops, and a numberless crowd of dukes and
 “ noblemen who were then present.

“ Wherefore, I give most hearty thanks to God Almighty,
 “ for all that I had desired I have been able to accom-
 “ plish, and that, too, in the manner I had originally
 “ designed and desired to carry into effect.

“ Let it now be known to all mankind, that I have
 “ humbly vowed to the Almighty God himself, henceforth
 “ to reform my life in all things; justly and piously to
 “ govern my kingdoms, and the people who are subject
 “ to me; to maintain equal justice in all things to all
 “ men; and that I have determined, God being my
 “ helper, to correct whatever has hitherto been done un-
 “ justly, either through the intemperance of my youth, or
 “ through my negligence. For these reasons, therefore,
 “ I call to witness, and command my councillors, by
 “ whom I believe the councils of my kingdom should be
 “ guided and governed, that they in no manner whatso-
 “ ever, either from fear of myself, or through favour to
 “ any powerful person, permit, henceforth, any injustice,
 “ or cause any such, to be practised in any portion of my
 “ entire kingdom.

" I likewise command all ealdormen, or thanes, through-
 " out my whole kingdom, as they wish to retain my affec-
 " tion, and to provide for their own welfare, to do no in-
 " justice or violence to any man, be he rich or poor, but
 " let all, noble and ignoble, alike enjoy the advantage of
 " just law ; from which none are to deviate, either on
 " account of royal favour, or for the sake of any men
 " however powerful, or for the purpose of collecting money
 " to bestow it upon me ; because I have no need that
 " money should be amassed for me by iniquitous ex-
 " actions.

" I wish, therefore, to make known to you, that return-
 " ing by the same route that I proceeded to Rome, I am
 " now on my way to Denmark, that I am so with the
 " advice of all the Danes, in order that I may make ar-
 " rangements for maintaining peace, and having a per-
 " manent treaty with those nations who wished, if it had
 " been possible, to deprive me both of life and sovereignty :
 " a wish that they were not able to carry into effect, for
 " God, whose benignant mercy had preserved me in my
 " kingdom and in my honour, has also overwhelmed the
 " power and the strength of all my adversaries in utter
 " destruction and annihilation. As soon, then, as I have
 " established peace with the surrounding nations, and put
 " all our sovereignty here in the east in such order, that
 " there shall be no fear of war or enmity on any side, I
 " intend returning to England, as early in the summer as
 " I shall be able to get my vessels into a state of pre-
 " paration.

" I have sent this epistle before me, in order that my
 " people may rejoice in the success that has attended my
 " efforts ; because, as yourselves know, I have never

"spared, nor will I spare, either myself or my labours, for
"the necessary weal of all my people.

"I now, therefore, command all my bishops and
"ealdormen of my kingdom, by the fealty which they
"owe to God and to me, to take care that, previous to
"my arrival in England, all dues owing by ancient cus-
"tom to God be discharged: that is to say, plough-alsms,
"the tenth of animals procreated in the year, and the
"pence that we owe to Rome to St. Peter, whether in
"cities or in vills; and in the middle of August, the
"tenth of the fruits, and on the festival of St. Martin
"(11th of November), the first fruits of seeds, to the
"church of the parish where each one resides, which is
"called in English '*Ciric-sceat*.'* If these and such like
"dues be not discharged at the moment of my arrival in
"England, then the royal mulct, which, according to law,
"can be exacted from each defaulter in such cases, shall
"be strictly and rigidly enforced. Farewell."†

* "*Ciric-sceat*—*primitiæ seminum*—Church-scot, or shot, an ecclesiastical due, payable on the day of St. Martin, consisting chiefly of corn. * * * In an old law book, quoted

by Lambarde, it is said, '*Chircheseed* (*Chirchesced*?), ou chirceome, ou chirceamber, fuit un certain de blee batu, que chescun home devoit, al temps des Brytons et des Engles, porter a lour eglise le jour Saint Marten.' Pref. to *Archæionomia*, ed. 1568. From the quotation in Cnut's epistle, it is evident that, during the time with which we are concerned, this payment was made as the first fruits of all things sown, i.e. all esculent seeds or grain. *

* * * '*Ciric-sceat*' occurs 200 years before any other church due is specifically mentioned." THORPE. *Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. See also WILKINS' *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, p. 396.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 183. See WILKINS' *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 297, 298. SPELMAN. *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 535, 536.

Never was there in England a King who possessed or exercised greater power than Canute.* He was the lord paramount of the entire of Denmark, of all England, of the whole of Norway, and, at the same time, of Scotland; and beyond the number of wars in which he had been engaged, and in all of them a conqueror, there were three incidents in his life, that must ever redound to his fame, his honour, and his glory. The first was, that he united his daughter, with an enormous dowry, in marriage to the Roman Emperor; the second, that by his pilgrimage to Rome, he put an end to all the tolls and tributes previously extorted from English travellers proceeding through France to Rome; the third, that incident in his life, which we are now about to narrate.

At the moment that Canute was at the very height of his power, and when his sovereignty was not merely acknowledged but universally felt, he ordered his throne to be placed on the sea-shore, and then ascended it. The moment that he did so, he addressed these words to the rising tide. "Thou, oh sea! art subject to me, for thou hast come within my jurisdiction. The soil upon which I sit is mine own, and there is none in this land who can with impunity resist my commands. Thee, therefore, do I command, that thou shalt not with thy rising waters trench upon my territory, and that thou shalt not presume to wet the robes nor bedew the limbs of him who is thy lord."

The sea rolled on as he spoke—wave followed wave, and soon, not only were the feet of the monarch immersed, but the mountain tide irreverently dashed its foam be-

* H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 364.

tween his legs. Upon this, the King leaping back from his throne, exclaimed :—" Thus, then, may all, who dwell " upon this earth, know how vain, how feeble, and how " friable, is the power of a temporal king ; that there is, " in truth, but One worthy of the name of King—it is " He, by Whose eternal laws, and in accordance to Whose " will, earth, and sea, and heaven are governed, and to " Whom alone they will yield obedience."

From that time forth, King Canute never again would wear upon his head his royal crown of gold ; but had it placed upon the head of an image of our Lord, affixed to the cross ; and there he directed that it should remain to the honour and glory of God—of the Great King of Kings.*

On the 18th of October, in the year 1032, Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, solemnly dedicated the monastery, which had been constructed with great magnificence by King Canute at Bury St. Edmund's, in honour of the Blessed Mother of God, and of the martyred king, Edmund.† King Canute had, with the advice and consent of the bishops and nobles of his kingdom, previously ex-

* H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 364. See R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 472, 473. BROMTON. p. 961. GERVAS. p. 1651. KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 5. p. 2315. By these three last cited authorities, it is stated, that the crown of Canute was bestowed on the Cathedral of Winchester ; but we are disposed to believe, from the events stated in the year 1031, with respect to the port of Sandwich, that not only was this particular crown transferred to Canterbury, but that the incident referred to in the text occurred at Sandwich.

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 471. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 189.

pelled secular priests from the monastery, and supplied their places with monks.*

It was in this year (1032),† that Canute paid a visit to the church of Glastonbury,‡ in order that he might do honour to the remains there of his "brother Edmund" (for so he was in the habit of designating the deceased king); and having offered up his prayers, he placed upon the tomb a pall, interwoven with the vary-coloured figures of peacocks.§ In making this offering, the before-men-

* *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1032. p. 156. See R. DICET. p. 467. BROMTON. p. 892. KNYGHTON. pp. 2324, 2325.

† Our justification for assigning this date to the circumstances subsequently described, will be found in the charter to Glastonbury, which was then bestowed. Roger de Wendover erroneously places it in the year 1026. See vol. i. p. 467.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 184. vol. i. p. 313.

§ "Super sepulchrum pallium misit versicoloribus figuris, ut videtur, intextum." W. MALMSB. About this period of time, we find frequent mention made of the rich ornaments, especially consisting of magnificent pieces of embroidery, bestowed upon churches, either as vestments or as hangings for the altars. Ingulphus states, as to Canute's gifts to Croyland:—"Dedit abbati nostro unum plenum vestimentum de serico, aureis aquillis intextum, et unum thuribulum argenteum et deauratum, quod nuper vetustate confractum, *per dominum Ednothum nostrum secretarium reparatum erat*, duodecimque dedit abbas ursinas pelles quarum coram diversis altaribus quædam usque ad nostra tempora perdurarunt." *Hist.* p. 61.

The magnificence of Queen Emma's gifts to Ely are minutely described in the *Liber Eliensis*:—"Insignem quoque purpuram aurifriso undique cinctam fecit, et per partes auro et gemmis pretiosis mirifico opere, velut tabulatis, adornavit, illicque optulit; ut nulla alia in Anglorum regione talis operis et pretii inveniat; opus quippe illius materiam præcellere videtur: atque cæteris sanctis nostris pannum sericum unicuique, licet minoris pretii, auro et gemmis intextum optulit, quæ penes nos hactenus reponuntur. Fecit etiam indumenta altaris, magnam pallam viridi coloris insignem cum laminis aureis: ut in faciem altaris per diem solennem celsius appareret; et desuper bissus sanguineo

tioned Ethelnoth stood at the king's side, he being the seventh of the monks of Glastonbury monastery who had presided over the see of Canterbury. The first of these was Berthwald; the second, Athelm; the third, Athelm's nephew, Dunstan; the fourth, Ethelgar, who was the first abbot of the new minster at Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester; the fifth, Siric, who, upon his being made archbishop, presented to his nurse and guardian—the monastery—seven palls, with which the entire of the old church was decorated on the anniversary of his death each year; the sixth was Elphegus, who from being prior at Glastonbury, was made abbot at Bath, and then Bishop of Winchester; the seventh, Ethelnoth, who on this occasion, exhibited to King Canute the privileges that had been bestowed upon Glastonbury by preceding sovereigns, and who then asked for, and by his asking obtained, the confirmation of all such privileges by a royal charter expressed in the following terms.*

“ Ever-enduring is the domination of our Lord God,
 “ Who by His ineffable power disposeth of, and governeth
 “ all things, Who wonderfully divideth the time by seasons, and the life of man by changes, and Who, in His
 “ justice, hath decreed that the term destined to each
 “ shall be uncertain; and Who thus, through the secret
 “ mysteries of nature, teacheth us how, in the midst of
 “ that which is fugacious and inevitably transitory, we are

fulgore, in longitudinem altaris, et ad cornua ejus attingens usque ad terram, cum aurifriso, latitudinem habens pedis, spectaculum decoris magni pretii administrat.” *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 79. vol. i. pp. 196, 197.

* W. MALMSB. See WILKINS' *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 295, 299. SPELMAN. *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 537.

“ to seek by our prayers for those heavenly mansions in
“ the kingdom of God, which shall remain for an eternity.

“ Moved by these considerations, we, Canute, King of
“ the English, and of all the other nations around the
“ Governor and Ruler, do, with the advice of our arch-
“ bishop, Ethelnoth, and all the priests of God, and with
“ the counsel of our chief nobles, and as a proof of our
“ devotion to Heaven, and for the obtaining an indulgent
“ pardon for our own crimes, as well as for the remission
“ of the sins of our brother, King Edmund, do concede
“ unto the Church of the Blessed and Holy Virgin Mary,
“ Mother of God, at Glastonbury, all its rights and cus-
“ toms throughout our entire kingdom, and all forfeit-
“ ures incurred upon all its estates; and that all its estates
“ be as free from all vexatious intrusions, and as perfectly
“ discharged from all disquieting claims as lands in our
“ own possession. But that which we mainly, and by the
“ authority of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the
“ interdiction of the ever-Blessed Virgin, prohibit, and all
“ the ealdormen and thanes of our kingdom forewarn, that
“ there be permitted to enter upon the insular precincts
“ of Glastonbury no one person whatsoever, be their rank
“ or dignity what it may, but that all matters, whether of
“ an ecclesiastical or civil nature, be decided by the ab-
“ bot and the community, as such their privileges have
“ been declared and sanctioned by our royal predecessors;
“ to wit, Centwin, Ina, Cuthred, Alfred, Edward Athelstan,
“ the most glorious Edmund, and the incomparable
“ Edgar.

“ And if any one, at any time hereafter, shall, upon any
“ occasion or pretence whatsoever, seek to interfere with,
“ or to render of no avail, the privilege confirmed by this

“ charter, then may he be winnowed from the association
 “ of the just, in the day of the Last Judgment! And if,
 “ on the other hand, any one shall endeavour to aid, pro-
 “ mote, or defend this, our pious intention, then may the
 “ intercession of the Blessed Mother of God, and of all
 “ the Saints, aid in increasing his portion in the kingdom
 “ of those who have life everlasting.

“ The donation of this privilege was written and pro-
 “ mulgated in the wooden church, in the presence of
 “ King Canute, in the year of our Lord 1032, the second
 “ indiction.*

It was in accordance with the advice of the same arch-
 bishop, Ethelnoth, that Canute sent pecuniary gifts to
 churches beyond the sea,† and that he enriched, especially
 by his donations, Chartres, where there flourished at the
 time as bishop, Fulbert, a man who was alike famous
 for his sanctity and his philosophy, and who, amongst
 other proofs of his industry, laid the foundations of a
 church dedicated to our Lady, the Blessed Mary, and
 who also brought it to completion—a wondrous specimen
 of architecture. Fulbert’s ever-constant desire was to do
 honour to the Blessed Virgin. He extolled her in musi-
 cal modulations; and one may in some degree conjecture,
 with what an intense desire he was animated in his vene-

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 185. See also *Antiq. Glaston.* p. 323, for a copy of this charter, as well as the donation of the rich pall to the tomb of King Edmund.

† “ Knut filius Suein regis, abjecto nomine gentilitatis, in bap-
 tismo Lambertus nomen accepit. Unde scriptum est in libro fra-
 ternitatis nostræ: *Lambrecht. rex Danorum, et Imma regina, et*
Knut filius eorum, devote se commendaverunt orationibus fratrum
Bremensium.” ADAM. *Gest. Hammaburg. Eccl.* lib. ii. schol. 35.
 PERTZ. vol. vii. p. 325.

ration for the Virgin, by listening to those canticles of his composition, in which the music seems to swell with sounds that are echoes of prayers in heaven.* Amongst other works of his, there is extant a volume of his epistles—and amongst these, is one addressed to Canute, the magnificent King, for having poured forth his profuse riches in contributing to the expenses for the erection of the Church of Chartres.†

* “Quam etiam, pro posse honorificare studens, musicis modulationibus crebro extulit. Quanto enim amore in honorem Virginis anhelaverit, poterit conjicere qui cantus audierit cœlestia vota sonantes.” W. MALMSB. This veneration for the Blessed Virgin will be found in all ages of the church, from the days of Luke in the first century (c. i. v. 48), to those of Ireneus in the second (lib. iii. c. 22), down to the council of Ephesus, in 431, and which was held in a church dedicated to the Virgin. See BERGIER. *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. v. pp. 189—193. Art. *Marie*. ALTENSTAIG. *Lexicon Theologicum*. art. *Maria*. p. 183. b. (Antwerp, 1576.) In this instance, Fulbert, the disciple of the learned Gerbert (Pope Silvester II.), is referred to by Malmsbury, as rendering his devotion conspicuous by his talents as a poet and a musician. That the veneration for the Virgin had not for the first time been embodied in verse by Fulbert, we have the proof in the ancient poem of Ermold the Black, which is supposed by M. Guizot to have been written between the years 826 and 834. In that composition, the antiquity of which is indisputable, we find the following portion of a prayer addressed to the Blessed Virgin:—

“Magna tibi virtus cœlo, terraque potestas,
 Quæ Patrem mundi progengerasse vales,
 Tu mihi confer opem immerito, conferque medelam
 Exilio, cujus limina sæpe colo.
 Et si præsentis fugit effera gloria secli,
 Te duce, virgo pia, cœlica regna petam.”
 ERMOLD. NIGELL. lib. iv. 741—746.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 184, 185, 186. vol. i. pp. 315, 316, 317.

It was in these words that Fulbert thanked Canute, the Danish King, for his donations to Chartres.*

"To Canute, the most noble King of the Danes, Fulbert, by the grace of God, Bishop of Chartres, and with him his clergymen and monks, send this letter, and their prayers for his welfare.

"When we saw laid before us thy oblation, we were filled with admiration at the same time of thy sagacity and of thy piety, because it was demonstrative that thou who art a man unacquainted with our language,† and far separated from us by intervening lands and sea, art not only well and thoroughly acquainted with all that happens in thy immediate vicinity, but diligently inquire into all that occurs amongst us; and then we have marvelled at thy piety, because we not only have learned, that thou, of whom we had heard, as being a Prince of Pagans, art not merely a Christian, but hast proved thyself, as we now readily and gratefully acknowledge, a most bountiful benefactor to churches, and to God's servants."‡

The venerable abbot of Croyland monastery, Brithmer, observed that Canute being now fully established as King over England, treated the English not only as fairly as if

* "Ad Cnutum Regem Danorum; ei gratias agit pro muneribus ecclesiæ Carnotensi oblatis." FULBERT. *Epist.* xlv. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 466.

† "This must allude to the language then spoken in France, and which was called 'Romaunce,' because derived from the purer idiom of the Romans. If the Latin had then been the general tongue in use, Canute could not be, as it is remarked by M. de Foncemagne, have been said to be unacquainted with it." BOUTQUET, vol. x. p. 466, note b.

‡ FULBERT. *Epist.* xlv. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 466. For further particulars respecting Fulbert, see HARDY, notes to W. Malmsbury, vol. i. pp. 316, 317. (E. H. S.)

they were his own countrymen, but even most kindly and generously ; and that his majesty was moreover animated with a special devotion to the Holy Church, and honoured it with a filial submission, and was a bountiful benefactor to monasteries and such other holy places, and that he even elevated some of those places to the highest state of splendour which it was in the power of man to raise them.* These facts being observed and reflected upon by Brithmer, he determined to seek the opportunity of presenting himself before the sovereign, and of obtaining a confirmation of the charter of the monastery ; for the abbot was fearful of a violent invasion of its territories by some of its adversaries, whose power and whose influence had increased during the period that war had been carried on in the country. The request made by the abbot was assented to by the King ; for upon Brithmer appearing in the royal palace and finding favour in the sight of the monarch, he obtained, along with a most beautiful chalice from Canute,† a confirmatory charter which was drawn up in the words following :—

“ Canute, King of all England, Denmark, Norway, and a great part of Sweden, to all the provinces, nations, and people subject to my power, the great as well as the small, health and safety !

“ Whereas, my progenitors and my relations have, by

* *INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 58.*

† We have already referred to Canute's gifts to Croyland. We find him upon his return from his pilgrimage to Rome, condescending to accept a gift of two palfreys from Abbot Brithmer. “ Cui occurrens in portu dominus Abbas Brithmerus duos optimos Regi obtulit palefridos, quos ille benigne acceptans, et gratias integras frequenter agens dedit Abbati,” &c. *INGULPHUS. p. 61.*

“harsh extortions and dire depredations, too often oppressed the land of England, and (as I openly admit) frequently shed, in this country, the blood of the innocent; it has been my desire from the commencement of my reign, and it so shall be for the future, to offer atonement to heaven, and make restitution to this world, for my own sins, as well as for those of my kinsmen; and, therefore, is it my determination to establish in its former condition the property of our Holy Mother the Church, and of each of the monasteries in my dominions, and to supply by my protection whatever they may stand in need of, and to amend by my devotion whatever wrong has been done to them, trusting, that through these and other good works, I may render all the saints of God benignant to me in my necessities, and that they may be for my prayers favourable and friendly intercessors.

“Therefore, in proof of the satisfaction which I am willing to render, I offer to St. Guthlac of Croyland, and to all the other saints of the same place, of my property a chalice, confirming at the same time, to Abbot Brithmer and his monks, the possession of the entire of the monastery of Croyland, with the circumjacent island, and the two adjoining marshes of Alderlound and Goggeslound, with the same boundaries and limits as they are described in the charter of the late and illustrious King Edred, the restorer of the monastery. I confirm to it also, the churches and chapels, the lands and tenements, liberties and franchises that are contained in the charter of the aforesaid king, and all of which wherewith the said Edred endowed and enriched, and confirmed by his own signature, Croyland, for the

“ honour of God, and of his His holy confessor, Guthlac,
“ whose relics there repose.

“ Let none, then, of my men dare in any mode to dis-
“ quiet the aforesaid monks, nor in any of the before-re-
“ cited particulars disquiet them. And if any one shall
“ presume or attempt to take to himself any of their pos-
“ sessions, may he be made to feel the sharp edge of my
“ temporal sword ; or may he, in proportion to the mode
“ and measure of the injury inflicted by him upon the said
“ monks, undergo, without remission or redemption, the
“ stroke of the spiritual sword which is ever sure to strike
“ the sacrilegious.

“ I, Canute, King, do now, in the year of our Lord,
“ 1032, at London, confirm this my signature with the sign
“ of the holy cross, +.”*

In the year 1033, Bishop Merewhit died in Somerset-
shire, and was interred at Glastonbury ; and the same year
also died Bishop Leofsy, whose body resteth at Worcester,
and to whose see Brihteh was promoted.*

* *INGULPH. Hist.* pp. 58, 59. We omit the names of Arch-
bishop Ethelnoth and the other witnesses to this charter. The
charter itself cannot but be regarded as an important document,
because admitting, on the part of the Danish King, the crimes and
atrocities perpetrated in England by the Northmen.

Whilst Brithmer, the abbot to whom this charter was granted,
presided over the monastery of Croyland, the following incident
occurred, which is thus told by Ingulphus :—

“ In the fourth year of his abbotship, there came to Croyland a
very devout and very generous youth, a relative of Leofric, the
Ealdorman, named Wlfus. The youth was animated with the
love of a solitary life ; he lived as a recluse amongst us, and so
passed a great many years in a state of great sanctity.” *Hist.*
p. 58.

† *Sax. Chron.* For an eulogium on the character of Bishop
Leofsy, see F. WIGORN. a. 1033. vol. i. p. 189. The same

In the year 1038, died Bishop Etheric.* He had reached the eighteenth year of his episcopacy, when he was suddenly attacked with the sharp pains of fever, at a small village in his diocese.† He on the instant prognos-

author states, that the successor of Leofsy was nephew to Wulstan, Archbishop of York.

It may be here observed, as no less honourable to English Churchmen at this period than to King Canute, that he appointed Englishmen to bishoprics in his dominions on the continent. These appointments led, however, to disputes with respect to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of which the following account is given by Adam of Bremen:—

“When Canute became King of England he brought with him many bishops from England to Denmark. Amongst others he placed Bernard in Skaane, Gerbrand in Seeland, and Reginbert in Fyen. This excited the ire of our Archbishop Unwan, and it is said that he arrested Gerbrand as he was returning from England, and who, as the archbishop was aware, had been consecrated by Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of the English. Gerbrand, under the compulsion of necessity, promised due obedience and subjection to the Church of Hamburgh; and he afterwards was placed on friendly and familiar terms with the archbishop. Through the same Gerbrand, the archbishop sent ambassadors to King Canute, who presented the sovereign with gifts, and congratulated him upon the success of his affairs in England; but at the same time rebuked him on account of the presumption of the bishops that he had sent from England. Canute received all this very gracefully, subsequently coincided in opinion with the archbishop, and declared that it was his wish all things should be done in accordance with the judgment of the Archbishop. Those things were notified to us by the King of the Danes, as having heard them from his uncle, who was not silent with respect to the arrest of Gerbrand.”

ADAM. *Gest Hammaburg.* lib. ii. c. 92. PERTZ. vol. vii. p. 325.

The name of the Bishop Gerbrand here referred to, will be found attached to a charter from Canute to the monastery of Ely, in the year 1022, at which time he appears to have presided over Roskylde. His name is thus affixed to the charter. “Ego Gerbrandus Roscylde, Parochiæ Danorum gente confirmavi.” *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. p. 199. (Ang. Christ.) p. 523.

* *Sax. Chron.*

† *Hist. Rames.* c. 92, p. 447 (Gale).

ticated his approaching death, and he directed that his body should be carried to Ramsey monastery, to which he at the same time bequeathed a rich donation of several books along with his episcopal ornaments.* That which he had directed to be done was strictly complied with, and thus the same place to which he had with happy auspices dedicated his boyish years, and from whence, as he graduated in virtue, in holiness, and in sanctity, he at length rose to the rank of a bishop, was the place which he enriched with his munificence, and chose that his remains should ever afterwards repose.†

Etheric was a man well known to King Canute as being wise, just, and sagacious, and hence it came to pass that the sovereign who desired to guide himself by the suggestions of those who he knew would give him good advice, frequently summoned Etheric to his presence, and held with him many conversations in private.‡ At all times the king was a willing listener to Etheric, and many things done by him were performed in accordance with the opinion expressed by the bishop. Thus it was in compliance with the exhortations of Etheric that the king first conceived a devotion for the monastery of Ramsey, the fame of which was then diffused as a sweet odour all over the country; and thus it was that the king caused to be erected in the island, and by money supplied from the royal exchequer, a church like to the original church in its form, but somewhat different in its size. It had been

* "Cum librorum et ornamentorum Episcopaliū xeniis plurimorum."

† *Hist. Rames.* c. 92, p. 447 (Gale).

‡ *Hist. Rames.* c. 81, p. 437 (Gale).

intended to collect together in Ramsey a community of nuns in a convent, as well as a confraternity of monks in a monastery, and that thus women as well as men might in the same place manifest their constant and untiring devotion to heaven; but by the providence of God, to which the dangers that might arise, as well as the advantages to be gained, from this proximity of the sexes were not unknown, this intention, at one time entertained, was not permitted to be fulfilled. The crypts, we may remark, that had been built under the high altar of the original church, and which were alike the witness and the proof of its construction, still remain, and are to this day to be seen uninjured in the cemetery of the monastery.*

It was during the bishopric of Etheric, and the reign of Canute, that the remains of St. Felix, formerly bishop of the East Angles, lay buried at Seham, then a royal manor.† Seham was a place in which Saint Felix, whilst living, had rendered illustrious by his sanctity, where a church had been built and dedicated by him, and where he had collected no small number of monks. Upon the death of Felix, as bishop at Dunwich, and his interment there, the monks of Seham having obtained a favourable opportunity for doing so, transferred his balmy relics to their church, in which they were deposited. This same church was afterwards utterly destroyed, and the monks slaughtered, by the infuriated Danes, and so, until the reign of Canute, those honours that were due to the memory of the sanctified Felix remained unpaid, and in their neglect there was

* "In cœmeterio nostro hodieque indemnis pendurat." *Hist. Rames.* c. 81, p. 437.

† *Hist. Rames.* c. 82, p. 437.

shown an actual irreverence for his virtues. This fact being ascertained by Etheric, he solicited the king that an end should be put to it. That which he prayed for was conceded by Canute, and then the bishop intimated to Abbot Æthelstan and the monks of Ramsey, that with but slight labour they could obtain an inexhaustible treasure for themselves, and that they should lose no time in bringing to a successful termination a transaction of which all the profit would be derived by themselves.

The abbot Æthelstan, upon receiving this message, took with him Alfwin, who was then prior, and a number of the venerable monks, and proceeded by water to the place containing the great treasure they sought for. Upon their arrival they were able, because they were armed with the authority of the king and the bishop, to overmaster the exertions of those who might otherwise have offered a successful resistance to the object they had in view. They then placed on board their boat the holy ashes and the bones of St. Felix, and with psalms of joy steered their way back to Ramsey.

No sooner, however, did the men of Ely hear of what had occurred than they became desirous that the monks of Ramsey should not be possessed of so great a treasure, and therefore they hurried on board their ships with a strong body of armed persons, resolved that the greater number should thus deprive the less of the relics they were guarding. An event occurred on this occasion, which showed that what had taken place was not to be regarded as the work of human hands, but was the dispensation of the divine will; for, at the very moment that the vessels were in sight of each other, and when the atmosphere was clear, serene, and cloudless, there was an obstacle placed

in the way of the many, and a protection afforded to the few. A dense and impenetrable mist rose up between the pursuers and the pursued, separating them utterly and completely from one another, leaving the adversaries of the monks to wander widely away, and at random through the waters, whilst the friendly, familiar, and obedient stream carried the monks onward in a straight course to that home which was ever ready to welcome them on their return to its threshold.

Reader! whatever doubt or hesitation you may entertain, or feel compelled to entertain, as to giving an implicit faith to the miracle which is here recorded, and for which our only proof is the tradition which has been handed down to us from our predecessors, still there is this fact, with regard to the truth of which neither doubt nor difficulty can be felt, and that is, that the relics of St. Felix were, with the assent of King Canute, and through the request of Bishop Etheric, removed from the vill of Seham to the church of Ramsey, where they were with due honour enshrined, and where, even to this day, the holy saint bestows many benefits upon those who seek his prayers.*

And here our pen must of necessity be employed in describing what immense and rich donations were conferred by Bishop Etheric upon Ramsey monastery, and by means of which he endeavoured to repair the loss

* "Ubi usque hodie plurima cultoribus suis ver sanctus confert beneficia." *Hist. Rames.* c. 82, p. 438. The author then refers to Bede as giving an account of the life and virtues of St. Felix. See vol. i. pp. 251, 252, 294, 295 of this work. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. i. pp. 779, 780, 781.

entailed by him upon the monastery, when one of its bells was accidentally destroyed by him in his boyhood.* It was a lucky accident, and a fortunate loss, because it afterwards tended to confer enormous and lasting benefits upon the monastery.

No sooner had Etheric, upon the death of Ednoth, been raised to the dignity of the bishopric of Dorchester, than the friendship of the king and the favour of the people alike smiled upon him. He proved that, in the enjoyment of those advantages, he never for a moment lost sight of

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 83, p. 438. The incident here referred to is in chapter lxvii. pp. 430, 431. It occurred whilst Etheric and three of his companions were playing together. They were the pupils of St. Oswald, and had been in the monastery from the age of seven years. The moment the mischief was done by them, the author says, that "remembering the rule of St. Benedict, which they had often heard recited in the Chapter, that when a person breaks or destroys anything in a monastery, he should, lest others might be falsely accused or suspected, at once openly declare what he has done, they, therefore, with sighs and tears, ran and cast themselves at the feet of the abbot, and told him what had happened." The conduct of the abbot on the occasion is worthy of being mentioned. "He not only took pity upon them, but he consoled them; and calling together the monks, he thus addressed them, with respect to the boys—'*innocentes non voto sed contra votum, non sponte sed nolentes, non de industria sed casu fortuito culpam commississe non votivam*;' and he then promised on their behalf, that when they arrived at the age of maturity they would repay a hundredfold to the monastery the loss they had caused it. By this means the boys escaped a severe scourging from the monks; but it is plain, from the words subsequently employed, that they used the Discipline upon themselves even to the shedding of blood: "*Qui pii patris parentes admonitioni, nudis ecclesiam pedibus intrantes, anxietatis domino coram sanctis, quorum ibi patrocinio habebantur, sanguinem libaverunt, qui vota sua divinæ pietatis auribus importaret.*" The abbot who acted with this kindness towards the boys was Ednoth, afterwards Bishop of Dorchester. *Hist. Rames.* c. 69. pp. 431, 432.

that church which had been the cradle of his childhood and the guardian of his adolescence. Many of the remarkable gifts bestowed by Etheric upon the place he loved as a boy still remain attached to its possessions—gifts that did not originate in his episcopal wealth, but were composed of riches, on which he had never fixed his heart, and that were not even acquired through a sagacity otherwise laudable.*

At the time (as it has been before mentioned) that Canute, a Dane by birth, obtained possession of the crown of England, some of the English nobility, who had been traitors to their own kings, and his predecessors, were, in accordance with the doom of Canute, proscribed and banished, and the estates they left behind them assigned to the Danish fellow-soldiers of Canute, to himself, and to his heirs in due succession.† Of the persons thus endowed, there was one named Thurkyll, a man sprung from no mean Danish race, and who, amongst other property possessed by him, became the tenant in fee-simple‡ of the western part of a manor named Ellesworth, and the eastern portion of which belonged to Ramsey monastery. This Thurkyll had a wife, by whom he became the father of a boy, and his wife a few days after her child had been weaned, departed this life, and thus broke those matrimonial bonds which nought but death can unloose.

Thurkyll thus left a widower, endeavoured to console himself for the loss of his spouse by his love for the child

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 83, p. 438.

† *Hist. Rames.* c. 84, p. 438.

‡ “*Inter alia casu funiculariæ sortis possideret.*” *Hist. Rames.*
See DUCANGE in verb. *funiculus, factus, faicia, fara.*

which was thus bequeathed to him, a pledge of the affection entertained for him by her who was now numbered amongst the dead. Accustomed, however, as he had been to the married life, he could not endure to live alone, and hence he contracted a second marriage, and in so doing, involved himself in the snares laid for him by a wicked woman; for this new wife, perceiving that her husband's thoughts were divided between her and his child—that he seemed to love her less than he loved his son—her heart became stirred with the hatred of a step-mother, and the fury of a woman's malignity was not to be abated but by the death of the boy.

And as it rarely occurs that once a woman's mind becomes fixed upon the perpetration of a crime, she can be deterred from its execution, either by fear of God or dread of man, so did it happen with this female; under the constant goad of her evil passions—she meditated upon her crime—she studied how she might carry it into effect—she looked forward as the reward for her detestable iniquity, both the possession of the undivided affection of her husband, and the inheritance of his property by a child to be born of herself.

With these objects in view, the wife of Thurkyll sought out a witch, who it was known was able by her skill and wiles to change the affections of others. She gained this woman's confidence by the promise of future rewards, and by actual bribes, and then disclosed to her what it was she desired—namely, the knowledge of the means by which the mind of her husband might be weaned from the love of his son, and all his regards concentrated in herself. The witch did not deny that she could employ her artifices in the manner that was desired, and as the

old woman was of a covetous disposition, she readily promised to aid the wife of Thurkyll to the best of her skill and knowledge. Medicaments composed with a nefarious science were therefore given to the unconscious husband, in all that he ate and drank; and the food so taken had such an effect upon him, that his mind became affected, and all his reasoning faculties were enervated. All the energy of his affections was transferred to his wife, and so far was he from inviting his son to come and kiss him, as he had been accustomed to do, that he repelled with contumely the boy when seeking to be fondled in the arms of his father.*

Thus far the woman had reason to rejoice in the success of her contrivances; but upon one occasion, her husband, having to travel to a distant part of another province, and as he was sure to be absent on his business a longer time than usual from his home, she called the boy into the

* The species of witchcraft used on this occasion is thus defined in the Theological Lexicon:

"Maleficium est virtutum naturalium fascinatio sive obstupentia, et fit quando diabolus per aliquem artem impedit naturalia, * * * Et maleficia sive incantationes possunt quandoque fieri per adhibitionem rerum naturalium maleficiatis: ut venenatarum herbarum, radicum, lapidum, et cæterorum similium, quorum occultas proprietates noverunt dæmones, ut scribit Gab. di. viii. q. ii. ar. iv. dub. ii. li. ii." ALTENSTAIG, *Lexicon Theologicum*, p. 180. b. (Antwerp, 1576). We find the same crime also defined in the Penitential of Archbishop Egbert, and the "modus imponendi pœnitentiam." In the first it is said: "Si quis veneficiis utatur, alicujus amoris gratia, et ei in cibo quid dederit, vel in potu, vel per alicujus generis incantationes, ut eorum amor augeatur, &c." *Pœnitent. EGBERT.* lib. iv. § 18. "Si quis veneficiis utatur, alicujus amoris gratia, et ei in cibo quid det vel in potu, vel per incantationes, &c." *Mod. Imp. Pœn.* § 39. See THORPE's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 379, 409.

most retired room in the house. The innocent child with smiles obeyed her call, and there she alone, unseen and unaided by others, cruelly killed him ! The murderess, however, as soon as the deed had been done, discovered that she could not, unaided and secretly, carry the body to the place in which she had determined upon hiding it. She then summoned to her assistance her accomplice in her former crime, and relying upon that fidelity to herself which she had already purchased, she shewed her the lifeless body of the infant, red as it was with its recently shed blood, and in answer to the inquiries of the latter, disclosed what had been the motive that had actuated her to the commission of such a cruel act. Her confederate was filled with detestation of her crime, but yielded, however, to her prayers to assist her in this difficulty. Both the women then conveyed away the tender corpse, which at the dead hour of night was buried by them in a meadow at Lollesworth, where they carefully and cautiously covered over with green sods, and smoothed down to a level with the rest of the field, the place in which the body was concealed, and so as to render it difficult to discover in what particular spot was the grave of the boy.

The moment at length arrived for Thurkyll's return to his home. He was met, as he entered his house, by that malignant creature his wife, who clapped her hands with grief ; whilst floods of tears flowed from her eyes, which she shed with all a woman's facility in the exhibition of such signs of sorrow, and these words were spoken by her :—

“ Woe ! woe ! my dearest husband. A few days after
“ your departure, your son disappeared from amongst us.
“ Messengers and servants have been sent by me to the
“ village, and to the neighbourhood all round for him.

“ Their search has been vain, and therefore have I passed my days in such grief and mourning, that the intensity of my grief has brought on a constant and wracking headache. If it were not that I entertain the confident hope that I am about to present you with another child, I should, I am quite certain, from the mere horror and weariness of life, have died before your return home.”

Thurkyll was grieved to hear such news as this, but intoxicated with his insane passion, he soon shewed that he could bear with greater equanimity the loss of his son, than he could endure to witness the assumed grief of his beloved spouse. The husband and the wife sought to console each other—the only son, buried by the sacrilegious hands of his stepmother, was forgotten by his father—his memory was in the course of a few days placed in the urn of oblivion.

The father had forgotten his child ; but it was not so with the servants and neighbours, who were amazed at the sudden disappearance of the boy, and who whispered their conjectures to each other, until at length suspicions were excited, and a strong opinion circulated far and wide that a great crime had been committed.

It is difficult for crime, no matter how secretly perpetrated, not to give, at some time or another, whether sooner or later, the indication of its existence, nor to afford the means of dragging it to the light of day. So it happened in this case. The poorer of these two criminal women one day sought from her richer confederate some assistance, which the latter refused to give her, and then the old witch accused the dame of breach of faith, and a violated compact.

At this time the world seemed to smile upon the wife of

Thurkyll ; everything she had wished for had been gained ; and, therefore, she contemned the wretched old woman, and broke the promise she had given. She did this because she supposed that no one would believe it to be possible that a person of her great dignity could by any possibility have ever had any dealing with an impoverished, old, and miserable female.

Upon this there arose, as between talkative women there always will arise, a very angry altercation, and the dame called her domestic servants, ordered them to expel with every mark of infamy the unfortunate old woman, and never again to allow her into the house.

The witch repented, perhaps, of what she had done ; but of this there can be no doubt, that the promise that had been given, and that was thus so shamelessly violated, filled her with grief. “ Now then,” said she, “ since this dame has broken her promise, since she has refused to adhere to her word, she cannot expect me to keep mine—she it is who has put an end to the compact that bound us together.” Such were the words frequently repeated by the old witch as she withdrew from the house of Thurkyll. She then went to Bishop Etheric, and to him she humbly and privately confessed all her guilt as we have already stated ; how by her witchcraft the mind of the husband had been affected ; and then she openly accused the dame of homicide, to which she herself had never consented, and mentioned the promises that had been made to her.

“ I,” said she, “ neither had in my contemplation at the time, nor have I on my conscience now, the murder of the innocent boy ; but knowing that he had been slain, I did rashly, and from a hope of reward, which reward

“ I have not received, help the murderess to bury him.
“ In so doing, I confess, that I, wretch as I am, have
“ greatly sinned, and am therefore most ready and willing
“ to undergo such penance as, for the remission and
“ pardon of my sins, you, oh ! bishop, may adjudge.”

The bishop being well aware that a floating rumour with regard to the supposed crime had greatly agitated the mind, and outraged the conscientious feelings of the people, considered it right and proper to impose a public penance upon the old woman ; and at the same time he cited Thurkyll and his wife to appear before his court, in order that due allegations might be made with respect to a crime, of which formerly there had only been a report, but of which there now was a certainty.”

Thurkyll being so cited did not condescend to appear. The bishop did not, however, deem it right at once to seek the enforcement of any punishment : he moderated the course of justice for a time, lest it should be said, and to the disparagement of the King, that an Englishman had unjustly or rashly harassed a Dane. Doing this, however, he sought the opportunity of speaking to Canute, and he then stated how, with respect to these circumstances, public opinion had gradually spread from one end of the diocese to the other, and what great scandal had been caused amongst the multitude, and how much the general suspicion had been increased as to the perpetration of an enormous offence, when it was known that Thurkyll had been thrice summoned to prove the innocence of the accused, and had each time refused to obey the citation served upon him. The King was indignant upon hearing of these circumstances, and he instantly despatched letters to Thurkyll, commanding him, the moment he received

such letters, without excuse or delay for any cause whatsoever, to appear before him.

Thurkyll, who was alike puzzled to know what could be the cause of such a summons, as well as by the strangeness of any such being directed to him, appeared before the King, and being then compelled to reply to the charges made by the bishop, he stoutly maintained not only his own innocence, but also the innocence of his wife.

It was then decreed by the King, that Thurkyll should return to his own home; but that, in obedience to the summons of the bishop, he should upon a certain day, at an assigned place, both to be named by the bishop, appear with eleven other jurors, and his wife with as many persons of her own sex, and there, if they could, by oath clear her conscience and her character of the crime with which both stood impeached.

The Bishop was fully resolved as to what was the spot where the trial should be, and he as distinctly designated the day on which the examination should take place. He seemed to foresee that there would be a manifestation of the power of the Divinity on the occasion, and he therefore commanded the Abbot of Ramsey, Æthelstan, and some of the monks, to be present, and to bring with them some of the principal relics of saints, which they had in their possession.

The day fixed upon at last arrived—the place for the cause to be determined the bishop had sagaciously appointed to be the meadow of Lollesworth—the very same place in which, as he had been informed by the old witch, the boy had been buried. The field was filled with an immense multitude both of laymen and clergymen; but, in accordance with the orders of the bishop, all the relics

which the abbot and monks of Ramsey had brought with them, were placed upon a particular spot—that spot being the grave of the child. It was in presence of these relics, and before all the multitude, that Thurkyll bent the knee, extended his right hand, and swore, “that he never had consented to the death of his son, that he did not know how his son had lost his life, and that his conscience was clear, whatever had been the manner of his son’s death.”

Thurkyll having thus sworn, was on the point of giving place to the next juror, when he, in his rash confidence in the innocence of his wife, and being at the same time desirous to save the necessity of any further swearing on the matter, voluntarily perjured himself by twisting his right hand in his beard, which was both thick and long, and making use of these words:—

“Mark me well, bishop; may God permit me to wear and rejoice in this beard, as securely and as surely as my wife is innocent, and perfectly unconscious of the crime which is now imputed to her!”

Thurkyll spoke the words, and then wished to withdraw his hand from his beard; but, by the Divine Will, the entire of the shaggy hairs clung with an adhesive fixedness to his fingers, lost their roots in his cheeks and upon his chin, and he stood in face a woman, shorn as if in dishonour, and his hand shaking, as there waved in his grasp the flaccid locks of which he stood self-denuded!

A loud shout was raised by the people on beholding this miracle, and God was praised in all His works, by the monks and the clergy. A party of the Danes, who were present, were confounded, and Thurkyll himself, in his confusion, attempted to maintain that there ought to be some

more clear manifestation of the guilt of his wife. As to the woman herself, she persisted in denying the crime, and then the bishop ordered the grave to be opened, and the bones of the murdered boy to be exposed to the eyes of all. The dame felt herself convicted by the fact—she was no longer able to deny the truth of the accusation preferred against her—she cast herself at the feet of the bishop—she, with tears, confessed her crime, and then, with deep groans, asked the prelate to be merciful towards her.

The husband and the wife made an open confession of their crimes—the husband that he had been guilty of perjury, the wife that she stood convicted of homicide, and both accepted the solemn penance then imposed upon them. Thurkyll then voluntarily offered satisfaction to the bishop, because he had been contumacious towards him in the prosecution of the cause, and having offended, he wished to be restored to the graces and good will of the prelate. It was for this reason, that he, in the presence of all the people, bestowed upon Etheric the western portion of Ellesworth. The gift was thankfully accepted by Etheric, who on the instant assigned it, free from all claim on the part of Thurkyll and his heirs, to the abbot and monks of Ramsey.

Thus it was that Etheric bestowed the aforesaid manor upon his nursing-mother, the church of Ramsey: thus did one who was no degenerate pupil of the monastery, (heaven in its goodness assisting him,) render it the complete and secure mistress of a property, which it had previously held but in a semi-mutilated condition.*

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 84. pp. 438, 439, 440, 441. In giving this long extract from the history of the Church of Ramsey, we have

In the year 1035, Canute the Magnificent, King of the English, the Danes, and the Norwegians, appointed his

had a higher object in view than that of shewing that the old monastery obtained possession of the mansion of Lollesworth in the reign of Canute. The narrative is in itself an exposure of the state of society, and the manner in which criminal justice was administered in the days of King Canute, and is therefore to be regarded as an historical document. The monkish writer at Ramsey gives us many such traits of the manners of the times—for instance, we find in the chapter (lxxxv.) an account of a haughty, vain-boasting, and deep-drinking Dane, presuming upon his own wealth, and upon the poverty of a Catholic bishop, defying him to produce fifty marks of gold on the following morning, and so confident the bishop could not collect the sum, as to offer to sell a valuable estate for that sum if the money were produced. In this narrative we learn that it was the habit of the Danes, once the dinner tables were removed, to spend the remainder of the evening over their cups. “Tandem satiatis omnibus, mensisque remotis, diem in vesperum potando pertraxerunt”—that King Canute constantly visited all parts of his kingdom—“Rex Cnuto more assueto regni fines peragraret;” and that the usual manner in which he recreated his mind at night was in playing dice and chess—“regem adhuc tesserarum vel Scacorum ludo longioris tedia noctis relevantem invenit.” We are told that a man could, if verbally promising to part with his land for a pecuniary consideration in the presence of credible witnesses, be compelled to fulfil his promise; and we are shewn that a man could not dispose of the estate held by his wife previous to her marriage, unless she afterwards, (and as his wife,) assented to his so dealing with the land. The same chapter, too, shews us a bishop raising money upon letters written for him by his secretary (see Herman Hugo de Prim. Scrib. Orig. p. 201. Antwerp. 1617); and the King himself emptying the privy purse (*loculis regiis*), in which, however, there were not fifty marks of gold, to give to the bishop; and perhaps we may add, as a strange contrast between the manners of those days and the present, that when the bishop had, by great exertions, obtained a magnificent estate, instead of retaining it for his own use, or enriching his relations with it, he parted with it absolutely and for ever to strangers—knowing that the use those strangers would make of it, would be to feed other poor strangers, to instruct the ignorant, and to lead the weak from the paths of sin to repentance, and to heaven. The incidents narrated in the *Historia*

son Swein, the child of Algiva, to be King over the Norwegians, and his son Hardecanute, the child of Emma, to

Ramesiensis, (c. 84, 85, 86. pp. 441—444,) are well worthy of being described, as displaying the condition of society then in England. We omit them, because we fear to trespass upon the patience of our reader, by pursuing one topic too far; and also because we desire to afford space for the narration of an incident in the life of Bishop Etheric, that shews the manner in which, at that time, monks passed their time in a well-regulated monastery, even though under the guidance of a bad-tempered abbot.

Ramsey monastery was at one time ruled by an abbot named Wythman, who preferred to Etheric an accusation against the monks, that "he could not keep them within the bounds of the cloisters, and that the disquietude of their minds was manifested by the irrepressible activity of their bodies"—"*non posse eos intra domestica Claustris septa contineri, mobilitatem mentium vagis inquietorum corporibus declarari.*" (*Hist. Rames.* c. 76. p. 435.)

Etheric determined upon testing the accuracy of this accusation by his own personal observation, and therefore, without intimating his intention to the abbot, he resolved upon making a secret visit to the monastery.

The narrative then proceeds in the following words:—

"He arrived at the monastery at a very early hour in the morning, and simulating the manner of a stranger who entered it to say his prayers—for the monastery was open to every one who chose to go there, and there was no repulse to be found by any who approached it—the bishop, upon getting inside the monastery, began diligently and earnestly to examine it in all parts of the building. Thus, before any one was able to recognise him, he perceived some of the monks devoutly celebrating masses at the private altars; he observed others gathered around the high altar, and offering up their prayers in commemoration of the saints; he saw others sitting side by side and in a compact body between the columns of the cloisters, in perfect silence, devoting themselves to their tasks, to reading, or in the act of writing, or in the exercise of some like honest and worthy pursuit, by means of which idleness can be avoided and sloth repelled." (*Hist. Rames.* c. 78. p. 435.)

Thus was the monastery of Ramsey proved to be the abode of piety and industry. Its false accuser (how many have been the false accusers of monasteries!) was confounded and put to shame. Wythman resigned the abbotsip, went upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return was tendered by those he had calum-

be crowned as King of the Danes, and having witnessed the ceremony of the coronation, he returned to England.*

In the course of the same year, that is, on Wednesday, the 12th of November, in the year 1035, Canute departed this life at Shaftesbury, and was interred with all due honour in the old monastery at Winchester.† Deeply lamented was he by the lady Emma, his queen, and all her relations.‡ His death was mourned by the poor as well

niated a restoration to his office. This was, however, declined by Wythman, who afterwards lived a life of repentance, and as a recluse in the neighbourhood of the abbey, and died a most holy death in the reign of Edward the Confessor. (*Hist. Rames. c. 78. 79. pp. 435, 436.*)

The death of Malcolm, King of Scotland, is placed in this year (1034) by Florence of Worcester (vol. i. p. 189); and in the same year a King of Wales, who had been excommunicated for violating a sanctuary, did penance at Llandaff. (*ALFORD. Ann. Eccles. Ang. vol. iii. p. 507. § 2.*)

* *ROG. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 472. There is great confusion amongst the ancient historians with respect to the births of the male children of Canute. Roger de Wendover, as it is stated in the text, mentions that Swein was the son of Algiva. She was the daughter of the Ealdormen Elfelm (see a. 1018), and the mother of Swein and Harold (vol. i. pp. 462, 463). Florence of Worcester (a. 1035, vol. i. p. 190) states, that Swein and Hardecnute were the sons of Algiva; but that the former was born neither of Canute nor Algiva, but "infantem cujusdam presbyteri;" and by Bromton, "de quâdam presbiteressa" (p. 909). Hardecnute is said by Simon of Durham (p. 179) to be the son of Emma; and as to the third son, Harold, who declared himself to be the son of Canute and Emma, a statement which Florence of Worcester and the Saxon Chronicle seem to repudiate as incredible, it is affirmed by R. Dicet. (p. 169), that he was not the son either of Canute or Emma, but "filium cujusdam sutoris." See HIGDEN. a. 1035. p. 276. KNYGHTON. p. 2325. *Hist. Rames. c. 94. p. 447. Encomium Emmæ*, in MASKEE'S *Hist. Ang. Select. Mon.* p. 22. WALLINGFORD. *Chron.* p. 550.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1035. vol. i. p. 190.

‡ *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 25.

as by the rich. Bitter tears for his decease were shed by bishops and priests, by monks and nuns. But great as was the lamentation in this world, still equally as great was the joy in the court of heaven. Those sighed for what they had lost; these exulted in what they had gained. Those buried the lifeless body; these raised on high the soul to revel in everlasting peace. For his demise those on earth alone wept; but for his soul's sake interceded the citizens of heaven and mortal men. That his glory may each day be increased, let us all devoutly pray God; and since by his goodness he has so merited, let us all each day exclaim—"May the soul of Canute rest in peace!" Amen.*

* "Anima Cnutonis requiescat in pace, Amen." *Encomium Emmae*, in MASERE's *Hist. Ang. Select. Mon.* p. 25. "Cujus anima gloria perfruatur æterna." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 472. "Cujus misericordia Cnut regis anima quiete fruatur." H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 364.

Such are the prayers with which the monks conclude their account of Canute, whose worldly ambition had stained his soul with many crimes; and who endeavoured afterwards to atone to Heaven for them by works of charity and piety. His good works were the proofs of his penitence, and the monks prayed that his sins might be forgiven him. The eternal punishment was in all probability remitted; but there can be no doubt that the temporal punishment was retained; for the kingdoms, to obtain which he had committed crimes, were not permitted to remain with his race; and a few years had only passed away in this country, when its Danish Kings were utterly and for ever extirpated.

For further references to Canute and his death, see *Sax. Chron.* a. 1035. BROMTON. p. 912. KNYGHTON. p. 2325. Hoveden. p. 437. *Chron. Petriburgens.* p. 44 (Giles). HIGDEN. p. 276. RUDBORN *Hist. Maj.* lib. iv. c. 1. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 231, 232, 233. POLYDOR VIRGIL. lib. vii. *circ. fin.* pp. 133, 135. SPRLMAN, *The Original of the Terms*, c. 9. pp. 78, 79. b. *Icenia.* p. 153. b. (English works, 1727). HARPSFIELD. xi. *Sæc.* c. 2. pp. 213, 214. *Knytlinga Saga*, p. 145 (Johnstone, *Antiq. Celt.*

Scand.) *Chron. Mann.* p. 5. (Ibid.) *CARADOC.* pp. 76, 77, 78, 80, 83. *ADAM. Gest. Hammaburg. Eccl. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 80, 87, 99, 107. *PERTZ. Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 319, 323, 329, 332. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 339, 637. *W. GEMITICKENS.* lib. vi. c. 8. p. 651. *WALSINGHAM. Ypodig. Neust.* p. 453. *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie.* p. 60. (Soc. Hist. France). *Le Roman de Rou.* 9761. *BERING. Florus Danicus,* pp. 210, 219. *DUGDALE'S Monasticon,* vol. i. pp. 44, 84, 97, 109, 121, 190, 223, 459; vol. ii. pp. 96, 117, 622; vol. iii. pp. 54, 51, 99. (Ellis's Edition.) *MICHEL, notes on Chronique des Ducs de Normandie.* vol. ii. pp. 72, 73, 74. *SMITH. Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. iii. c. 17. § 1, 2, 3, 4. pp. 220, 221, 222, 223. *GLABER. Chron.* lib. ii. c. 2.

CANUTE'S LAWS.

The laws of Canute divide themselves into three distinct codes—the Secular, the Ecclesiastical, and the Forest Laws. In all the slave class were interested, and their liberty and life affected by them. Amongst the Secular Laws, we find the following provisions:—

“If a lord compel his theow to work upon a festival day, let him forfeit the theow and be he afterwards folk-free; and let the lord pay ‘lah-slit’ among the Danes, and ‘wite’ among the English, as the deed may be; or clear himself.” *Secular Laws of Canute,* § 46. p. 173. For the protection of female slaves, see § 55. p. 174.

Where slaves under the accusation of guilt had to submit to the ordeal, and their crime was thus demonstrated, the punishments were very severe.

“And if a ‘theowman’ be foul at the ordeal, let him be branded the first time, and at the second time, let there be no other ‘bot’ except the head.” § 32. p. 170.

In cases of men who were not slaves, and under similar circumstances—that is, twice convicted of different crimes by ordeal, the punishments were also very severe:—

“And at the second time, let there be no other ‘bot,’ if he be foul, than that his hands be cut off, or his feet, or both, according as the deed may be. And if he then have wrought yet greater wrong, then let his eyes be put out, and his nose and ears, and the upper lip be cut off; or let him be scalped: whatever of these then, those shall counsel whose duty it is to counsel thereupon, so that punishment be inflicted, and also the soul preserved.” § 30, p. 169.

In the Ecclesiastical Laws, it is declared, “And let festivals and fasts be rigidly held, and let every Sunday’s festival be held

from the noon of Saturday till the dawn of Monday, and every other Mass-day, as it is commanded. And Sunday marketings be also strictly forbid, and every folk-mote, unless it be for great necessity; and let huntings, and *all other worldly works*, be strictly abstained from on that holy day." § 14, 15. (pp. 157, 158.)

The most interesting to modern times of all Canute's Laws, are his *Constitutiones de Foresta*. Of these a most valuable analysis has been given by Mr. Kemble in his *Saxons in England*.

That the laws for preserving the king's forest, or hunting, were severe, there can be no doubt; but before calling attention to those laws, as applicable to the king's forests alone, it must be borne in mind, that there was this general law, sanctioned by Canute, and in operation in all parts of the kingdom:—

"And I will that *every man* be entitled to his hunting, in wood and in field in *his own possession*.

"And let every man forego my hunting: take notice where I will have it untrespassed on, under the penalty of the full wite." § 81. Ancient LL. c. p. 181.

By the Forest Laws of Canute, there were appointed for every province or county four thanes to administer justice in all pleas respecting the forest—under each of these, there were four less-thanes, or, as the Danes called them, young men—and for each of these, two "tinemen," who watched by night as the "young men" did by day, and who had to discharge servile labour. The appointment, however, to this office, immediately raised the slave to the condition of a freeman. "*Si talis minutus servus fuerit, tam cito quam in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto.*" (§ v. p. 183.) The allowance for such a person was a lance, a cross-bow, and fifteen silver shillings a year. To offer any violence to the head man of the forest was punishable in a freeman by slavery and confiscation of property; by a serf, with the loss of his right hand; and the same culprit twice offending, was punishable with death.

Mr. Kemble, in commenting upon the other provisions of this law, renders them very intelligible. "The offences," observes Mr. Kemble, "against the forest law were various, and of very different degrees: the *feræ forestæ* were not nearly so sacred as the *feræ regales*, and as for the *vert*, it was of so little regard, that the law hardly contemplated it, always excepting the breaking the King's chase. To hunt a beast of the forest (*feræ forestæ*) either voluntarily or intentionally, till it panted, was punished in a freeman by a fine of ten shillings; in one of a lower grade, by a fine of twenty; in a serf, by flogging. But if it were a royal beast (*fera regalis*), which the English call a

stag, the punishments were to be respectively one and two years' servitude, and for the serf, outlawry. If they killed it, the free-man was to lose *scutum libertatis*; the next man his liberty; and the serf his life. * * * Besides the beasts of the forest, the roebuck, hare, and rabbit, were protected by fines. Wolves and foxes were neither beasts of the forest nor chase, and might be killed with impunity, but not within the bounds of the forest, as that would be considered a breaking of the chase; nor was the boar considered a beast of venery. No one was to cut brushwood, but with permission of the *primarius* (head forester), under a penalty; and he that felled a tree which supplied food for the beasts, was to pay a fine of twenty shillings over and above that for breaking the chase. Every free man might have his own vert and venison on his own lands, but without a chase." KENBLE's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.

The next provision of the Forest Law we prefer giving in a close translation from the original.

"No man of the middle class (*mediocris*) shall have or keep dogs, which the English call greihounds" (qy. stag-hounds). A gentleman (*liberali*) is permitted to have one, provided their knee-sinew be cut in presence of the head-forester, or such a person may have greyhounds without such cutting of the knee-sinew, provided they are kept ten miles from the forest boundaries, and whenever they come nearer, there is to be a fine of a shilling for each mile. If found within the boundaries of the forest, the master of the dog is to make satisfaction for it, and pay ten shillings to the King." § 31. p. 184.

Amongst the Franks there were Game or Forest Laws, which were very rigidly enforced. Tit. xxvi. § 2, says, "*Quam legem tam de venationibus quam et de piscationibus convenit observare.*" To steal anything belonging to hunting, fowling, or fishing, was punishable with a heavy fine: "*Si quis aliqua de venatione, de avibus, aut de piscibus furaverit de den. qui faciunt sol. xv. culp. jud.*"

§ 3. To steal a stag, tamed for sport, and wearing a bell, the penalty was 1800 denarii, or 45s.

§ 4. To steal or kill another stag, 1400 denarii, or 35s.

§ 5. To steal or kill a tired stag that the dogs of another had tired down, 600 denarii, or 15s.

§ 6. The same penalty for killing a boar, "*Quem alieni canes moverant et adlassaverunt.*" See JUSTINIAN. *Institut.* lib. ii. § 1, 2. and notes by BIGNONIUS in *Leg. Salic.* Tit. xxxv. pp. 161, 162. (Paris, 1646.)

Canute's Forest Laws as to sporting dogs, might be regarded as liberal, but for the terrible penalties attached by him to any

mischievous that might be done by them. He says, "As to sporting dogs (*velteres*) persons are permitted to have, without their knees being cut, those that are called *langeran* (greyhounds?) because no danger is to be apprehended from them. And so too with the dogs called 'ram-hundt'—(probably beagles, or terriers—literally—rabbit-hounds)." § xxxii. Ancient LLs. &c. p. 184.

By the Salic Law, the penalty for stealing any such dogs was fifteen shillings: "Se quis vero Sensium reliquum, aut veltrem porcarium, sive veltrem leporarium, qui et argutarius dicitur, &c." The same protection was placed over a house-dog, and the penalty for stealing or killing a shepherd's dog, was 3s. See the curious note of PITHÆUS as to those sporting dogs, Tit. vi. p. 104. (Paris, 1646.)

The Burgundian Law, however, for the punishment of those who stole sporting dogs, is the most ludicrous enactment that ever yet was incorporated in the "Game Laws" of any country. It is to this effect:—

"Si quis canem veltraum, aut sequitum vel petrunculum præsumperit involare, jubemus coram omni populo posteriora ipsius osculetur; aut quinque solidos illi cujus canem involavit, cogatur exsolvere, et mulctæ nomine solidos duos." *Leges Burgundiorum*, Additamentum Primum, Tit. x. The Salic Law, Tit. vii. § 1, 2, 3, 4, prohibited the stealing of hawks. (See notes by Pithæus, p. 104, and Bignonius, p. 146, in Edit. Liber Legis Salicæ. Paris, 1646.) And the Burgundian Law affixed a penalty so terrible for hawk stealing, that it cannot be transcribed. Addit. Prim. Tit. xi. As to the Visigoths, they laid down stringent rules for the erection of weirs in rivers. *Leges Visigothorum*, lib. viii. Tit. iv. § 29. See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. iv. pp. 143, 280. That the Forest and Game Laws of former times were severe and afflicting, there can be little doubt: but still it is a curious fact, that in this country, in the same reign, in and by the same sovereign, in which, and by whom, "the religious reformation," as it is called, began, the first legislative attempt "to prohibit the sale of game" occurred—and all the sovereigns remarkable for their persecution of Roman Catholics were those who inflicted upon England the most severe and stringent Game Laws. See 1 James I. c. 29; 22 Charles II. c. 25; 4 & 5 William and Mary, c. 3, &c., as quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. liv. pp. 286, 298—in which last page it is declared, as to that code called the "English Game Laws"—"It has been notoriously violated by all ranks. We have had younger sons shooting without qualification; gentlemen shooting without certificates; noblemen exchanging game with fishmongers for fish; peers of Parliament, and members of committees upon the Game

Laws, ordering plenty of partridges for dinner at Ascot races, before the lawful season. Yet all along, *the violation of the law has been only attempted to be punished in the persons of the poor.*"

The Game Laws of England are responsible for much of unnecessary misery inflicted upon the poor; but there is no such crime attaching to them as the anecdote which is told by Mrs. Sinnett, in her interesting work—"The Byways of History," respecting one of the Reformation-nobles of Germany:—

"A peasant boy had unlawfully appropriated some little crabs which he had caught, and the liege lord" (Baron Fraunstein of Franconia) "having taken the culprit, sent to the neighbouring city of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to borrow an executioner for the purpose of beheading him forthwith. The free city was so discourteous as to decline lending their officer for this purpose, and even to suggest a doubt of the propriety of the proceeding. It is horrible to add, that from some other quarter the desired assistance was procured, and the boy actually beheaded for this offence." SINNETT'S *Byways of History*, vol. ii. p. 251.

CHAPTER V.

HAROLD HAREFOOT.

HAROLD elected at Oxford as a King of England. Harold despoils Queen Emma of the treasures bequeathed to her by Canute. Archbishop Ethelnoth refuses to consecrate Harold as King. The impiety and brutality of Harold. he obtains the designation of "Harefoot." Civil war between Harold and Hardecanuthe apprehended. Miserable state of the people described. England divided between Harold and Hardecanuthe. Duncan, King of Scotland, besieges Durham. he is repulsed. Harold's plots against Queen Emma and her children—Edward and Alfred. A forged letter addressed to the young Princes in Normandy. Edward's abortive attempt to effect a landing in England. Alfred prepares to go to England. declines the military aid tendered to him in Flanders. lands in England, and is met by Godwin. The treachery of Godwin. . . butchery of Alfred's military followers. . . tortures inflicted on the prisoners. Alfred conducted as a prisoner before King Harold. The cruelty of the King. Alfred blinded and put to

death in Ely. Apostrophe to the traitor Godwin by William of Poitiers. Harold declared sole sovereign of England. Queen Emma compelled to retire to Flanders. Emma is visited in Bruges by her son Edward. Hardecnute fits out a fleet in Denmark, for the purpose of proceeding to Flanders. Death of Archbishop Ethelnoth, and of his friend Bishop Æthelric. The prevalence of simony with an unbelieving King. Earl Edwin slain by the Welsh. Meeting of Emma and Hardecnute. Death of Harold.

CHAPTER V.

HAROLD "HAREFOOT."

A.D. 1035—1040.

A SHORT time after the decease of King Canute, there was held at Oxford a witan, composed of all the nobles of England.* At this witan the Earl Leofric, the vast majority of all the thanes dwelling upon the north of the Thames, and the naval thing-men† of London,‡ elected Harold as the ruler over all England, both for himself, as well as for his brother Hardecanute, who was then in

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1035.

† "Liths-men." *Sax. Chron.* "The seamen." LAPPENBERG. vol. ii. p. 222. "The *Saxon Chronicle* calls them the *liths*men at London, and as the Thingmanna were also called Thingliths, I have no doubt they were the same persons." LINGARD. *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 268 (Ed. 1837). See note, vol. ii. p. 245 of this work.

‡ The intercourse with the Danes had at this period so demoralised the citizens of London, that they had adopted the brutal manners of their barbarian invaders: "Londoniæ cives, qui jam pene in barbarorum mores propter frequentem convictum transierant." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 318.

Denmark.* This was a proposition which was opposed by the Earl Godwin, and by all the leading men of Wessex. Their opposition proved fruitless; but it was agreed that Emma, the mother of Hardecanute, should remain at Winchester, with the body-guards of the king her son; that their commander should be the Earl Godwin, and that to him and them should be confided the care and guardianship of Wessex.†

No sooner, however, had Harold obtained full possession of the royal dignity than he sent his thing-men in all haste to Winchester, and through their means he tyrannically deprived the Queen Emma of the greater part of those riches and treasures which King Canute had bequeathed to her.‡ Having obtained possession of these, he permitted the spoliated widow to continue her residence in Winchester.§

Provided with these treasures, and having in his favour the assent of the great majority of the nobility of England, Harold, as if he were the just heir to the crown, commenced his reign.||

* "Gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Engle-landes him and his brother Hardacanute the waes on Denemearcon." *Sax. Chron. i. e.* they invested him with the exercise of all the royal rights, which they assumed belonged to himself, or might be claimed by his brother: "In regem elegerunt." *BROMTON. p. 932.* "Adepta regia dignitate." *F. WIGORN. a. 1035, vol. i. p. 190.*

† "And heoldan calle West-Seaxan him to handa, and Godwine eorl waes heora healdest mann." *Sax. Chron. a. 1035.*

‡ *F. WIGORN. a. 1035, vol. i. p. 190.*

§ *F. WIGORN. See R. DICT. p. 472. BROMTON. p. 932. KNYGHTON. 2325.*

|| *F. WIGORN. a. 1035, vol. i. p. 190.*

Harold, apprehensive as to future events, had no sooner secured his election as king, than he betook himself with all speed to Archbishop Ethelnoth—a man of profound wisdom, and endowed with every virtue.* Harold first commanded and then entreated the archbishop to bestow his archiepiscopal benediction upon him as king, to deliver up to him with the crown the royal sceptre confided to his pious care, and (for by none other than the Archbishop of Canterbury could it lawfully be done) to conduct and place him upon the royal throne of the realm.

These were the requests made by Harold; but a compliance with them was refused by the archbishop, on the ground that he was bound by his oath, as long as the children of Emma were living, to commend or to bless no other person as king.

“Those children,” said Ethelnoth, “Canute confided to my loyalty; that loyalty I owe them, that loyalty I will preserve to them. The sceptre and the crown I now place upon the holy altar: I do not refuse them to you: I do not give them to you; but, by the apostolical authority, I interdict all my bishops from taking up one of these, from giving them to you, or from pronouncing a benediction upon you. It is for you, then, if you have the presumption to do so, to lay your sacrilegious hands upon what I have committed to the care of God’s holy table, as the place in which they can be in the most perfect security.”

The wretched Harold, upon hearing these words, knew not what to do, nor what plan of action was best for him

* *Encomium Emmæ*, in MASERK’S *Hist. Ang. Select. Mon.* p. 27.

to adopt. He essayed threats ; but he found they were of no avail. He offered immense presents ; but he saw that they were despised. His heart was filled with bitter grief, for he beheld before him an apostolical man, whose courage would shrink before no menaces, and whose favour was purchaseable by no bribes.*

Harold at length departed in a state of despair ; and so much did he scorn the episcopal benediction, that he not only conceived a horror of the graces that might be conferred by a pontifical blessing, but even fled from the

* This noble, courageous, and truly Christian conduct of Archbishop Ethelnoth has not extorted the praises of modern historians. On the contrary, it has been noticed for the purpose of disputing its accuracy ; because it is said that Harold was (they do not say *when*) consecrated as a king ; and they infer, that if consecrated, it must have been by Archbishop Ethelnoth. The only thing like proof that he was consecrated, is to be found in the words of Ingulphus, who says of Harold ; “ Ipse dedit monasterio nostro *chlamydem coronationis suæ*, de serico, aureisque floribus intexam.” (p. 64.) On which words it may be remarked, that a rich coronation robe may be *prepared*, and yet *never used* for the purpose intended ; next, that the collocation of those words with those that precede them in the text, show that if Harold were at all crowned, the ceremony did not place upon his being elected, which is the statement made by the monk of St. Bertin—the author of the *Encomium Emmæ* : lastly, if there were a coronation, it is most probable it took place not in the year 1035, but in 1037, when the *Saxon Chronicle* states : “ This year (1037) men chose Harold king over all”—that is, a year before Ethelnoth’s death, and a period of time when, unfortunately, there were to be found bishops guilty of simony—men who bought their promotion “ *pro auro est electus* ” (See F. Wigorn. a. 1038, vol. i. p. 193.) ; and any such would doubtless disregard the interdict of the archbishop to win the approbation of an irreligious sovereign like Harold. Such is our reply to the objections made by modern writers to the statement of one who was contemporary with the events he describes, and who addressed his statement to one who could testify to his accuracy. See HARPSFELD. ix. SÆC. c. 10, p. 232.

attendance of every act of religion, the performance of which is enjoined by Christianity; so much so, that when others went, according to the practice of Christians, to church to hear mass, he engaged himself in the woods with his dogs, in the chase, or he occupied his time with some other vile occupation; in short, he did anything to avoid doing that which, beyond all other things, was the most detestable to him.* Harold was, in all respects, it may be said, the degenerate son of Canute. His mind was neither endowed with the courage of a soldier, nor the manners of a courtier. In every circumstance he sought the indulgence of his own will; and contrary, even, to that dignity which became a king, he was at all times to be seen, not riding on horseback, but running a-foot wherever he went, and that with such speed and agility, that the name of Harold "Hare-foot" was bestowed upon him.†

Harold was regarded as reigning, but it was not with the power that had been exercised by Canute, because the arrival of Hardecanut was looked for, as he was considered the just heir to the crown.‡

A dreadful civil war then seemed upon the point of breaking out between Harold and Hardecanut for the possession of the English throne.§ On the one side were the London Danes, the supporters of Harold, who was

* BROMTON. p. 932.

† BROMTON. p. 932. "Iste Haraldus habuit corpus ad modum leporis, et ideo dicebatur *Harfot*." KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 6, p. 2325.

‡ "Nec tamen ita potenter ut Canutus, quia justior hæres expectabatur Hardecanutus." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 190.

§ INGULPH. *Hist.* p. 61.

defamed when it was declared that he was nothing more than the supposititious child of Canute; and on the other, there were the English—comprising, it might be said, the entire of the people—who would have preferred as their sovereign Edward, the son of Ethelred; or, if they could not have him, then Hardecnute, the son of Queen Emma and of Canute. In such circumstances as these, the mere apprehension of impending civil war drove an enormous multitude of men and women, with their little ones, and all their moveable goods, towards Croyland monastery, in whose slimy marshes, thick alder groves, and sloppy lakes, they appeared to suppose a sort of fortress might be formed for the security of their property and the safety of their lives.

No sooner had this mob of new-comers arrived in Croyland than they placed the monastery in constant commotion with their incessant wranglings and unceasing requests, and by running at all hours of the day into the cloisters, talking to the masters of the community about their wants, seeking for favours by flatteries; and through the servants of the monastery, or themselves in person, occupying the time and wearing out the patience of the monks. They thus forced the monks to abandon the cloisters, and at last the monks could with difficulty descend from their dormitories to discharge their duties in the church, and were scarcely ever permitted to meet together at their common table in the refectory. They were a plague to all attached to the monastery; but the person whom, beyond all others, they most harassed, most annoyed, and most afflicted, was the anchorite Wulsius, who was living the life of a recluse with the clerks at

Pegland. By night as well as by day they ran to consult him about their various affairs; and their loud clamours, and their never-ending calls upon him, made him actually feel a-weary of his life. At last he had his eyes bandaged, and thus was conducted from Croyland to Evesham, where he continued afterwards to pass the life of a recluse in a cell near to a small chapel.*

A short time afterwards, the kingdom was divided by lot† between the two brothers, Harold and Hardecanute.‡ To Hardecanute was assigned all the provinces of England south of the Thames; and to Harold, the entire kingdom lying on the north side of that river.§

It was in the year (1035) that Duncan, King of the Scotch, at the head of an immense body of armed men, marched to Durham, laid siege to the town, and laboured for a long time and in vain to compel it to yield, by investing the place on all sides. The greater portion of his cavalry were first destroyed by the besieged; he then retreated in confusion from before Durham, and in his

* *INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 61.* The description here given of the afflictions caused to the good monks of Croyland by an influx of strangers, affords us an insight into the miserable state of the people themselves, who were thus compelled to fly from their homes, and seek for shelter amid marshes and alder groves.

† “Unde brevi post tempore regnum sorte dividitur.” *F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 190.*

‡ “Regnum autem Angliæ divisum est inter duos germanos fratres.” *INGULPH.*

§ *INGULPH. Hist. p. 61. F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 190, 191.*

flight he lost all his foot soldiers, whose heads were afterwards brought into the market-place and there fixed upon stakes. A short time after his return to Scotland from this fatal expedition, Duncan was slain by his own subjects.*

The English people beheld with grief the manner in which King Harold conducted himself; but since he had been elected as a sovereign, a sense of shame restrained them from deposing him, and they therefore determined, for the time at least, to submit to him.† As to Queen Emma, she in silence awaited whatever might be the result of circumstances, whilst she anxiously and daily offered up her prayers to God, and begged for His protection and His assistance.

Such, however, was not the case with Harold. Conscious that he dared not as yet do anything openly against Queen Emma, he was privately concocting plots against her, none of which were permitted to gain the end he aimed at.

Amongst other things wished for by Harold, was the destruction of the children of Emma; and he, with his associates, devised an iniquitous plan by means of which he hoped to be able to pass his life as a king, to reign without rivals, and to sin without fear. Such a plan as

* S. DUNELM. lib. iii, c. 9, p. 33. The "Duncan" here referred to is the *King Duncan* immortalised by the pen of Shakspeare, in *Macbeth*. For an interesting account of Duncan, see CHALMERS' *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 404, 405, 406.

† *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 28.

this, originating in fraud, could never be carried out but by treachery and falsehood; and the manner of its execution we shall now proceed to narrate.

In accordance with this treacherous plot, Harold caused to be addressed, and as if written by herself, a letter from Emma to her sons, who were then in Normandy. We feel no reluctance in subjoining a copy of this forged letter, which was couched in the following terms:—

“Emma, in name only a queen, sends her maternal salutations to her sons Edward and Alfred.

“Since the death of our lord, the king, we weep far separated from each other: since then, too, my dearest children, you are daily deprived, and each day more and more, of your royal inheritance, our marvel is, what may be the course of policy you intend to pursue. This, however, you at least should know, that the longer you continue absent the more you strengthen, and the greater stability you give to the power of him who is the invader of your kingdom and the usurper of your rights. He is constantly engaged in going about from hamlets to villages, and from villages to towns, and enlisting, as he goes, the chief men in each place as his supporters, buying some with bribes, winning more by entreaties, and terrifying others by threats. And yet the people would far prefer to have one of you reigning over them than to submit to him who overawes them, but who does not command their affection. Therefore it is that I beg that one of you may come to me, as quickly and secretly as possible, in order that he may receive from me counsel that I know will be useful to himself, and in what manner I wish this affair to be brought to a conclusion.

"Send back word by the messenger who delivers you this, what it is you contemplate doing.

"Farewell! ye, who are the very core of my heart."

This letter, so fraudulently forged by the direction of the tyrant Harold, was despatched by speedy couriers to the royal youths, presented to them, unknown to their mother, but received with every testimony of honour by her sons, as coming from her.*

No sooner did Edward, who was then living with the Duke of Normandy, hear of the long-wished for death of Canute, than he with forty ships, filled with armed men, at once sailed for England, and landed at Southampton, when he found in battle array an immense multitude of English soldiers, who had been posted there for the purpose of destroying him.† Edward instantly encountered his enemies, and speedily sent to hell no small number of them.‡ He was the victor in this battle; but returned

* *Encomium Emmæ*, in MASERIE's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 28, 29. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 6, 7.

† W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 8, pp. 651, 652. The words of the author, "innumerabilem Anglorum multitudinem ad sui perniciem se operientem," are very significant; and tend, along with other evidence hereafter to be adverted to, to shew that this arrival of Edward in the neighbourhood of Winchester, where his mother Emma was then remaining by the side of Canute's tomb, "quo tumultu regina Alfgiva ibidem resedit," (F. Wigorn. vol. i. p. 190), was in consequence of the forged letter sent by Harold.

‡ "Non minimam partem ex illis otius orco transmisit." W. GEMITICENS. This is language seldom used by the ancient writers, except when describing the destruction in war of those who were infidels. Here it is not improbably applied to the Pagan Danish "thingmen" of Harold, and who are previously named "Anglorum multitudinem," only because in the employment of the person who was then, de facto, the king of the English people.

to his ships with all his soldiers. He perceived that he could not, without a greater number of military followers, win the crown of England; and therefore turning the prows of his vessels towards Normandy, he brought back with him immense spoils.*

The messengers who had been sent (by Harold and his associates) with the forged letters, had returned to the enemies of God, and had apprised them of the answers that had been given by the most noble princes.† Hence the approach of whichever of them should come was prepared for, and the wrong to be inflicted as against him was determined upon.‡ Alfred, the younger of the brothers, with the full approval of Edward, selected the soldiers

* W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 8. pp. 651, 652. See W. PICTAVENS. *Gest. Norm. et Ang.* pp. 37, 38. (Masere's *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.*) WALSLINGHAM. p. 433. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*. v. 33940—34105. *Roman de Rou.* 9773—9805. Florence of Worcester states, that Edward, as well as his brother Alfred, came to England, for the purpose of speaking with their mother—that is, they came in accordance with the letter forged by Harold—"ad suæ matris colloquium, quæ morabatur Wintoniæ venere." (F. WIGORN. a. 1036. vol. i. p. 191.) Florence of Worcester, and other ancient English writers, were not aware of the forged letter, and therefore there are discrepancies in their statements; but we humbly think, that the collation of those old authorities which we have made, makes that which precedes and what follows in the text a clear and intelligible narrative, even though that high, great, and respected authority, Dr. Lingard, declares it to be a "bloody and mysterious occurrence, of which, at the present day, it is difficult to discover either the origin or the motive." (See *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 269.)

† *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 29.

‡ "Hinc illi præstolabantur ejus adventum, et quid de eo facerent ad suum invenerunt detrimentum." *Encomium Emmæ*. The writer manifestly had not been apprised of that fact with respect to which the Norman annalists were so well acquainted, the abortive expedition of Edward.

that should accompany him, and then at the time appointed by him (with the messengers of Harold), he proceeded on his way to Flanders, where he stopped for a short time with its earl, Baldwin,* and who fearful that some snares might be laid for his destruction, offered him the assistance of a portion of the military array under his command. This assistance was declined by Alfred, whose followers were but few, and these men of Boulogne, that were placed on board his ships, and with whom he crossed over the sea.† No sooner, however, had he arrived close to the English shore, than he was on the instant recognized by his adversaries, who hastened down to the beach with the intention of attacking him. Alfred perceiving that such was their intention, commanded his ships to be moved off again from the land, and then sailing up along the coast, he disembarked in a port different from that which he had at first contemplated.‡ Upon his landing, he prepared to go and visit his mother, as he supposed he

* "The Ætheling Ælfred went in the meanwhile to Bruges, where his cousin Alienor, a daughter of Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy, and her consort Baldwin, Count of Flanders, probably still lived, and whose son, Baldwin the Fifth, reigned. Baldwin offered military aid to his relation, which Ælfred declined, in the belief it would not be needful; and took with him only a few soldiers belonging to Eustace, Count of Boulogne, in addition to his own followers." Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 225.

† The place of embarkation was Witsand—"portumque Witsand petiit." W. GENITICENS. lib. vi. c. 9.

"Alvred s'esmut entretant

Od grand navie de *Wincant*."—Roman de Rou. 9805, 9806.

‡ "Aliā autem ascendens in statione." *Encom. Emmæ*. Lappenberg suggests, that the place at which he landed was Sandwich. Vol. ii. p. 225.

had thus escaped the snare that had been laid for him.* He advanced as far as Canterbury.† He was about this place met by the Earl Godwin, who offered every testimony of truth and fidelity to his person, and who on the instant enrolled himself in the service of the prince as his soldier, and bound himself by an oath of fealty.‡ He bestowed upon Alfred the kiss of peace, and partook of food with him.§ He then conducted him out of the direct road to London, to a village named Guilford, where the soldiers of Alfred were posted by Godwin, for the purpose of passing the night in habitations that were separated one from the other.|| The prince's soldiers were thus distributed in small detachments of twenty, twelve, and ten men each, whilst there were retained around the prince only a few persons required for his personal service.

Upon all the persons so disposed of, an abundant supply of food and drink were bestowed by Godwin. He then withdrew to his own quarters, declaring it to be his intention to return at an early hour in the morning, to

* *Encomium Emmæ.* p. 29.

† "Doroborniam venit." W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 9. "Doroborniam venit Aluredus." W. PICTAVENS. p. 38.

‡ *Encom. Emm.* p. 29.

§ "Libato pacis osculo, et cum eo percepto cibo." W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 9.

"Come Judas ki Dex vendi
Salué l'aveit è beisie,
En s'esuelle avait mengie."

Roman de Rou. 9826—9828.

"Manger dans la même écuelle était une marque signalée de confiance." PLUQUET. (*Roman de Rou.* vol. ii. p. 67.)

|| *Encom. Emm.* p. 29.

render to his lord the due honour and service he was bound to yield to him.

The tired soldiers of Alfred ate and drank, and then willingly betook themselves to their beds; but lo! the accomplices of the most accursed tyrant, Harold, were upon them and around them. By these, each of the habitations in which the soldiers of Alfred were reposing was beset—the arms of the unoffending soldiers were stealthily removed, and then their hands were bound with manacles, and their feet with fetters, and their lives spared for the coming day, in order that they might be tortured.

In the morning all the prisoners were brought out, placed in the midst of the satellites of Harold, and, unheard, were most wickedly condemned. Defenceless, with their hands tied behind their backs, they were delivered over to most atrocious executioners, to whom the order had been given that they should not spare any one amongst them all, except such persons as those upon whom the tenth lot might fall.

The executioners placed their bound victims in ranks, insulted and abused them, and then followed the example of the slayer of the Theban legion—that slayer who decimated his soldiers in a more humane manner than these were now treated; for the Pagan sovereign spared nine Christians, when he slew the tenth; whereas, these most profane, these most false Christians, destroyed nine good Christians, and only granted a respite from death to the tenth.* And then the Pagan, though he did put Christians to death, he did so in the open field, not de-

* "Decimo dimisso." *Encom Emmæ*. p. 30. "Decimus ad breve tempus vitæ reservatur." *ROG. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 474.

graded by fetters, but decollated them as became soldiers and glorious martyrs; whilst these executioners, Christians in name, but Pagans in act, speared to death, as if they were filthy swine, the heroes who lay manacled before them. When all the Norman followers of Alfred had been so slain, except the tenth part, still there appeared to be too many prisoners, and this tenth part was again decimated.* Some were placed in chains and afterwards blinded, some were tortured by having all the skin of their heads torn away, some had their legs and arms cut off,† some were consigned to slave prisons, and some were destroyed by a most dire death, being disembowelled alive!‡ By various and torturing deaths, there were six

* H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 365.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1036. vol. i. p. 191.

‡ W. PICTAVENS. p. 38. See KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 6. p. 2326. "De quibus primordia viscerum fecit ad palos erectos figi, et tunc corpora circumduci, donec novissimæ intestinorum extraherentur." HIGDEN. *Polychron.* lib. vi. a. 1040. p. 277. Brinton (p. 935) says Prince Alfred was so treated. As to the cruelties practised by the Northmen upon their prisoners taken in war, see vol. ii. pp. 133, 134, 135, of this work. In the note appended to those pages, the mode of torture described in the text is referred to, although the passage in Torfæus is not quoted. It is here subjoined—"Circa columnam quippe medio antro stantem, intestinorum extremitate clavo affixâ, tantisper circumductus est, donec evisceraretur." TORFÆUS. *Hist. Norveg.* lib. ix. c. 4. vol. iv. p. 376. Robert Wace states of Earl Godwin, that he was not only a man of mean origin, but also a Dane. Whatever obscurity or doubt may hang over his birth, these incidents of his cruelty to prisoners are demonstrative to our mind, that he was not an Anglo-Saxon; but must have been sprung from the barbarous and remorseless men of the north.

"Cuntre li vint Quens Givine
Ki mult esteit de pute orine;
Fame out de Danemarchè née
De Daneiz bien emparentee."

Roman de Rou. 9807, 9811.

hundred men destroyed by Godwin at Guilford. Their souls are now believed to be in paradise, and enjoying everlasting bliss with the Saints—those very men, who, innocent of any crime, stained our land with their blood.*

“ And those they did not sell,
 “ Like slaughter'd cattle fell !
 “ Whilst some they spared to bind,
 “ Only to wander blind !
 “ Some ham-strung helpless stood,
 “ Whilst others they pursued.
 “ A deed more dreary none
 “ In this our land was done,
 “ Since Englishmen gave place
 “ To hordes of Danish race.
 “ But repose we must
 “ In God our trust,
 “ That blithe as day
 “ With Christ live they,
 “ Who guiltless died—
 “ Their country's pride.” †

Having thus briefly referred to the sufferings of his soldiers, it becomes now our duty, shortly as we can, to nar-

The account given in the *Knytlinga Saga*, of Godwin being a shepherd-boy in England and saving the life of the brother-in-law of Canute, is not inconsistent with the supposition that he was of Danish origin ; but is rather corroborated by the statement of the father of Godwin, asking that his son might be enrolled amongst the thingmen of Canute—Canute then (in 1014) waging a merciless war on the English people. See JOHNSTONE. *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 131, 132, 133, 134. A. THIERRY. *Histoire de la Conquete de l'Angleterre par les Normands.* vol. i. p. 191.

* F. WIGORN. vol. p. i. 191.

† Sax. Chron. INGRAM's translation, pp. 208, 209.

rate the martyrdom of their leader—of the glorious prince, Alfred.*

Alfred was in the middle of the night awakened from his sleep to find his hands bound behind his back; and so treacherously made a prisoner by Godwin, he was, with some of his attendants similarly fettered, sent to London to King Harold.†

King Harold rejoiced when he beheld Prince Alfred in chains before him. He then ordered that the principal friends of Alfred, who had been arrested at the same time with him, should be beheaded in his presence; that Alfred himself should be deprived of his sight; that with his feet tied beneath a horse, he should be led naked to the coast, and that he should as an exile suffer want and misery in the Isle of Ely; for he considered that there was a more fell delight to be derived from the prolonged life of suffering endured by a foe, than by his sudden and violent death. He had in the cruel punishment thus inflicted another object in view—he desired to deter Edward from any attempts on the crown, by his being made aware of the misfortunes that had befallen his brother.‡

Alfred was, as it had been directed, conducted to the Isle of Ely. He was mocked by an iniquitous soldiery, and then, to add to his disgrace, some persons, low, mean, ignoble, and unworthy in every respect, were nominated to act as his judges, and by them it was doomed, and as a mark of

* “Ergo quia militum agones succinctim transcurrimus, superest ut et eorum principis, gloriosi, scilicet, Alfredi, martyrium narrando seriem locutionis abbreviemus.” *Encom. Emm.* p. 30.

† W. PICTAVENS. p. 38. Two lines are here omitted from the original, as they have been already referred to.

‡ W. PICTAVENS. p. 38.

contempt for him, that his eyes should be torn out of his head.*

The moment the doom was pronounced the sentence was executed, two persons placed themselves upon his arms which they thus held down, one upon his breast, and one across his thighs—but why dwell upon the details of the horrid scene that then ensued? The pen drops from the hand rather than be the medium of communicating, in all their terrible reality, the several sufferings then endured by the beatified young prince.† There, and at that moment, perished that most charming youth—as much adorned with personal graces as with distinguished virtues—the son of a King, the descendant of a race of Kings. His death followed immediately upon the deprivation of his sight, for the knife of the executioners in removing the eye-balls had wounded the brain.‡

No sooner had the executioners completed this murder, than they abandoned the lifeless body. It was on the instant taken possession of by those faithful servants of Christ, the monks of the island of Ely, and by them interred with every mark of honour§ in the south aisle, at the west end of the church.||

In the place where Alfred was interred, it was said, and that too by many persons who frequently affirmed they

* *Encom. Emm.* p. 31. The sentence was first passed by Harold, and then, when Alfred's destruction had been determined upon, the mockery of a trial was permitted.

† *Encom. Emm.* p. 31.

‡ *W. PICTAVENS.* p. 38.

§ *Encom. Emm.* p. 31.

|| *F. WIGORN.* a. 1036. vol. i. p. 192.

had witnessed them, miracles were performed. Nor should we wonder that such should occur; for he who was martyred in his innocence, might through his innocence be worthy to perform miracles. If it were so, Queen Emma had, indeed, full reason to rejoice in such an intercessor—as the same that she had loved on earth as her son, was possessed by her in heaven as a patron.*

And now, Earl Godwin! we must address ourselves to thee—to thee, to whose name must ever attach the infamy and the odium of this foul murder.† Would that the

* *Encom. Emmæ*. p. 31. "Gaudeat igitur Emma regina de tanto intercessore, quia quem quondam in terris habuit filium, nunc habet in cœlis patronum." These are the words addressed by the author to Queen Emma, who was living at the time. The statement of miracles being worked at the tomb of Alfred must not be interpreted as a compliment. It is confirmed by the words of the historian of Ely. "Quo in loco miræ et pulchræ visiones luminum et virtutum sæpe contigerunt." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 90. vol. i. p. 216. (Ang. Christ.) Florence of Worcester states that Alfred lived some time at Ely monastery after he had been blinded by Godwin and his companions (a. 1036. vol. i. p. 192). Roger de Wendover mentions that Alfred died, not from the injuries he had received, but from grief: "Præ dolore defunctus." (vol. i. p. 475.) William of Malmesbury, that "he sustained a wretched existence for a short time upon coarse food in the monastery," and "that all who came with him to England, excepting ten, were put to death." (*Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 321.) See *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 72, 80. (Documents Inédits sur L'Hist. de France.)

† W. PICTAVENS. pp. 38, 39. This author wrote in the reign of the Conqueror, and in his expressions—"fundis traditione tua immeritum sanguinem Normannorum; fundetur sanguis tuorum pari vice ferro Normannorum"—we perceive how much the cruelties practised upon Alfred and his Norman soldiers had to do with the violent proceedings of William and his associates, when they ruled over England as conquerors. Although the leader in the expedition of 1036 was an Anglo-Saxon prince, still, in point of fact, it was an invasion of England by the Normans, and the cruel

words we utter could undo now, or deter thee then (if they had been uttered), from that flagitious deed, which thou

manner in which the prisoners made on this occasion were treated in England, long rankled in the hearts of the Normans. The author of the *Encomium Emmæ*, after alluding to the butchery of the Norman soldiers at Guildford, makes use of these expressions: "Alios cæca cupidine capti vendebant, nonnullos autem arctatos vinculis majori irrisioni reservabant. Sed divina miseratio non defuit innocentibus in tanto discrimine consistentibus: quia multos ipsi vidimus, quos ex illâ derisione eripuit cælitus, sine adminiculo hominis, ruptis manicarum compedumque obicibus." p. 30.

It is said that the motive which influenced Godwin in thus betraying Alfred, was that he foresaw the young prince would not endure any alliance between the royal family and the family of Godwin—"Alfredum magnæ probitatis virum nullo modo filiam suam ducere dignaturum prævidens." BROMTON. p. 935. KNYGHTON. p. 2326. Bromton has very diligently collected all the different and even contradictory statements respecting the expeditions of Edward and Alfred in this year. See pp. 935, 936. S. DUNELM. p. 179. R. DICKET. p. 472. *Annal Burton*. p. 247. HIGDEN. p. 227. *Chron. Mailros*. p. 156. *Hist. Eliens*. lib. ii. vol. i. pp. 208, 209, 210.

"Edward the Confessor," observes Dr. Lingard, "in two of his charters, attributes the death of his brother to Harold, and (which is more singular) to Hardecanute. Now the latter prince was in Denmark, and the accusation, if it mean anything, must allude to those who governed in the name of Hardecanute, and in that hypothesis may reach Emma, or Godwin, or both. The King's words are—'Haroldo et Hardecanuto, a quibus et alter meus frater Alfredus crudeliter est occisus.'—*Spel. Con.* 628, 632. Yet, would Harold, who was then all-powerful, have subscribed to those charters, if they had cast so foul a stain on the memory of his father?" *History of England*, vol. i. p. 274. (Ed. 1837.)

Under the date of this year (1036) it is stated by Florence of Worcester, that "Pilgrinus, Archbishop of Cologne, instigated by the discourses of some envious monks of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, who hated Elias, an Irish abbot, and some Irish monks who were with him, on account of the rigid discipline they enforced, threatened, upon his return from the royal court, not to have the abbot nor any other Irishman in the monastery. Elias and the Irishmen, upon hearing this threat, replied, 'Then if we be true pilgrims in Christ, Archbishop Pilgrin never will travel

didst with such malice perpetrate. With what accursed spirit of fury wast thou urged on to contrive and to execute an abominable act, that alike outraged every sense of feeling, of right, of humanity, and of justice? Why, for the destruction of thee and thine, didst thou practise this perfidious treason, and this pitiless homicide? Thou didst concoct, and thou didst pride thyself in having completed a crime, which nations, even the most distant by rights and laws from the practices and precepts of Christians, regard with detestation. The undeserved sufferings of Alfred were a source of joy to thee, because thou wast most vile of heart—and whilst thou didst triumph the virtuous wept. Doleful to tell are the deeds thou hast done; but William, that glorious general, whose future deeds we shall, with the divine assistance, have to tell, shall, for this, strike with an avenging sword, the neck of Harold—of Harold thy son, and like to thee in cruelty as in perfidy. By treason thou didst shed the innocent blood of Normans; and the blood of thy kinsmen and compatriots shall in their turn redden the Normans' swords.*

back alive to Cologne.' And as they had said, so the Lord brought it to pass, and Elias afterwards governed the two monasteries." *Chronicon*. vol. i. p. 191. The same story is to be found in Marianus Scotus, under the date 1035—the same cause of dislike to the Irish monks mentioned, "propter religionem districtam, disciplinamque nimiam," and the same threat, or prophecy, conveyed in a pun upon the words "peregrinus," and "Piligrinus." See Pistorius. *Veter. Script. Germ.* vol. i. p. 451. See also same vol. p. 448. a. 975, for the statement as to the monastery of St. Martin in Cologne being appropriated for ever to the Irish. "Ebergerus Archiepiscopus Coloniensis immolavit Scotis in semipiternum monasterium Sancti Martini in Colonia." (Edit. Frankfurt, 1583.)

* W. PICTAV. pp. 38, 39.

In the year 1037, Harold, the King of the Mercians and Northumbrians, was elected by the nobles and all the people as sovereign, to reign over the entire of England.* Hardecnute had been asked to come to England, but as, under various pretences, he had postponed from time to time doing so, he was absolutely and totally rejected by the nation. As to his mother, Emma—she, who had been formerly Queen of the English, was, at the commencement of winter in the same year, pitilessly expelled from the country.†

Emma deemed that it would not be safe for her, at this period, to remain in Normandy, as her brother and nephews were dead, and the country was suffering under the commotion excited from dislike to be governed by a deserted orphan. She, therefore, passed into Flanders, and placed herself under the protection of the Earl Baldwin, a man of true integrity, and who, subsequently, upon the death of King Henry, leaving a young son, Philip,

* F. WIGORN. a. 1037. The words of the original are worthy of being cited in full, as they mark the precise period at which it could alone with justice be said that Harold was "King of England :"—

"Haroldus rex Merciorum et Northymbroꝝ ut per totam regnaret Angliam, a principibus et omni populo, rex eligitur."

"Her man geceas Harold ofer eall to kynge," is the expression used by the Saxon Chronicle.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1037, vol. i. p. 192. See *Sax. Chron.* H. HUNT. p. 364. "Haroldus sceptro confirmato, novercam exiliavit." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 319. S. DUNELM. p. 179. R. DICET. p. 473. KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 6, p. 2325.

All these authorities agree in stating that Emma was driven out of the kingdom by Harold. In the *Encomium Emmæ*, however, her retirement is described as being voluntary, and influenced solely by prudential reasons. See pp. 31, 32.

governed in a truly noble spirit the kingdom of the French, and faithfully restored it to the hands of its young sovereign (to whose aunt he was united in marriage), as soon as Philip came of age.*

Emma collected together as many of the faithful nobles, her friends, as time and circumstances would permit, and to these she disclosed the secret thoughts she had nurtured in her heart.† They approved of the design contemplated by their royal mistress; and instant preparations were then made for her departure by sea to the chosen place of her exile.

Emma and her friends passed, with a favourable wind, speedily over to a certain station‡ not far from Bruges—a castellated town inhabited by Flemish people—and by reason of the crowds of merchants resorting to it, and its affluence in all those articles which are regarded as the most rich, most rare, and most costly, esteemed to be one of the most famous places in the world.§ By the marquis of this province, Baldwin, the son of a great and invincible prince, and by his spouse *Athala*, that which is interpreted *most noble* (the daughter of Robert and Con-

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 319.

† *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 32.

‡ “This station was probably the port of Ostend.” MASERES. *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 32.

§ “Brugis, ut volunt nonnulli, factum est nomen a multitudine magnificentiaque plurimorum ex lapide, et quorundam ex ligno, pulcherimi operis pontium, passim per urbem visendorum, *Brugge* scilicet Flandris pontem denotante.” L. GUICCIARDINI. *Belgium Universum*, p. 134 (Amsterdam, 1646). See same valuable and interesting work for an account of the ancient city of Bruges, pp. 134—138. See, also, VAERNEWYCH, *De Historie van Belgis*, c. 59, vol. i. pp. 283—287 (Ghent, 1784).

stantia, King and Queen of the French), Emma was received with all that honour which was due to her exalted rank. A mansion in the town of Bruges, furnished with royal sumptuousness, and suited for the habitation of a queen, was allocated to her as a place of residence, and with it the due means of maintenance for her household were benignantly tendered. This offer was, with due thanks, partly accepted by her; but it was also partly declined, as Emma showed that she was not in such a state of need as to require all that was so generously tendered for her use.*

As Emma felt that she was now in a place of perfect

* Baldwin was not merely hospitable to the great, but he was charitable to the poor, and generous in his donations to the church. One monkish writer says of him—"Habebant hunc pauperes, orphani, viduæ patrem, monachi exemplar religionis, afflicti scutum, tuitionis. . . . In sacrosanctis Missarum solemnitiis . . . post oblationem sacerdoti exhibitam . . . elemosynas pauperibus offerrebat . . . *Habes me hujus rei testem, ô lector quicumque es . . . audiui eum pauperes secreto, ut Missarum sacrosanctis mysteriis secum sibi interessent, invitasse.*" Hist. Hansoniens. Monast. c. 8. Another monkish writer states of Baldwin this fact:—"Iste comes Balduinus dictus est Insulanus, quia villam. Insulam condidit, et ecclesiam canonicorum ædificavit in ea B. Petro, magnificoque détavit; in cujus ecclesiæ dedicatione comes hoc notabile fecit: prælatos patriæ suæ *cum sanctorum reliquiis* advocavit huic dedicationis interesse solemnitati; quâ peractâ, vice gratiarum actionis, loca in quibus singuli prælati hospitati, eorum ecclesiis contulit, sicut ipse tenuerat, liberè perpetuò possedenda." Chron. Sithiens, a. 1036, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 108, 380. These facts are worthy of being mentioned in an English history, as the daughter of Baldwin was married to William the Conqueror. The circumstances mentioned in the text serve to show how the friendship between the great Norman and Flemish families was strengthened. Baldwin's generous conduct to Emma is the theme of praise with all the old English writers. See, especially, *Saxon Chronicle*, a. 1037. F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 192.

safety, she sent messengers to her son Edward to request that he would, with all possible speed, visit her. No sooner was such a request made to Edward than he at once complied with it. He mounted his steed, and never rested on the road until he reached the abode of his mother. Emma and her son had thus an opportunity of calmly speaking, and fully consulting with each other. The son proved that he could commiserate the misfortunes of his mother, but he also demonstrated that it was not in his power to render her any assistance, as the noblemen of England would not give their fealty to him; and that, therefore, under existing circumstances, her only chance of assistance was to be looked for from his brother Hardecanute.

So passed away this conference, and Edward returned to Normandy, leaving, however, his mother in a state of doubt as to what was the best course for her to adopt.

Shortly after Edward's return, Emma sent ambassadors to her son Hardecanute, who was then in full possession of the Danish kingdom; and through these ambassadors she fully disclosed to him the bitter agonies she had recently endured, and requested that he would come to her with all possible speed.

The mind of Hardecanute was so horror-stricken with the intelligence of the terrible deed that had been committed, that his faculties were for a time paralysed by the weight of the intolerable sorrow that oppressed him. He burned to revenge the wrongs that had been done to his brother, and he was eager to comply with the desires of his mother. He made preparations for any accident that might occur; fitted out an immense force both of ships and warriors; he stationed the greater part of these in a

certain harbour, where they might be used in case of necessity, either of fighting his foes, or repelling their attacks upon him, whilst he, with an escort of not more than ten ships, should proceed to the place at which his mother, Queen Emma, was then remaining.*

Æthelnoth, the good archbishop,† departed this life on the 29th of October, 1038, and his death was followed, in seven days afterwards, by the demise of Æthelric, the bishop of the South Saxons; for Æthelric had prayed to God that he might not be permitted long to look upon the light of this world if once he should be deprived by death of the presence of his most dearly-beloved father, Ethelnoth.‡

* *Encomium Emmae*, pp. 32, 33. (Masere's Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.) The place in which Hardecanute stationed the greater part of his fleet was in the harbour of Sluys (Het Zwyn). See LAPFENBERG'S *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 228, and note by Thorpe, same page.

Alford places in this year (1037) the enshrinement of the relics of St. John of Beverley. *Annal. Eccl. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 513, § 3. Harpsfield assigns it to the reign of St. Edward the Confessor. viii *Sac. c.* 22, p. 148. For an interesting account of a portion of the relics of this saint sent to St. Omer, see *Act. Sanct.* (Mai), vol. ii. *Append.* p. 867, *b. c.*

"In the same year—1037—died Eafy, the excellent dean of Evesham." *Sax. Chron.*

† "Æthelnoth se goda Arceb." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1038. See SMITH, *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. vi. c. 29, pp. 365, 366.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1038, vol. i. p. 192. "Bishop Ethelric, in Sussex, who prayed to God that he would not let him live any time after his dear father Ethelnoth." *Sax. Chron.* The miserable state of the church in this year, when its prelaties were within the power of an unbeliever like Harold, will not only serve to explain why Æthelric wished to be removed from this world, when the church should be deprived of so good and so courageous a primate as Ethelnoth; but they may, even to this day, serve as a warning of the dangers to which the church may be exposed,

Æthelric was succeeded in his bishopric by Grymketel; and the successor to Ethelnoth was Eadsige, the king's chaplain.

In the course of the same year died the two bishops, Ælfric of the East Angles and Briteah of the Hwiccas. The mitre of the latter was bestowed by King Harold upon Lyfing, Bishop of Crediton, and Ælfric was succeeded by the king's chaplain, Stigand, who was afterwards ejected, for Grymketel, who bought his election with gold,* and who thus at the same time became the possessor of two bishoprics, that is, of the South Saxons and the East Angles.

Stigand was afterwards restored,† and Grymketel

when those who do not believe in its doctrines may be permitted to interfere with the nomination of its dignitaries, or to have the slightest control over its discipline.

* "Grymketel pro auro est electus." F. WIGORN. "Grimketel, qui ejectus a sede Orientalum Anglorum quam emerat etiam hanc pecuniam emeruit et obsedit." W. MALMSB. Gest. Pont. Ang. lib. ii. p. 257.

Lyfing, the Bishop of Crediton (Worcester), was, during the reign of Hardecnute, accused of being concerned in the murder of Prince Alfred, and removed from his diocese, but purchased back his see and the king's favour with gold. (F. Wigorn. a. 1040. W. Malmsb. Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 320.) Of this bishop there is, however, one fact to be mentioned to his honour, and we shall give it in the words of the ancient registry of the church of Worcester, from which Mr. Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, has extracted it:—

"Spegen Comes, Godwini comitis filius, Abbatissam Leomynstre è Monasterio surreptam sibi conjugio sociavit, atque annum integrum tenuit; donec increpationibus Edsü Cant. Archiepiscopi et Livingi Episcopi deterritus sit. Qua tamen irritatus Merebroc, Haftun, et Ferecleobyrig nos privavit." Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. n. z. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 473, 474.

† There can be no doubt that he owed his restoration to simoniacal practices—that he bribed higher than his competitor, as we find Roger de Wendover stating that he afterwards, obtained by

superseded. Stigand thus became the occupant of the South Saxon see, and acquired for his brother the bishopric of the East Angles. The attainment of these objects did not, however, suffice for his ambition. He afterwards ascended the thrones of Winchester and Canterbury, and could with difficulty be persuaded to permit the South Saxons to have a bishop of their own.*

In the year 1039, the Welsh slew Edwin, the brother of Earl Leofric, and the noble King's thanes, Turkill, and Alfgeat, the son of Eatsi, and many warriors at the same time.†

It was in this year that Hardecanute, the King of the Danes, sailed to Flanders, and immediately proceeded to

bribery the sees of Canterbury and Winchester. "Ut avaritiæ propriæ satisfaceret, Cantuariensem et Wintoniensem thronos pecunia data, conscendit." a. 1038, vol. i. p. 476.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1038, vol. i. p. 193. "Sed et vix annuit ut in pontificatu Seleseisiensi propius ordinaretur antistes." R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 476. As to Stigand, the unworthy archbishop of Canterbury, see *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 5, 6, 107, 108, 239, 248, 249, 294, 406 (note i), 609, 701, &c. As to the prevalence of the awful sin of simony about this period of time, see BARONIUS, *cum critic* Pagi, a. 1033, vol. xvi. pp. 596, 597, 598, § 6.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 193. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1039. In this disastrous conflict the English and Danes were the supporters of a pretender to the Principedom of Wales. The facts are thus narrated by Caradoc:—"Howel ap Edwyn, Prince of South Wales, fled to Edwyn, brother to Leofric, Earl of Chester, and prevailed with him to come with an army consisting of English and Danes, to his aid against Gruffydd, who meeting his enemies on the field easily overcame them, Edwyn being slain upon the spot, and Howel forced to preserve his life by flight." *The History of Wales*, p. 85.

visit his mother Emma.* Upon this poor page can never be adequately depicted the grief and the joy that were commingled together in the heart of the mother, when she was assured of the approach ; of the arrival ; and beheld at last, present before her, her son Hardecanute.† No slight portion of sorrow was hers, when in the face of her living son the imagination of the mother presented to her a likeness of the features of the child she had lost ; and then she rejoiced with an exceeding great joy when she beheld a son living and in safety before her. She felt that the Divine mercy had taken pity upon her, when so great and so transcendent a consolation as this was not denied to her.

Hardecanute had been but a brief time on a visit with his mother, when messengers arrived from England bearing to him tidings of great joy ; namely, that Harold was dead, and that the nobles of England, so far from being adverse to him, rejoiced in the prospect of his accession, and manifested their desire by every outward testimony of delight—that he, therefore, ought not to neglect seeking for that crown which was his by hereditary right, but in claiming it and vindicating his own dignity, do that which must tend to the welfare of all.‡

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 193. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1039. "This year," states the latter authority, "happened the terrible wind." In the account given in the *Encomium Emmæ* of Hardecanute's visit to his mother at Bruges, reference is made to a terrible storm, by which himself and his fleet were overtaken—"repente fœda tempestas ventorum nubiumque à tergo glomeratur, et ponti superficies jam supervenientibus austris turbatur." p. 33.

† *Encom. Emm.* p. 34. "Qualis ergo mœror, qualisque lætitia in ejus adventu fuerit exorta, nulla tibi unquam explicabit pagina."

‡ *Encom. Emm.* p. 34.

It was on the 17th day of March, in the year 1040, that King Harold died at Oxford, and his body was interred at Westminster. He had governed England for four years and sixteen weeks, and in his days tribute was paid to sixteen ships at the rate of eight marks for each steersman, as was before done in the days of King Canute.*

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1040. F. WIGORN. a. 1040. vol. i. p. 193. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1040. R. 'DE WEND. vol. i. p. 477. W. MALMBS. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 319. H. HUNT. lib. v. p. 365. R. HOVEDEN. p. 438. R. HIGDEN. a. 1039. p. 276. *Hist. Remesiens.* c. 94. p. 457. INGULPHUS. p. 62. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 156. *Annal. Burton.* a. 1040, S. DUNELM. p. 180. R. DICET. p. 474. BROMTON. p. 932. *Chron. Mann.* a. 1040. POLYDOR VERGIL, lib. viii. p. 136. *Historia de Olavo Sancto*, c. 245. in *Scripta Historica Islandorum*. vol. v. p. 142.

In reference to this King Harold, we find a very curious and interesting anecdote, that has been brought to light by the research of the eminent antiquarian, Sir Henry Ellis. It is to be found in "The Introduction and Indexes to Domesday," and has reference to the usurpations of church property in former times. With respect to such usurpations we annex the remarks of Sir H. Ellis, as well as the anecdote annexed to them :

"In various entries, some of which have been enumerated in the former volume, p. 313, Domesday continually complains of what are called the 'Invasiones,' the usurpations of Harold, and of his alleged violations of the property of the church. It must be allowed, however, both for the Saxon and the Norman times, that these usurpations, or forcible entries upon lands or other possessions, were often made by the ministers or bailiffs of the great allodial tenants, in the name, but without the knowledge of their masters. William himself, in the charter which he granted to Westminster Abbey in 1067, charges Hamo, his steward, with unjustly seizing on the church of St. Clement Danes in the Strand, 'Violenter et injuste sibi usurpavit,' and which he had himself caused to be restored.

"There is a very curious document in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum, Augustus II. n. 90, which has not been sufficiently noticed. It is an original narrative in Saxon, upon a strip of vellum, not of the time of Harold the Second, but of

Harold Harefoot, written in all probability by Ælfgar, who is mentioned in it, or some fellow-monk, by order of Archbishop Eadsy, concerning Sandwich, as belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury; the toll of the port of which had been forcibly entered upon in the King's name by Ælfstan, abbot of St. Augustine. Ælfgar, a monk of Christ Church, after an interval of near a year, was sent by the archbishop to make his complaint to Harold, who lay sick at Oxford and in imminent danger. Livingus, Bishop of Crediton, and Thancred the monk, were at that time with the King, and these, with Ælfgar and one Oswald, went to his bedside and reproached him with his usurpation; when Harold unhesitatingly swore by Almighty God and by his angels, that it was 'neither his rede nor his deed' that man should ever deprive Christ Church of Sandwich. It was soon seen, says the writer, that the taking of it was other man's thought, not the King's, and that it had been seized by the direction of abbot Ælfstan. The King sent Ælfgar back to the Archbishop, with the fullest confirmation in words of the possession of Sandwich as he and his monks had at any time held it. Ælfstan, who had received the third penny in toll at Sandwich, offered ten pounds as a fine to retain it. The acquisition of it for his monastery had been the sole object of the usurpation. He afterwards, as the document informs us, attempted to establish a rival port at 'Hyppesfleote.' It finishes 'This is all truth. Believe who will. In no other way did abbot Ælfstan command the payment of the third penny at Sandwich. God's blessing be with us all and for ever. Amen.'" ELLIS. *Introduction and Indexes to Domesday*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143, 144.

CHAPTER VI.

HARDECANUTE.

AMBASSADORS sent from Hardecanute to Bruges, requesting him to accept the English crown.. policy of this proceeding explained. Emma and Hardecanute determine on returning to England. Emma's departure from Bruges described. Arrival in England. Alfwald, Bishop of London .. his conduct whilst proceeding as an ambassador to Flanders. Hardecanute consecrated by Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury. Hardecanute's unworthy conduct as a king. His maltreatment of the dead body of King Harold. Severe tribute for the payment of the Danes imposed by Hardecanute. Earl Godwin purchases the forgiveness of Hardecanute by a magnificent present. Hardecanute's heavy tributes provoke a popular insurrection in 1041. Worcester burnt down by order of the king. Eadulf, the ruler of Northumberland, put to death .. he is succeeded by Siward. Death of Edmund, Bishop of Durham .. his simoniacal successor dies without discharging episcopal functions. Prince Edward invited to England by Hardecanute. The government of the kingdom confided to Godwin and Emma. The sister of Hardecanute married to the Emperor of Germany. The pro-

fuse expenditure of Hardecanute in his palace. Sudden death of King Hardecanute at a marriage banquet. The people of England determine never again to submit to a Danish king. The insolent conduct of the Danes. . Popular insurrection against them. . The "Hownechers."

CHAPTER VI.

HARDECANUTE.

A.D. 1040—1042.

No sooner were the remains of Harold interred at Westminster, than the vast majority of those composing the English nobility, sent ambassadors to Hardecanute, who was then dwelling with his mother at Bruges, to present to him the request that he would come to England, and accept the sceptre of the kingdom. In so acting, the nobles of England thought they were doing that which was for the good of their country,* for at the moment the children of Ethelred were despised, and this far more on account of the contempt entertained for the memory of their father, than because any strong apprehension was felt with regard to the preponderating power of the Danes.†

Upon receiving this embassy, Hardecanute and his mother resolved to revisit the shores of that nation, the crown

* F. WIGORN. a. 1040, vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. §. 188. vol. i. p. 320.

of which was now inherited by the young king.* No sooner, however, did the news of Emma's contemplated departure reach the ears of the public, than all Bruges seemed to be filled with sorrow, and covered with mourning. The rich grieved for the departure of her, whose kindly manners had ever cheered, consoled, and charmed them. The poor grieved for the departure of her, whose exhaustless largesses had preserved them from the pressure of want. The widows and the orphans grieved for her, whose costly presents enriched all who had been bedewed with the waters of baptism.†

At the moment that Queen Emma and her son were making preparations to go on board, the shores around re-echoed the groans and lamentations of weeping multitudes, and the hands of hundreds were observed to be wrung in bitter agony. All wept to see, on the point of quitting them, and for ever, the sovereign lady, who, during the entire time of her exile amongst them, had been regarded, and esteemed by them as a fellow-citizen. She who had been to no rich person a distasteful guest, and to no poor person an unwelcome, tyrannical, or oppressive visitor. As she left Bruges, those who witnessed the scene, would suppose that all desired to go with her—to seek in her kingdom their homes, and to prefer for her sake foreign countries to their own. Such was the sorrow that filled the land, and so wept for was the departure of Queen Emma to England.

Although Emma could not but be rejoiced to be at

* "His Hardecnuto materque animati repetere statuunt oras aviti regni." *Encom. Emm.* p. 34.

† *Encom. Emm.* p. 34.

length permitted to resume her former title, and to be restored to her pristine station and dignity, still she could not — generous matron as she was — part from Bruges with tearless eyes. The love of country is, however, greater than all other affections. She kissed all individually — she bade to each and all a weeping farewell, and then, with floods of tears shed on both sides, the separation between her and the people of Bruges was effected, and she sailed forth for the deep sea with her son, and his followers.

Previous to the sailing of Hardecanute and his adherents, the English nobility, not content with the messengers they had in the first instance sent, deemed it best to present themselves by special ambassadors before the King, and Queen Emma, and to testify to both their submission and their loyalty. With this assurance, Hardecanute and his mother set sail, and having reached an English port, they were both received with the most magnificent testimonies of love and devotion by all the people of England.*

Amongst the ambassadors that had been sent to Flanders to do honour to Hardecanute (at the time that English and Danes had coincided in his election as King), and whose duty it was to conduct him back to England, was Alfwald, originally a monk at Ramsey, subsequently Abbot of Evesham, but at this period of time Bishop of London.† It was upon this expedition that a miracle was performed—and as it was one which did no less honour to the faith of Alfwald, than it was advantageous to his

* *Encom. Emm.* p. 35.

† *Hist. Rames.* c. 95. pp. 447, 448.

fellow-travellers in saving them from the perils of shipwreck, we trust that the insertion of a narrative of the manner in which it occurred, will not be dissatisfactory to the reader.*

When Alfward and his companions quitted the coast of England to betake themselves to Flanders, the air was serene, and the surface of the gently-heaving ocean was but slightly rippled by a favourable breeze, that seemed to struggle in speeding them on their voyage. No sooner, however, had they got into the wide sea, than an unlooked-for tempest arose — gusts of wind first urged them on from behind, but veering directly about, dashed up huge waves against the prows, and then over-mastering the vessels, sent them whirling and whirling round as if each were sucked into the boiling foam of a whirlpool. All on board the fleet felt as if the hour of their last agony had come, and that death alone could put an end to the fears of death with which they were assailed.

Amongst them all, there was but one to speak the words of consolation and of hope—it was Alfward the bishop, and the abbot, who with outstretched hands spoke this prayer.

“ Oh ! father and Saint Egwin, who, through the grace
“ of thy many great merits, in the sight of Him who is
“ the Ruler of the seas, art a powerful intercessor, take
“ pity in this awful and tremendous danger, on him who
“ is not worthy to be called a bishop, but who has been
“ thy humble servant, and the steward of thy monastery,

* “ Absque tedio lectorum libet inserere lectioni.” *Hist. Rames.* c. 95.

“and who if anything hath by him, or through others
 “appointed by him, been negligently or irreverently
 “performed in thy service, doth promise for the future
 “carefully to correct and diligently to amend it. Nay,
 “this more I promise, and I do by vow bind myself to
 “perform, that if this tempest be stilled, this raging sea
 “pacified, and I and my companions saved from our
 “present peril, and permitted to return safe and sound to
 “our native land, I shall cause speedily and diligently to
 “be made a silver shrine, in which the relics of thy ve-
 “nerable body may be deposited, and I will, to the very
 “utmost of my ability, promote in every direction amongst
 “the faithful, the veneration that is due to thy sanctity.”

The vows of all came in aid of the prayer thus pronounced by the bishop, and on the instant, through the Divine Will, the storm ceased, the swelling billows by degrees lost their fury, the clatter of the tempest was heard no more, and the ships impelled by a prosperous wind, were soon anchored on the beach of Flanders, from whence, as we have already stated, they returned with Hardecanut to England.*

Hardecanut arrived at Sandwich seven nights before

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 95, 96. pp. 447, 448. The author adds, that not only was Alfward's vow strictly complied with, but that Hardecanut was a great benefactor to Ramsey, bestowing upon the monastery lands—"for the soul's sake of King Canute as well as his own"—pro anima Cnutonis Regis Domini nostri ut nostra. (See c. 97, 98. pp. 448, 449.) And to these works of piety he was encouraged by his mother, Emma, who was a munificent benefactress of monasteries, and a great admirer of Christian perfection: "hortatu matris suæ Emmæ, quæ erat fidei Christianæ et religionis monasticæ amatrix munificentissima." c. 100. p. 449.

Midsummer.* He brought with him sixty war-ships, manned with Danish soldiers.†

Upon his arrival, Hardecanut was well and joyfully received by all, and was consecrated as King by Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury.‡

No sooner, however, was he placed upon the throne,§ than those who had advised his election, had afforded to them just cause for lamenting what they had done.|| Not only did he refrain from doing that which might have proved he was worthy of a crown or have rendered his reign illustrious, but he commenced his career as a monarch, by avenging those personal wrongs that had been inflicted upon himself or his mother by his predecessor and putative brother, Harold.¶ He despatched to London, Ælfrie, Archbishop of York, Earl Godwin, Stir his chamberlain, Edrie his steward, and Thronð his headsman, and other individuals of great dignity, to disinter the body of Harold, and to throw it into a ditch. These orders were complied with, and then having been so cast into a ditch, he ordered it to be again taken out,** to be decapitated, and, as an object of horror

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1040. "in Angliam in mense Augusto venit." W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 319. See H. HUNT. p. 365.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1040. vol. i. p. 194. See R. HOVEDEN. p. 438.

‡ R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 477.—By Ethelmoth, it is said, in mistake, by R. DICT. p. 474.

§ "Mox ut regnare cepit." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 194.

|| "Theah the his raedes-menn hit syththon strange forguldon." *Sax. Chron.*

¶ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 194.

** F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 194.

and contempt to mortals, to be flung into the Thames.* The body was shortly afterwards taken up by a fisherman,† carried by him to the Danes, and by them buried in a certain cemetery which they had in London, called St. Clement Danes.‡

No sooner had this been done, than the King commanded that there should be paid by the whole of the English nation a tribute so large, that it would enable him to bestow eight marks upon every rower, and twelve marks upon every

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 320.

In this treatment of the body of the deceased Harold, there appears to us to have been a motive influencing the mind of Hardecanute, even stronger than that of hatred to the dead—and that was a superstitious fear that a demon might be permitted to reanimate the corpse of Harold; and thus the persecution which the living Harold had inflicted, be perpetuated by the dead Harold. We have already shewn (Vol. ii. pp. 279, 280) that such a superstition was very prevalent amongst the northern nations—viz. “that bad and wicked men could after death walk about as if they were alive, and inflict injury upon many persons, but especially upon those whom they had, when living, threatened with their vengeance.” TORFÆUS, *Hist. Norvegie*. lib. 7. § 4. c. 5, vol. i. p. 331. There were two modes, according to those who believed in the superstition, in evading the persecution of the deceased—“casting their burned remains into water,” or “decapitation.” (Torfæus, same page.)

† “A quodam piscatore exceptum sagena.” W. MALMSB.

‡ R. DICT. p. 474. See ROG. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 477. *Chron. Mailros*. p. 156. R. HOVEDEN. p. 438.

It is remarked by Florence of Worcester, by Hoveden and others, that the body of Harold was re-interred by the Danes with every mark of honour—“sepultum est ab ipsis cum honore”—words that serve to shew, considering the desire of the northmen to respect the grave of the dead, that Hardecanute must by this act have rendered himself an object of hatred to the Danes. See, as to the opinions of the northmen with regard to the tombs of their departed friends, MALLETT'S *Northern Antiquities*, edited by J. A. BLACKWELL, pp. 213, 214.

steersmen in his entire fleet. So severe and so heavy was this tribute, that few could conveniently meet the demand; and its result was, that he whose coming had been much and greatly desired by all, had now rendered himself an object of the most thorough detestation.*

In addition to this, the resentment of Hardecanute was excited, and that to a great degree, against both the Earl Godwin and Levinge, the Bishop of Worcester, on account of the murder of his brother Alfred, of which they were accused by Archbishop Ælfrie and some others.† It

* F. WIGORN. a. 1040. vol. i. p. 194. "They ordered a tribute for sixty-two ships, at the rate of eight marks for each steersman. Then were alienated from him all that before desired him; for he framed nothing royal during his whole reign." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1040. "Tributum inexorabile et importabile Angliæ imposuit, ut classariis suis per singulas naves viginti marcas ex pollicito pensaret." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 320. Hardecanute was a foreigner, the sovereign of a foreign and a poor state, and he treated England as she always has been treated, when she repelled her native race of Kings to submit to foreigners. Thus William III. imposed upon her grievous and heavy taxes, and loaded her with a National Debt to maintain his Dutch mercenaries and to sustain his continental policy: thus, too, George I. and George II. wasted the wealth of England in their German wars for the sake of their miserable principality of Hanover; and thus too, for the sake of Hanover, was England involved during a long portion of the reign of George III. in a wasting war with France—and the only advantage gained by this country was, that it paid enormous sums for the hire of German *hus-carlas*, to enable George III. to carry on war against his own subjects, which tyranny and misgovernment had forced into rebellion in the colonies of America, and the Kingdom of Ireland.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 194. The reader will observe that Godwin and Ælfrie were amongst the persons of high rank who had been commanded to disinter the body of King Alfred. It was one of these commissioners, the archbishop, that preferred an accusation against Godwin. As to Levinge, although his name is disgraced by corrupt practices, we have discovered no trace of a

was on account of this accusation, that Hardecanute deprived Levinge of his bishopric of Worcester, and bestowed it upon Ælfrie; but in the course of the succeeding year Ælfrie was deprived of the see, and it was consigned to Levinge, who discovered the means by which he might be restored to the favour of his sovereign.*

As to Godwin, he presented as a gift to the King, and to secure his friendship, a beautifully built and splendidly provided golden beaked ship.† This ship was well supplied both with men and with arms—its war-crew consisted of eighty picked soldiers with magnificent accoutrements, for each soldier had on both his arms golden armlets—each armlet weighing sixteen ounces‡—a triple woven habergeon, on the head a semi-gilt helmet; girt to his loins a sword with gilded scabbard; hanging to his left shoulder a Danish axe, bound with silver and gold; in his left hand a shield, the bosses and nails of which were gilt; and in his right-hand that species of lance which the English designate an ategar.§

fact to connect him with the murder of Prince Alfred. See on this point, LINGARD's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 273, 274. (Ed. 1837.) Malmsbury charges Ælfrie with two crimes, first, with being the suggestor to Hardecanute of the disinterment of Harold—secondly, of having instigated him to the destruction of Worcester, on account of two of the King's tax collectors being slain by the citizens. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iiii. pp. 270, 271.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 194, 195. The manner in which Levinge was restored to favour is stated by Malmsbury. It was by bribery—"Illum episcopatu expulit, sed post annum pecunia serenatus restituit." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 321.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 195.

‡ "Aureas armillas, sedecim uncias pendentes." F. WIGORN. As to the *armillas*, see vol. ii. p. 263 of this work.

§ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 195. See also W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg.*

In addition to his tendering this present, Godwin made oath to the King, with most of the nobles and dignitaries of the kingdom, that it was not by his advice, nor in compliance with his desire, that the King's brother had been blinded, but that what he did, he had done in compliance with the commands of his then lord and King, Harold.*

In the year 1040, Archbishop Eadsige went to Rome;† and this year the sester of wheat rose to 55 pence, and even further.‡

The amount of tribute paid in the year 1041 by the English people to the Danish soldiers, was in the first instance, twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds, and at a subsequent period in the same year, there was paid eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds to thirty-two ships.§

Ang. lib. ii. § 118. vol. i. p. 320. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 478. S. DUNELM. Gest. Reg. pp. 180, 181. R. HOVEDEN. p. 438.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 195. This oath taken by Godwin and his compurgators does not deny the fact, that Alfred was blinded by Godwin, nor does it clear him of the charges of cruelty preferred against him. It merely affirms that whatever he did was in obedience to the commands of his sovereign, and, therefore, not responsible as the mere agent of the will of another, who was in a position to enforce obedience to his commands. See *Chron. Mailros.* p. 156.

† *Sax. Chron.* For an account of this Archbishop, see *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* This allusion to the price of provisions, shews that amongst the other misfortunes to which England was then subjected, it had to complain of a scarcity of food.

§ *Sax. Chron. a. 1041.* See H. HUNT. p. 365. R. HOVEDEN. p. 438.

It was in this year (1041) that Hardecanut sent his hus-carlas* through all the provinces of the kingdom, for the purpose of extorting from the people the tribute that he declared should be paid to the Danes.† Two of these hus-carlas, named Feader and Thurstan, were on Monday, the 4th of May, killed in an insurrection that took place at Worcester, and in which the participators were the inhabitants of the city, as well as persons belonging to the province. Both the hus-carlas were put to death in the chamber ‡ of a tower attached to Worcester monastery, whither they had fled for the purpose of concealing themselves.

The King, filled with rage for the death of his hus-carlas, and resolved upon avenging their deaths, despatched Thur of the Midland Angles,* Leofric of the Mercians, Godwin of the West Saxons, Siward of the Northumbrians, Roni of the Magesaetas, and the other earls of all England, and almost every man of his hus-carlas, along with an immense army, to Worcester, the bishopric being at that moment held by Ælfric. The command that was given to this hostile force was, that they should slay as many men as they could, that they should spoliage and then burn the city, and that they should devastate the entire province.

* "*Hus-carlas*".. "Danish body-guards." THORPE, note to F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 195. "*Piratis suis*." R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 479. These were his *Thingmen*.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1041. vol. i. p. 195.

‡ "*Solario*"—See DUCANGE. in verb *solarium*.

§ "*Thuri Mediterraneorum*." F. WIGORN. "He is mentioned in a charter of Harthacnut as '*Comes de Huntindon*.' *Hist. Rames*. c. 98." LAPPENBERG's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 230.

The work of destruction commenced both in the city and the province on the twelfth day of November, in the year 1041, and was continued unceasingly for the four succeeding days. There were, however, but few either of the citizens or of the country people arrested, or put to death, because, having heard of the advance of this army against them, they fled, the country people especially, into other provinces. As to the citizens of Worcester, a great number of them repaired to a small island in the bed of the river Severn, named Beverege, where they established a fortification, and where they for such a length of time so valiantly defended themselves against their enemies, that they forced from them terms of peace, by which were secured for themselves a return in perfect freedom to their own homes.

Upon the fifth day of the hostile incursion, the city of Worcester was burned to the ground, and each of the King's soldiers returned with spoil to his home, and the anger of the King was instantly appeased.*

It was in this year that Hardecanute betrayed Eadulf the Earl, whilst under his protection, and he became thus a belier of his 'wed.'†

This Eadulf had upon the death of his brother been made Earl of Northumberland.‡ He was a man puffed up

* F. WIGORN. a. 1041. vol. i. pp. 195, 196. See R. DE WEND. vol i. p. 479. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib ii. § 188. vol. i. p. 320. H. HUNT. p. 365. R. HOVED. p. 439. HIGDEN. p. 276. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1041. M. WEST. pp. 412. 413.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1041.

‡ S. DUNELM. *Hist. Reg. Ang.* p. 204.

with pride, and who had afflicted the men of British race by many acts of atrocious cruelty. Three years after he had obtained his command, he came to Hardecanut for the purpose of making peace with, and being reconciled to him, and then it was that he was slain by Siward, who then had assigned to himself the entire province of the Northumbrians, from the Humber to the Tweed.*

* S. DUNELM. *Hist. Reg. Ang.* p. 204 The state of the Northumbrians during the Danish dynasty may be regarded as in some degree illustrative of the social condition of the country at that period, and it is only with such a view that it is worthy of reference.

The facts we state rest upon the authority of Simon of Durham :—

Upon the hostile invasion by Canute in the reign of Ethelred, the Earl of Northumbria, forced by necessity, yielded obedience to Canute, and yet with the permission of Canute was put to death by a rich Dane, Thurebrand Hold. The Earl so treacherously slain was Uhtred—he was succeeded by his brother Eadulph Cudel, and left three sons, Aldred, Eadulph, and Cospatric—of which, the first two were Earls of Northumbria in due succession to each other. The third was not an Earl, but he had a son named Uhtred, whose son was *Eadulf Rus*, who was the leader of a body of men that murdered a bishop—Bishop Walcher—a deed which he boasted to have effected with his own hand! This wretch was shortly afterwards slain by a woman, and his body buried in Geddewerde church, from which as an abomination it was subsequently removed by Prior Turgot and the Archdeacon of Durham. Aldred, the son of Uhtred, and successor of Eadulf Cudel, slew Thurebrand, in revenge for that person having murdered his father. Thurebrand's sons, Carl and Aldred, were then ever afterwards laying snares for each other's life—a peace was patched up between them—but some short time after this peace, Aldred, unsuspecting of any snare, was treacherously slain in Risewode forest by Carl, and with the connivance of his own brother. That brother was the Eadulph mentioned in the text. See S. DUNELM. *Hist. Reg. Ang.* a. 1072. p. 204. Such was the demoralizing example given by the Danes to the Anglo Saxons.

Edmund (the Bishop of Durham) died (1041) in the twenty-third year of his episcopacy.* His death took place at Gloucester, where he was at that time remaining with the King; but his body was borne by his friends to Durham, and there interred with all due respect and honour. No sooner had this occurred than Eadred, his immediate successor in the bishopric, first sought with great eagerness to obtain his election as prelate from the secular clergy, and then taking a large sum of money from the treasures of the church, he bought the bishopric from King Hardecnute.† The Divine vengeance would not permit him, however, to exercise the episcopal office;‡ for as he was about to enter the church, he was seized with a sudden sickness, which compelled him to take to his bed; and from that bed he never rose again alive. In ten months after his appointment he was numbered amongst the dead.§

* S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 9. p. 33. See *Episcopi Dunelmenses in Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 701. Eadmundus.

† "Sumpta ex thesauris ecclesiæ pecunia non modica, a rege scilicet Hardecnut episcopatum emit." S. DUNELM. Here is an additional act of simony demonstrative of the decay of piety at this period. This bad man, and bad priest, was the first bishop elected by the secular clergy instead of by the monks. See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 701. (Eadredus.)

‡ "Sed episcopale officium facere illum divina ultio non permisit." S. DUNELM.

§ S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 9. pp. 33, 34. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 224. (Ellis). The *Saxon Chronicle* places in this year the consecration of Egelric the successor of Edred. For an account of the extraordinary vicissitudes

No sooner had Hardecanute arranged all the affairs of his kingdom, that its peace was established, and its tranquillity secured, than, animated with a feeling of fraternal affection, he sent messengers for Edward, requesting that he would come and enjoy the advantages which the possession of the crown enabled him to bestow. Edward, in obedience to the commands of his brother, arrived in England.* The companion of Edward, upon his return to England from his tedious exile, was a certain Norman named Radulph.†

Upon his arrival, Edward was received with every mark of honour by his brother Hardecanute, and placed by the king in his own palace,‡ where Edward remained in his society for a few days.§ At this time, the king entrusted the government of his entire kingdom to his mother, Emma, and Earl Godwin.||

of his life, see S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. c. 9. p. 34, and *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 702. In the same year in which the church was marked with such a deplorable event as the appointment of Eadred to a mitre, Alford places the elevation of Alfwold to a bishopric. For an account of the sanctity of Alfwold, see *Annal. Eccles. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 517. § 6. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 248.

* *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 36. The concluding words of the author show that his work must have been written in the year 1041, in which this event occurred.

† *Hist. Ramesiens.* c. 116, p. 458. For an account of donations by this Radulph to Ramsey, for the repose of his soul, "pro anima ipsius in perpetuam eleemosynam," see same chapter and page; and for an account of his connection with the family of Edward, LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1041, vol. i. p. 196.

§ "Secum per dies aliquot morabatur." BROMTON. p. 933.

|| "Totum regnum suum consiliis ejus (Emmæ) et Godwini com-

It was in the same year (1041) in which Edward re-

mittens." BROMTON. p. 933. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 320. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 479. R. DICKT. p. 474.

The two last sentences quoted in the text from Bromton, showing that Edward remained only a few days in the palace of Hardecnute, and that the country at the time was governed by Emma and Godwin, would lead to the inference that dissensions took place in the royal family, fomented, probably, by Godwin, and not sufficiently restrained by Emma, and that their result was, they compelled Edward to lead a life of obscurity for some months—such as we find him described in the *Annals of Winchester*—"clothed in the habit of a plebeian, sometimes dining (that is, as a poor man) in the palace of his mother in Winchester, and sometimes in the house of the bishop, but all the while unknown and unrecognised." See *Annales Wintoniensis*, a. 1043, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 290.

This, beyond all others, if our conjecture be correct, was the period in his life, in which he might have used the following prayer, ascribed to him by Ailred:—

"Behold! oh, my God! there is no one to help me; and my acquaintances have withdrawn from me. My friends and my relations are my enemies, and hate me. My father, after many toils, hath departed this life; the cruelty of my persecutors has destroyed my brothers and driven my nephews into exile. My mother, by having entered into a second marriage, is the supporter of those who have conquered me. Lo! I am forlorn and abandoned, and my life is sought after. Poor, I am forsaken by all but Thee, who art the friend of the miserable, and the protector of the helpless. Thou it was who didst, in a miraculous manner, save the life, and reserve for the reception of a crown, Edwin, the noblest man of all our royal race, when he was exposed to death. It was Thou, too, who didst raise up that glory of England, Saint Oswald, and from his being a cast-away made him a king; and, through the sign of the Holy Cross, stronger than all his enemies. And so, too, if Thou wilt be with me, and guard and bring back to me the kingdom of my father, Thou shalt, as Thou hast ever been, a merciful God to me, and the blessed Peter shall be my patron saint, whose holy relics I promise to visit in that city, in which he rests with his associate apostle, Thou sanctioning, Thou guiding, and Thou, Oh my God, accompanying me." AILRED. *Vit. Edward Conf.* pp. 374, 375.

turned to England,* that Hardecanute sent to be married to Henry, the Emperor of the Germans, his sister Gunhilda, the daughter of Canute and Emma, a maiden of marvellous beauty, and whose hand had been sought for, but in vain, by many wooers during the lifetime of her father.†

Gunhilda's was a truly celebrated nuptial pomp—so celebrated, that even to this very day it is sung about in street-ballads, which tell us how this maiden of high and illustrious degree was conducted on board the vessel that was to bear her to her husband; how she was surrounded by all the nobility of England, and how, in the profuse expenditure of the occasion, the public purse and the royal treasury were exhausted of all their riches; how, when she reached her husband's court, she was long loved with a truly conjugal affection; how she was at last accused of adultery; how one of her pages, and the caretaker of her starling, a little boy that she had brought with her from England opposed himself in single combat to her accuser, a man of gigantic bulk; that the diminutive page did this, when all her other courtiers, swayed by a base fear, shrunk from acting as her champion; how, when the conflict did take place, God in his goodness, and by a miracle, destroyed the accuser, who fell hamstrung to the earth before the Queen's champion; how Gunhilda rejoiced in this unlooked-for triumph, repudiated her husband, could neither by threats or blandishments be induced to live again with him as his wife, but taking the

* BROMTON. p. 933. See *Chron. Petriburgens.* a. 1041, p. 46. (Giles.)

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 321.

veil of a nun, died at last in a good peaceful old age, and in the service of her God.*

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. pp. 321, 322. The legend here narrated will also be found in Bromton, p. 933, and with the additional statement that the Queen's champion was named "*Municon*," and her traducer, a man of such enormous size that he was "like to a giant," and that he was named "*Roddyngar*." See R. DE WENDOV. pp. 479, 480.

There is, perhaps, no person mentioned in any history, with respect to whom so many mistakes have been made, both by ancient and modern historians, as Gunhilda, the daughter of Canute and Emma, and the wife of King Henry, the son of Conrad, the German Emperor. All the English monkish historians who refer to her, state that she was married during the reign of Hardecanut. There cannot be the slightest doubt that she was married in the lifetime of her father, and that she died during the reign of Harold. According to Adam of Bremen, lib. ii. c. 93, Conrad sought the hand of Gunhilda in marriage for his son Henry, and bestowed upon Canute, as her *morgengabe*, the town of Sleswic—"Sliaswig cum marcha"—since which time it has ever been the property of the Danish kings: "Et ex eo tempore fuit regum Daniae." The same author, lib. ii. c. 99, describes Conrad as travelling through Italy in company with his son King Henry, with Gunhilda, then married to Henry, and with King Canute; and in lib. ii. c. 108, the same author again refers to the marriage of Henry, the Emperor's son—"Cæsar Henricus." See PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 325, 329, 332. Sigebert places her marriage in the year 1035, and Marianus Scotus her death in the year 1038. See PISTORIUS. *Veter. Script. Ger.* vol. i. pp. 595, 450. Herman says that she was married in the year 1036, that she died on the 16th of July, and that her remains were carried to Limburg, where they were interred. Bernold, in his Chronicle, states that she was married in 1036, at *Noviomagum* (Odenheim, Newenburg, or Niumagen), and that she died, with many other illustrious persons, in Italy, in the year 1038. See PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 122, 123, 425. Wippo mentions that, in the year 1036, the daughter of Canute was married to Henry, the son of the Emperor: that, on the occasion, she was consecrated as Queen, and that the nuptials were conducted as between two persons of royal rank; and, in the year 1038, that a contagious pestilence, produced by the heat, and which spared neither age nor sex, carried her off in the very first

Hardecanute had reigned for about two years (over England) when he was carried off by a sudden death at

bloom of youth—"Quasi in limine vitæ"—that she left behind her an only child—a daughter, who afterwards became a nun, and was consecrated an abbess—"Quam postea pater Christo desponsans, in Abbatissam consecrari fecit." He states, also, that her remains were interred "in præpositura Lutburg." See PISTORIUS. *Veter. Script. Ger.* vol. iii. pp. 480, 481, 482 (Struvius). See also SCHMIDT. *Geschichte der Deutschen.* vol. ii. pp. 217, 222.

Nothing can, we think, be more plain, simple, and intelligible, than these historical facts, and yet both ancient and modern writers have fallen into mistakes respecting Gunhilda; because it has so happened that the old German annalists have written her name as if it were the same as that of one who was virgin, an empress, and an abbess—the great Saint Cunigundis, the wife of Henry, the emperor and saint. The confusion arises from calling Gunhilda the wife of Henry, and the virgin empress the wife of Henry alike "Cunigundis," and both being contemporaries, and both dying, the one young, in the year 1038, the other about the year 1040. Saint Cunigundis was the daughter of Sigefride, Count of Luxemburg. She was crowned as empress at Paderborn, and living, though married, separate from her husband. She was at one time falsely accused of impurity, when, to demonstrate her innocence, she walked barefooted over burning plough-shares:—"Vomeres candentes nudo vestigio calcavit, et sine adustionis molestia secura pertransiit." (Vit. S. Cunigund. Imp. c. 1. § 2. Act. Sanct. Mart. vol. i. p. 273). The Emperor St. Henry died in the year 1024; and in the year 1025, upon the dedication of the noble monastery built by her at Kaffungen, she divested herself of the robes of an empress, and assumed the habit of a religious, and never afterwards would permit the slightest distinction to be made between her and the meanest person in the community. Her canonisation is a fact interesting to Englishmen; for it was declared at the same time, and by the same pope, with that of the great English saint and martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury. See, with respect to Saint Cunigundis, *Act. Sanct. (Mart.)* vol. i. pp. 266—283. PISTORIUS. *Vet. Script. Ger.* vol. i. pp. 159, 689, 694, 733, 734. Vitæ Henrici II. et Cunigundis Imp. ed D. G. Waitz. PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 787—828. Vit. S. Cune-gundis. Ibid. p. 824—828. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iii. pp. 291, 292. The false charge of impurity made against the saint was supposed by the English writers to apply to the

Lambeth in the very flower of his youth—a youth which had at one time been full of promise that his disposition

princess known to themselves, and designated by the Germans as Cunigundis; and so, also, the fact of the saint living a long time before her death as a nun, induced the English authors to suppose that it was *their* Cunigundis that was thus described; and the supposition found confirmation in the fact, that a daughter of Gunhilda actually lived and died as a nun, whilst the circumstance that really occurred to St. Cunigundis, of walking unscathed over burning ploughshares, was ascribed by them to Emma, the mother of Gunhilda. The mistakes, however, of authors do not end here. Many writers, misled by the similarity of name, have placed the death of St. Cunigundis in that year in which the death of Gunhilda actually took place. See HENSCHENIUS. Comment. Præv. § 28. Vit. S. Cunigund. Act. Sanct. Mart. vol. ii. p. 272. Others, too, forgetting that the great saint was a native of the Netherlands, and therefore one whose memory must have been most dear to them, and any portion of her relics precious in the sight of its pious inhabitants; and at the same time that Gunhilda must not have been unknown to them through Emma, have not taken into account how easily, both dying nearly at the same time, and both called by the same name, might be mistaken, as they actually have been mistaken, one for the other. Any one who does consider these various circumstances (and not supposing that there might be a third person called Gunhilda, related to Canute) will, we are sure, agree with us in thinking that there is as little justice as there is a complete want of charity in the following remarks of Herr Lappenberg:—

“The account of her (Gunhilda) having died at Bruges on August 21st, 1042, though supported by an inscription in the church of St. Donat in that city (copied in Mirræ's Donat. Belg. lib. ii. c. 22, and Ellis. Introd. to Domesday, ii. p. 137), is to be ascribed *only to the vanity or self-interest of the monks.*” *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 220.

If Herr Lappenberg were less anxious to cast imputations upon monks, he would not only have discovered but acknowledged in this person that a *niece*, not a *daughter*, of Canute, named *Gunhilda*, was to be found in Bruges, and living there as an exile during the year 1044—a fact sufficient to show that though the monks might have fallen into a mistake as to the date of a year, they cannot with justice be accused of making affirmations either from vanity or self-interest. That a Gunhilda, related to Canute,

would be found to be good and his demeanour benignant.* In the expenditure of his household he was said to be so profuse, that in obedience to his orders there was each day served up four royal banquets for all the persons in the palace, he preferring that the dishes placed before his guests should be sent away untasted rather than that when persons were invited they should have to call for dishes to be placed before them. In this respect there is a vast difference between the custom that prevailed in the

came to be interred in Bruges we have no doubt, although the precise time when it occurred is covered with uncertainty and obscurity. We pray the reader's attention to the following words:—"Eodem anno (1044) nobilis matrona *Gunnilda*, regis Wyrteorri et sororis *Canuti regis filia* * * * expellitur de Anglia; que Flandriam devecta, in loco qui *Brygge* dicitur aliquondiu resedit, et sic Danemarciam adit." F. WIGORN. p. 199.

We might ask, if there is not a probability—a greater probability—than that the monks of Bruges told a wilful falsehood—that Florence of Worcester made a mistake when he declared that *Gunhilda*, the niece of *Canute*, went to Denmark, when, in point of fact, she might have died and been buried in Bruges, and thus came to be mistaken for the daughter of *Canute*? See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1045, and then compare the passage already quoted from *Lapenberg* with one that follows in the same volume, p. 238, referring to *Gunhilda*.

To these observations we may add the fact respecting which there can be no dispute, viz., that there was interred in the church of St. Donat at Bruges—the same church in which the supposed daughter of *Canute* was interred—another *Gunhilda*, the sister of an English King, *Harold II.*, and the daughter of *Godwin*; and that this *Gunhilda*, passing her days in virgin innocence, and by devoting her entire life to religion, to acts of piety and charity, was considered (and justly so) to be a saint. See, with respect to this last *Gunhilda*, *ELLIS. Introduction and Indexes to Domesday*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137, 138. "Observations on the Coffin Plate and History of *Gunilda*, sister of the Saxon King *Harold II.*, by G. F. Beltz, Esq., in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis," in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pp. 398—410.

* H. HUNT. lib. vi. p. 365.

court of Hardecanute, and that which is observed in our own days,* when from avarice, or, as some affirm, from a fastidious delicacy, our princes never have their tables laid out for a regular repast for their friends more than once in every twenty-four hours.†

Hardecanute was constantly attacked with maladies;‡ and in the year 1042,§ when he was not only present, but abandoned himself to all the pleasures of a magnificent banquet, which was given at a place called Lambeth, by Osgod Clapa, a man of great power, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Gytha to a very influential Dane, named Tovi Prudan, at the moment that Hardecanute, joyful, and apparently in health, and jocose, stood up, and was drinking with the bride and some of her male friends, he, whilst he was in the very act of emptying his goblet, by a woful mischance fell flat upon the earth, and so speechless remained until Tuesday, the 8th of June, when he expired.||

* "Cum nostri temporis consuetudo sit." H. HUNT.

† "Principes semel in die tantum suis escas anteponere." H. HUNT. p. 365.

‡ "Ob morbos etiam, quos frequenter patiebatur." W. PICT. p. 39.

§ *Sax. Chron.*

|| F. WIGORN. a. 1042, vol. i. p. 196. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 188, vol. i. p. 320. S. DUNELM. p. 181. R. DICET. p. 474, *Hist. Rames.* c. 102, p. 450. INGULPH. p. 62. *Historia de Olavo Sancto*, c. 245, in *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, vol. v. pp. 142, 143.

Bromton mentions, for the purpose of repudiating it, the tradition, that Hardecanute had been found, nine days after his coronation, lying dead amongst the cattle in an ox-stall; "In uno bostari inter pecora extinctus." *Chron.* p. 934. The same tradition is to be found in Knyghton, lib. i. c. 6, but with this

King Hardecanute, "as he stood drinking, fell suddenly to the earth with a tremendous struggle; but those who were nigh at hand took him up; and he spoke not a word afterwards, but expired on the sixth day before the ides of June.

"He was King over all England two years, wanting ten nights; and he is buried in the old minster at Winchester, with King Canute, his father.

"And his mother for his soul gave to the new minister the head of St. Valentine the Martyr."*

difference, that it is said his body was so discovered in the third year of his reign, and that he was buried in Westminster. In lib. i. c. 7, the more correct account of Hardecanute's death is to be found. See pp. 2326, 2328, 2329.

* *Saxon Chronicle*, as translated by the REV. J. INGRAM, B.D. pp. 212, 213.

As far as Hardecanute's character could be influenced by his mother, there is the proof that he was disposed to be favourable to religion. Two authors, very dissimilarly situated, thus refer to him:—

"Igitur Hardecnut in regem sublimatus, cœpit largitate profluere, et patris sui exemplo, imo potius matris Emmæ, * * * instinctu, ecclesias largis honoribus ampliare." *Hist. Rames.* c. 97, p. 448. See also c. 98, 99, 100, 102, pp. 449, 450.

"Hic generi materno similior, non, quâ pater aut frater, crudelitate regnabat, neque interitum Edwardi, sed provectum volebat. Ob morbos etiam, quos frequenter patiebatur, plus Deum in oculis habebat, et vitæ humanæ brevitatem." W. PICT. p. 39.

The evil deeds that Hardecanute did, may not improbably be ascribed to Godwin, and other wicked councillors. A modern Danish author thus alludes to his reign, and his name:—

"Ut Canutum vel hoc nomine *Durum* voces, quali illum nomenclatione insignivere Angli, et retinuit posteritas, ac maxime *Dania*, cui uni, quod certe constat, *durus* fuit et propemodum crudelis." BERING. *Florus Danicus*, p. 225.

During all the time that Hardecanute reigned in England, he held in subjection and in peace the kingdom of Scotland.*

As Hardecanute died childless, all the great men of England held council with each other, and then by an unanimous agreement, which they ratified with an oath, they decreed that never thenceforth should any Dane reign over them in England: a resolution, to the adoption of which they were the more earnestly urged by the recollection of the many contumelies that had been flung upon the English people by the Danes. To such an extent did the insolence of the Danes proceed, that if, for instance, a Dane met an Englishman on a bridge, the Englishman dare not stir a step further, until the Dane had crossed the bridge; and, moreover, if Englishmen did not bow their heads out of respect for the Danes, they were speedily visited by heavy pecuniary penalties, and severe stripes.† Hardecanute upheld and counselled the Danes so far in their tyrannical domination over England, that every homestead in the country seemed to have got a Danish master, who brought dishonour to its female, and opprobrium upon its male occupants—and this to the shame and disgrace of the very name of the English people, until at last the English forced by necessity took courage to resist them, remembered their former gallant deeds, collected together a large army, which they called the *Hownehers*, (after a certain *Howne* who suggested this insurrection and became its leader,)‡ and this army

* BROMTON. p. 934.

† BROMTON. p. 934.

‡ "Donec Anglici necessitate coacti acceperunt audaciam, re-

slaughtered the Danes, and drove them, to their utter disgrace, clear out of all those parts of England in which they had misconducted themselves.* And never again did the Danes, thus left without king and captains, and thus expelled from the country by the insurgent English, venture to return to this land again.†

sumpserunt vires, et collegerunt magnum exercitum qui *Howneher* appellabatur à quodam Howne qui primo ad hoc consilium dederat et ductor eorum extiterat." KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 6. p. 2326.

* "Et sic Danos occiderunt, et in magnum ruborem de partibus Angliæ totaliter fugaverunt." KNYGHTON. p. 2326.

† "Angli contra eos insurgentes, omnes Dacos sine rege et capitaneis tunc existentes a regno Angliæ fugaverunt, qui terram celeriter dimittentes, nunquam in posterum redierunt." BROMTON. p. 934.

These extracts from Knyghton and Bromton serve, we think, to shew that it was, at this time, that the ancient English sport of *hocking* became universal—the *Howneher* of Knyghton is manifestly meant to signify the *hockener*, and to denote the leaders in a popular insurrection in which it is not improbable that the English women, in revenge of the insults to which they had been subjected by the Danes, took a conspicuous part. By fixing, as most authors do, the commencement of *hocking* as a popular game in the reign of Ethelred (see pp. 112—120 of this volume), we must suppose that which is very improbable, that the Danes, a tyrannical and irascible race of men, with sovereigns of their own nation on the throne, permitted those who were a conquered nation to celebrate annually their defeat and massacre! Whereas, by fixing the *hocking* games at the close of the reign of Hardecnut, and when the Danish domination was for ever put an end to, we discover a train of circumstances commencing, that are perfectly consistent with the maintenance, even for centuries, of a festival that could be hurtful to the pride of no class, whilst it was gratifying to popular feelings, passions, and prejudices. In that curious and learned work, "Brand's Popular Antiquities," we must, however, admit that we can find but one extract that bears out our views. It is as follows:—

"Denne conjectures the name of this festivity to have been derived from 'Hockzeit,' the German word for a wedding, and

which, according to Bailey's Dictionary, is particularly applied to a wedding feast. 'As it was then,' says he, 'at the celebration of the feast at the wedding of a Danish lord, Canute Prudan, with Lady Githa, the daughter of Osgod Clape, a Saxon nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly. Our ancestors had certainly sufficient grounds for distinguishing the day of so happy an event by a word denoting the wedding feast, the wedding day, the wedding Tuesday. And, if the justness of this conjecture shall be allowed, may not that reason be discovered, which Spelman says he could not learn, why *the women bore rule on this celebrity*, for all will admit, that at a wedding the bride is the queen of the day?' " BRAND's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 189 (Bohn's Antiq. Lib.) It is curious that both Brand, and Sir Henry Ellis, his editor, in making this extract, seem to have overlooked the passage in Knyghton quoted in the text, with respect to the *Howneher*. See MILNER's *Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 136.

CHAPTER VII.

ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

EDWARD chosen as king by the people of London. Embarrassment of Edward on receiving this intelligence. He consults with Godwin. Godwin stipulates with Edward to support his right to the throne. Edward declared king at a Witenagemot held in Gillingham. Godwin's abilities as a politician portrayed. The kindness, goodness, gentleness, piety, and benevolence of Edward described. Anecdote showing St. Edward's utter disregard of wealth. Edward consecrated as king at Winchester. A new custom established by Edward at his coronation. Edward evinces his love for Ely monastery, on the altar of which he was laid when an infant, and educated within its walls as a boy. Edward seeks the sanction of the Pontiff for his donations to Ely. The Charter of Pope Victor for Ely addressed to Edward. Queen Emma deprived of her treasures by Edward. Assassination of the Abbot of Ramsey. Earl Leofric and Lady Godiva enrich by their gifts the monastery of Coventry. The legend of Lady Godiva. The rich chaplet of beads bequeathed by Godiva to the image of the Blessed Virgin at Coventry. Marriage of King Edward with Edgitha, the daughter in Godwin. Edward's prayer for perfect purity.

The charms, accomplishments, and virtues of Edgitha described. St. Ailred's account of the preliminaries to Edward's marriage contrasted with William of Malmsbury's. Herman, Bishop of Wiltshire, endeavours to gain possession of Malmsbury monastery .. he is defeated, and leaves England .. subsequently returns, and is made Bishop of Sherborne. The general famine in 1045. Curious statement respecting Elfward, Bishop of London. The knowledge of medicine possessed by monks. Change of manners introduced by Edward into England. Robert, a Norman, appointed Bishop of London. Dislike of the Anglo-Saxons to the Normans. Contempt of the Normans for the Anglo-Saxons. Difficulty of ascertaining the truth between the conflicting statements of hostile races complained of. Banishment of Gunhilda, the niece of Canute. A fleet collected in 1045 by Edward to repel a threatened invasion of the Norwegians. The sacrilegious crime of Sweyn, the son of Godwin .. he abandons England. Osgod Clapa banished. Lyfing, the eloquent but ambitious bishop .. his awful death. The Bishop of Crediton establishes canons in Exeter under the same discipline as that practised in Lorraine. Assistance sought from Denmark by the King of the Danes .. it is refused. Battle between the Norwegians and Danes .. the latter are defeated. Bishop Elfwin and Queen Emma .. the false accusation preferred against them. The legend of Queen Emma, and the ordeal by hot iron. Spearhafoc, a monk and accomplished goldsmith. Piratical expedition of Northmen in 1047. They are repulsed at Thanet. Ambassadors from Denmark and Norway seek the friendship of King Edward. Sandwich and the Isle of Wight plundered by pirates. The pirates pursued by King Edward. The persecutions to which monasteries were subjected, during the domination of the Danes, illustrated in the case of Peykirke. Generous conduct of King Edward to distressed monks. Unhappy change in the manners of church-

men fomented by the Danish kings. Relaxation of discipline. Edward's letter to the monks of Croyland upon the appointment of Wulgat as abbot. King Edward's charter to Croyland. Edward, with a fleet at Sandwich, is prepared to aid the German Emperor and the Pope against Baldwin of Flanders. Piracies practised in England by Osgod Clapa.. his fleet destroyed by a storm. Biorn assassinated by his cousin Sweyne. Piratical irruption made in the year 1049 by Griffin, King of the South Britons, aided by persons from Ireland. King Edward sends Bishops Hereman and Aldred to the Pope at Rome to obtain a remission of his vow. King Edward consults with his nobles as to the expediency of carrying into effect the vow he had at one time made of going on a pilgrimage to Rome. In accordance with the general wish determines upon appealing to the Pope. King Edward's ambassadors welcomed by an ecclesiastical council then sitting at Rome. By a decree of the Pope and council Edward is absolved from his vow. Rescript of the Pope addressed to King Edward. The Pope directs a monastery to be built in compensation for the king's vow. The plan for the monastery manifested in a vision to a recluse. The place so indicated, the site of Westminster Abbey. Council held by the Pope at Rheims in 1049. King Edward sends to the council an English bishop and two abbots. The Norman Robert appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and the king's relative, Rodulph, made a bishop. The Pope holds a council at Verselli in 1050.. Bishop Ulf, from England, at the council. Famine in 1050. Danegelt abolished by Edward, and the Danish lithsmen put out of pay. The pious nobleman, Thorold.. his donation of his house and manor of Spalding for pious uses. The pious Ædnoth.. his donation to Ramsey monastery. The piety of Anglo-Saxon nobles defeated by the avarice and impiety of Normans. Macbeth, king of Scotland, sends alms to Rome. Archbishop Robert's dispute with Spearhafoc.

Visit of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, to King Edward in 1051. Conflict between Eustace and his followers with the householders of Dover. Eustace appeals to the king for protection. Godwin refuses obedience to the king's commands. A Witenagemot summoned by Edward. Godwin and his sons muster an army. Edward invokes his loyal nobles to his aid. Godwin's demands to the king refused. Civil war imminent.. prevented by Leofric and others. A witenagemot held in London, by it Godwin and his sons are declared outlaws. Queen Edgitha sent to Wherwell. Arrival of William, Duke of Normandy (the Conqueror), on a visit to King Edward. Death of Queen Emma, the widow of Ethelred and Canute. Incursion of Griffin, King of the Welsh. Return of Harold from Ireland to England. Ravages committed by him. The Isle of Wight plundered by Godwin. The fleets of Harold and Godwin combine. Godwin and Harold at London. The fleet and armies of King Edward and Godwin arrayed against each other. Hostages mutually delivered. Archbishop Robert and the Normans take to flight. Godwin and his sons pardoned. Queen Edgitha restored to her former dignity. Sentence of outlawry, with a few exceptions, pronounced against the Normans. Sweyn, the son of Godwin, makes a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Stigand, an intruder upon the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.. his simoniacal practices and avarice denounced. Edward's prophecy respecting Harold and Tosty. Earl Godwin's self-imposed ordeal.. he dies in consequence. The wife of Godwin and sister of Canute a dealer in female slaves. The family of Godwin. The Welsh prince Rhys slain by order of King Edward. Englishmen slain in 1053, by the Welsh at Westbury. In 1053, no archbishop in England. Siward's expedition to Scotland against Macbeth, by order of King Edward. Heroism of Siward upon hearing that his son had been killed in battle. Aldred, Bishop of Worcester,

ambassador from Edward to the German Emperor . . the object of Aldred's mission. King Edward's desire to have the grandchildren of Edmund Ironside in England. Death of Earl Siward . . his desire to die as a valiant knight. Return from Rome of Archbishop Kinsey . . the donations to churches made by this prelate. Algar doomed to banishment . . he obtains pirate vessels in Ireland, unites his forces with Griffin of Wales, defeats the English, pillages Hereford, and destroys the relics of St. Ethelbert, King and martyr. Harold appointed general of the English forces. Algar and Griffin do not venture to encounter him. Algar is pardoned by King Edward. Athelstan, Bishop of Hereford, succeeded by Leofgar, who is slain in battle by Griffin. Earl Agelwin Odda becomes a monk. Egelric, Bishop of Durham, becomes a monk at Peterborough . . expends his wealth in the construction of a road. His character, as portrayed by his friends and his enemies. Arrival of the Etheling Edward in England in 1057 . . his sudden death. A brief account of his children and descendants. Death, in 1057, of Leofric, the founder of Coventry, and the benefactor of other monasteries. Leofric witness to a great miracle at Westminster. Earl Algar's donation to monks for the purposes of hospitality at Spalding. St. Wulstan appointed Abbot of Gloucester. Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Stigand's misconduct as an archbishop. King Edward's charter, bestowing lands in England on the church of St. Denis. Harold in Normandy . . transactions between him and William . . various accounts given of them. Death of Henry, King of France, in 1060. Deaths of Archbishop Kinsey and Bishop Dudoc. King Edward sends ambassadors to Rome with a letter to the Pope. Rescript of the Pope in reply to King Edward's letter. Edward devotes himself entirely to the services of religion. Tosty received at Rome by the Pope along with the English bishops. Aldred, the archbishop, falls

under the censure of the Pope. Tosty's threats against the Pope of Rome. Archbishop Aldred is pardoned by the Pope, on condition of resigning the bishopric of Worcester. Restitution of property belonging to the church made by an Anglo-Saxon nobleman. The Abbot of St. Alban's care for the poor, and the protection of travellers. St. Wulstan appointed Bishop of Worcester . . an account of his parents, who became one a monk and the other a nun. The piety of Wulstan described by a contemporary. The Pope's legates in England present at Wulstan's election as bishop. The Anglo-Saxon knight, Hereward. Harold's expedition to Wales . . he destroys the palace of the Welsh king . . he ravages Wales, and compels the Welsh to sue for peace. Griffin slain by the Welsh. King Edward divides the principality of Griffin between his brothers. Harold's palace in Wales destroyed by the Welsh. Insurrection of the Northumbrians against Tosty . . they select Morcar as their ruler . . Harold appealed to . . he recommends the king to sanction the appointment of Morcar. Tosty, driven from Northumbria, repairs to Flanders. Edward, feeling his last illness approaching, desires to have William of Normandy his heir. Harold, by oath, sanctions William's pretensions to the throne. King Edward's devotion to St. Peter and St. John the Evangelist. The miraculous ring. The king's approaching death prophesied. A description given by Malmsbury of the virtues, habits, and personal appearance of St. Edward. Some of the miracles performed by St. Edward. He cures the king's evil. An Irish cripple carried by Edward from his palace to Westminster Abbey. Miraculous cure of the blind. Revelation made to St. Edward at a banquet . . the seven sleepers. Edward's pious preparations for death . . dedication of Westminster Abbey. The king borne from the abbey to his death-chamber. The vision and prophecy of St. Edward. Impiety of Archbishop Stigand. Edward commends the virtues, and proclaims

aloud the perfect purity of Queen Edgitha. He desires to be buried in Westminster Abbey. His death. Miraculous change in the dead body of the king. His remains interred in Westminster Abbey. The body of Edward described thirty-six years after his death. Canonization of St. Edward by Pope Alexander III. The body of St. Edward again inspected, and found entire, in 1163. The relics of St. Edward borne by Henry II. The translation of St. Edward's remains on 13th of October, 1163. "The laws of King Edward." A legal disquisition by a monk.

CHAPTER VII.

ST. EDWARD, CONFESSOR.

A.D. 1042—1066.

THE remains of the deceased sovereign Hardecanute had not been consigned to the earth, when the people in London chose Edward as their King.* By Edward himself, the intelligence of Hardecanute's death was regarded but as sorrowful tidings, and for some time he remained in a state of great uncertainty as to the policy he ought to pursue, and the course of proceeding that it was fitting for him to adopt.† After long and mature consideration, the conclusion to which he came was to submit to the judgment and consideration of Godwin, the decision as to his future fate and fortune. With this intention, he sent messengers to Godwin, praying that they might, in perfect peace and complete security, consult together. God-

* "And ear than the he bebyrged waese eall folc geceas tha Eadward to cynge on Londene." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1042.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196. "Hardecanuto mortuo, Edwardus, tam triste nuncio accepto incertumque fluctans quid ageret, quo se verteret nesciebat." vol. i. p. 332.

win pondered much and seriously when such a message was delivered to him—he hesitated at first, as to whether he ought to accede to it, but at length assented ; and when he saw Edward approaching him, and endeavouring to cast himself down on his knees, and expatiating upon the death of Hardecnute, and praying that he might be aided in returning to Normandy, and promising a large reward to Godwin if he assisted him, Godwin first raised up Edward from the lowly posture he assumed, and then answered his entreaties by saying,—“ That it was better
“ for him to live with glory in his native land as a prince,
“ than to die ignominiously in a foreign country as an
“ exile—that he should remember he was the son of King
“ Ethelred, and the lineal descendant of King Edgar—
“ that the kingdom was his by right ; that his years were
“ sufficiently mature to entitle him to wear the crown ;
“ that he was tried by toilsome labours, skilled for a long
“ time in what might be regarded as the rigid duties that
“ devolve upon a ruler, and that the very misfortunes he
“ had himself endured, the miseries to which he had been
“ exposed, and the want he had felt, must be an induce-
“ ment to him to mitigate, when he could, the sufferings
“ of the people. Hence,” Godwin said, “ if Edward
“ chose to repose his entire confidence in him, there was
“ no impediment to His Majesty’s accession ; for his
“ (Godwin’s) authority was beyond all others that which
“ most preponderated in England ; that wherever he in-
“ clined fortune followed, and whatever cause he aided
“ none dare oppose it. Let there then be but a firm
“ friendship, a solid and compact alliance established be-
“ tween them ; let his sons be secured in their honours,
“ and his daughter received as the wife of Edward, and

“ in a short space of time, the very man in whose life all
“ future hopes seemed to be shipwrecked, who despaired
“ of the throne, and who was a beggar for the assistance
“ of another, would not merely see, but feel that he was a
“ King.”

In the dire necessities of the moment in which Edward felt himself placed, there was nought that could be asked of him that he must not promise; and so both he and Godwin, having mutually pledged their faith, that which each sought was, by an oath, promised to him by the other.

On the part of Godwin there was no delay made in carrying out his promise to a complete fulfilment. A Witenagemot assembled at Gillingham,* and there Godwin, fully explaining his reasons for the course he pursued, did homage to Edward and had him declared King.† As to Godwin, it must be admitted, that he was a man gifted with great talents, and of accomplished manners, who was remarkable for his wondrous eloquence when speaking his native language—a very marvel from the copiousness of his diction, and truly worthy of admiration for his power in influencing and guiding a popular assembly in accordance with his will.

* “ At Gillingham, north-east from Chatham, the Archbishop of Canterbury had a palace, the hall or kitchen of which is now a barn.” CAMDEN’s *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 340.

† Florence of Worcester states, this event took place at a council held in London, and that the result was mainly owing to the conjoint efforts of Godwin, and of Lyfing, Bishop of Worcester. “ Annitentibus maxime comite Godwino et Wigornensi præsule Livingo, Lundoniæ levatur in regem.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 196, 197. a. 1042.

Some members of the Witan were influenced on this occasion by the authority of Godwin, some yielded their compliance in consequence of the gifts that were bestowed upon them, and some heartily embraced the cause of Edward, from the consideration that in seeking the crown, he only claimed what duly belonged to him; whilst there were a few, very few indeed, who resisted that which was right, just, and equitable, and who were therefore branded with the censure of the Witenagemot, and at a subsequent period banished from England.*

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196, 197. vol. i. pp. 322, 323. Great obscurity hangs over the manner in which Edward was elected to the crown. The words of the Saxon Chronicle would intimate, there was a popular cry raised in his favour, the moment that Hardecnute's death was known. Florence of Worcester states, that he was elected by the nobility in London, as soon as Hardecnute had been buried in Winchester. Bromton affirms, that at the moment when Hardecnute died, Edward was in Normandy, and that he only arrived in England with a few attendants to claim the crown (p. 936). The Annals of Winchester, already quoted, shew that Edward was, during the latter portion of the reign of Hardecnute, living in a private manner, and so disguised, as to dine as a poor stranger at his mother's table, and yet not be recognised, whilst the eulogist of William the Conqueror affirms, that it was the threats of the young Norman Duke that induced the nobility of England, when hesitating as to who should be the successor of Hardecnute, to nominate Edward. (W. Pict. *Gest. Guill.* pp. 44, 45.) The probability is, that whilst this doubt prevailed, whilst the Danes were struggling to retain power, and the popular feeling was exhibiting itself on all sides against them, that Edward felt it necessary, as stated in the text by Mulmsbury, to apply to Godwin for assistance. This is a supposition that is strongly corroborated by the words of William of Jumieges, who says that "Harold in dying nominated Edward as the heir to his entire kingdom; but that at the moment, the haughty, artful Godwin was the most powerful person in the monarchy; that he actually ruled over a great part of the country, which was subjected to him, either on account of the high rank of his family, or because

It was in the year of our Lord, 1042, that Edward, the son of Ethelred, was placed in possession of the kingdom

he had mastered it by main strength, or overcome it by perfidy; that Edward therefore, dreading alike the power, and the unceasing artifices of this formidable individual, did under the advice of his Normans, whose faithful suggestions constituted his strength, graciously pardon him the horrible assassination of his brother Alfred; and in order that a solid and stable friendship might unite them together, he espoused, but only in form did so, Editha, the daughter of Godwin." (W. Gemiticens. lib. vii. c. 9. p. 652).

A very different account from that of Malmsbury is given by Bromton of the conduct of Godwin, and of his reconciliation with Edward. According to Bromton, Godwin was an exile in Denmark when Edward ascended the throne, and hearing of the tender and benevolent disposition of the monarch, he resolved upon coming back to England. We must continue the narrative in the words of Bromton:—

"Upon Godwin arriving in England, he hastened to London, where the King, and all the great men of the kingdom, were then holding a Parliament; and in London, Godwin besought of his friends and relations, who, next to the King, were the mightiest in the land, that they would endeavour to obtain for him the King's grace, favour, and friendship.

"These persons having held council amongst themselves, conducted Godwin before the King, for the purpose of procuring that which Godwin sought for. No sooner, however, had Edward looked upon Godwin, than he appealed him of the betrayal and death of his brother Alfred, in these words:—'Traitor Godwin, I appeal thee of the death of my brother Alfred, whom thou didst treacherously murder.' Godwin deprecatingly thus answered:—'My lord and King, saving thy grace, peace, and domination, I deny the charge, for I neither betrayed nor slew thy brother, and upon this matter I submit myself to the consideration of thy court.' The King then said:—'Dearest lords, earls, and barons, ye who are the liege men of my land here assembled, you have heard my appeal against Godwin, and his answer; I wish then that in this matter between us two, you decree a right judgment, and do that which is due to justice.'

"The earls and the barons upon this consulted with each other, and a great variety of opinions were promulgated, as to what was the best manner of delivering that which might be esteemed

of England, the affairs of which were administered by him for a period of nearly four-and-twenty years.* He was a man who, from the simplicity of his manners, seemed but little suited for command, but he was also one who was devoted to his God, and who was therefore guided in all his ways by God. Whilst he reigned, there

a just judgment. Some remarked, that Godwin never had been bound to Alfred by homage, service, or fealty, and therefore he was not a traitor to him, and besides this, he had never laid his hands upon Alfred to slay him. Others remarked, that neither earl, nor baron, nor any other subject of the king, could legally appear as a champion, or by a champion, in the lists upon the appeal of his own sovereign; but must totally and absolutely submit himself to the King's mercy, and tender to him what might be regarded as sufficient amends. Upon this last suggestion being made, Leofric, the Ealdorman of Chester, a good and honest man before God and the world, observed:—"The Earl Godwin is, after the king, the man of the mightiest parentage in all England, and it cannot be denied, that it was through means of his advice, that Alfred, the King's brother, was put to death, and therefore, I consider that what is best to be done under such circumstances is this, that he himself, and his son, and twelve more of us, who are earls, and his relations, should humbly proceed before the King, each of us carrying as much as he can carry between his two arms of gold and silver, and that we should offer the entire sum as a wite for Godwin's transgression, and humbly pray that the King will forego his hatred, rancour, and wrath against the earl, and that having accepted his homage and fealty, restore and deliver back to Godwin all his lands."

"All then in this manner loading themselves with treasures appeared before the King, and thus demonstrated what was the course and manner in which this matter had been disposed of by the judgment of his court. The King was unwilling to contradict that judgment, and therefore in every particular fully ratified it." BROMTON. Chron. pp. 937, 938. For a justification of some words used in this translation, see as to "Appeal." See SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure*, act v. s. 1; *Richard II.*, act i. s. 1, 3; *Antony and Cleopatra*, act iii. s. 5. And DUNCAN in verb. *vadium*, *considerare*, *consideratio curiæ*.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196. vol. i. p. 329.

was no domestic tumult that was not speedily suppressed by him; there was no foreign war; all things at home and abroad were quiescent, all tranquil; and what, perhaps, may appear extraordinary to be told of him as a King, he was so meek, so mild, and so gentle in his demeanour, that he would not even by a word hurt the feelings of the meanest man in his dominions. As a proof of this, it may be stated, that upon one occasion, when engaged in the pleasures of the chase, he discovered that a countryman had disarranged the stakes by which the stags were forced into the toils, he gave vent to his generous indignation by the words:—"I vow to God, and His Mother, if I ever have the opportunity, I will annoy you precisely in the same manner that you have annoyed me." Such was the expression of a noble, surpassingly good disposition; it was the expression of one who in such a case would not remember he was a King, and to whose mind the thought never suggested itself, that he could wrong or injure a person in the most abject condition of life.

For Edward there thus came to arise an extreme reverence amongst his own subjects, and a great fear amongst foreigners; for God so cherished his simplicity of heart, that the self-same man was regarded with awe, who could not be roused to anger.*

In all circumstances of his life, it was impossible for Edward to feel elated with human glory; for recognizing the goodness of God to himself, he constantly meditated upon the words of the Wise man—"They have made thee

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196. vol. i. pp. 329, 330.

“ ruler ; be not puffed up with vain glory ; be thou amongst them, as one of them.”* Laying down for himself this maxim as the rule of his life, his manners to those who were in personal attendance upon him, were those of one who seemed to regard them as perfectly his equals ; whilst in the presence of priests he was ever humble ; to the people always gracious ; to the wretched unceasingly compassionate ; and to those in want untiringly generous. In the worship of his God, the devotion manifested by him had in it something that was miraculous, and his solicitude for the building and the repair of churches and of monasteries was, it might be said, marvellous. In his dealings with his fellow-creatures there was no distinction of persons made by him : he judged the poor with justice, and he was the equitable advocate of the meek ones of this earth. Even at the moment that he sat upon the throne, an illustrious king, crowned with gold, and clothed with purple, his heart beat with tender love—the love of a father, for those who were in the condition of orphans, and his soul melted with pity for all who were left desolate as widows, for he was not merely their sovereign and their judge, but also their protector. His private treasury was regarded by him as the public property of all the world—the common stock and bank of the poor. What he possessed as a king, he estimated not so much as being his own property as belonging to every one who required assistance, and to be distributed among those who sought for aid. Diffident in taking, cheerful in giving, ever thoughtful of a service rendered and ever prompt in repaying it, there shone forth even in

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward Confes.* pp. 375, 376.

his person itself the interior sanctity of his spirit ; for there was suavity imprinted upon his countenance, gravity in his demeanour, and simplicity in all his actions. Dignified and cheerful in his discourse, his pure thoughts at all times embodied themselves in sweet expressions respecting our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and His Blessed Mother, and their names were ever in his mouth ; whether he felt it to be his duty to use them in terrifying the wicked, in soothing the impatient, in instructing the ignorant, or in consoling the sorrowful.*

No one had ever seen Edward inflated by pride, nor excited by passion, nor degraded by gluttony. His frank, his truthful, and his unsuspicious mind could be, and it was, sometimes so misled, that he might act like one who was ignorant of what ought in justice to be done ; † but never did he wilfully give place to the indulgence of a vindictive feeling, no more than he yielded to animal and impure impulses.

As to the chastity of Edward, it was a characteristic of his conduct so remarkable, as to surpass by its merits any terms that laudation could bestow upon it. In exile, in adversity, and in prosperity, it was his solace, his consolation, and his cherished companion.

* “ Sermo ejus ex quadam dignitate et hylaritate compositus, et Christi semper et beatæ matris ejus nominis suavitate conditus, nunc terrens, nunc blandiens, nunc erudiens, nunc consolans proferebatur.” AILRED.

† This observation seems to have reference to the conduct of Edward to his mother, for which fault is found with him by some of the monkish historians, although no allusion to it will be found in the pages of Ailredus. See MICHEL. note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 82.

In addition to all his other qualities, he was, and that in a manner which almost surpasses human credibility, a despiser of wealth, and neither to be rendered more sad by its loss, nor more joyful by its unexpected accession. A single instance of his extraordinary disinterestedness we feel bound to place before the reader, as it, at the same time, affords a proof of his wondrous unselfishness, his complete equanimity, and his unconquerable gentleness.

The anecdote which we are about to recount, is one that has long been embodied in the Anglo-Saxon language, and that has thus been made known to the world, and wherever it has been heard has given rise to different feelings—some wondering at Edward's simplicity as displayed in it, and others admiring him for his sanctity, as proved by it.*

King Edward had, upon one occasion, laid down upon his couch for the purpose of enjoying some repose, when, as it frequently happens, a thought arose in his mind which prevented him from falling asleep. Whilst he was thus lying, the steward came to the chest in which the royal treasure was guarded, and, as the occasion served, he either took away, or deposited money in it. On this occasion, having other duties to discharge elsewhere, he forgot, when departing, to shut up the chest. The circumstance was observed by a poor wretched boy who was employed in collecting the dishes that were placed on the table, and who then hurried over to the chest, took out of it an immense heap of coin, as much as he could well con-

* "Quod celebri sermone vulgatum Anglorum universo orbi innotuit: aliis regis simplicitatem ammirantibus, aliis laudantibus ejusdem sanctitatem." AILRED.

ceal in his dress, and then hurried off to place it where he conceived it might be securely hidden. The King was a witness to this transaction—he saw the boy return a second time, and repeat the offence: but when he came back the third time, and was on the point of attempting to do the same thing, the King, foreseeing, it may be believed, the approach of the person to whose charge the treasury was confided, and desirous to save the young thief from chastisement, said to him:—“Pert boy! what art thou about? Mark what I now say to thee; what thou hadst best do, is to take with thee what thou hast obtained and fly for thy life, for, I vow by the Mother of God, if Hugolin (for that was the name of the King’s treasurer*) should catch thee thus, he would not leave a single coin with thee.”

The boy fled, and his crime was not betrayed by the King, nor any pursuit of the criminal permitted. Scarcely, however, had the thief vanished from his sight, when the King’s minister returned, and repairing to the place in which the royal treasure was preserved, he was horrified upon observing to what a considerable extent it must have been pillaged. The paleness which overspread his visage, the trembling that shook his limbs, the shouts to which he gave utterance, and the sighs he vented forth, proved the anguish that filled his heart, and the fury that pos-

* “Hugelinus — hoc enim erat regii *Cubicularii* nomen.” *ALFRED Cubicularius*. “*Thesauri regii custos*.” *DUCANGE*. “Hugolin, Regis Cancellarius et dispensator.” *Nomina Normannorum quia floruerunt in Angliâ ante Conquestum*. *MASERES. Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* p. 367. “Even the Chancellor of the King was a Norman named Hugolin.” *LAPPENBERG’S Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 246.

sessed his mind. The King rose from his couch, and, as if ignorant of what had happened, asked what was the reason why he was so much agitated, and why so greatly disturbed. As soon as the treasurer had stated it, Edward replied :—" Say not another word on this matter. Perchance, he who took the money stood in far greater need of it than we do. Let him keep what he has; that which remains is enough for us."

What state of perfection could be greater, we ask, than that which this good King had attained? What eye more clear from seeing evil in the actions of his fellow-creatures than Edward's? What man or monarch was ever yet more meek and gentle than Edward, who not only saw himself despoiled of his substance, and patiently and silently looked on at the theft, and who moreover advised his own despoiler how he might best provide for his own safety? Each person is free to form what opinion he chooses on such a transaction; but in our judgment, that Edward should have given sight to the blind, that he should have cured the lame, that he should have restored to health the sickly, are wonders and miracles that confer less honour upon his memory, than this incident so demonstrative of his simplicity, disinterestedness, and longanimity.

Such an anecdote we deemed to be not improperly nor uselessly inserted here, and having so inserted it, we now return to the regular narrative of events.*

The year 1042 was remarkable, in many respects, for the severity of the season. The weather was constantly inclement, and the fruits of the earth were completely lost,

* Ailred. Vit. Edward Confess. pp. 373, 374, 375. (Twysden.)

and more cattle died from various diseases, or in consequence of the cold and storm, than had ever before occurred within the memory of mankind.*

The death of the Abbot Elsinus, of Peterburgh, occurred this year. The community chose as his successor Arnwy, because he was a very good and benevolent man.†

In this year also died, on the 12th of April, at Cologne, Helias, the Irish abbot, a prudent and truly religious man, and to whom was therefore entrusted the government of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, in addition to the monastery of St. Martin, which was his own. This Helias caused upon one occasion a most splendid Mass-Book, which had been written, without permission, by a French monk, to be burned in the monastery of St. Pantaleon; and he did this as an example, in order that all might know that a monk should not do anything without having first obtained permission from his superior.‡

Upon the first day of Easter, and the third of April, in

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1042.

† "Forthan the he waes swythe god man and swithe bileh-wit." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1042. vol. i. p. 197. "Ipse optimum missale librum monachi Franci sine licentia in commune scriptum * * igne consumpsit." Upon the virtue of "obedience" in all persons, see ALTENSTAIG. *Index Theologicum*. p. 214 b. 215 a.; and the miracles with which it was accompanied, when exhibited in an extreme degree by those in a monastic state of life, *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. p. 92. §. 14. p. 255. § 26. As to the vow of obedience, see HUEBER. *Menolog. SS. Ord. Minor.* Prolog. iv. § 1. pp. 35—39, and for examples of an adherence to it under extraordinary circumstances, pp. 629, 634, 653, 671, 682, 1190, 1065, 1318, 1354, 1366, 1370, 1715, 2366, 2368.

the year 1043, Edward was anointed at Winchester as King, by the Archbishops Edsy of Canterbury, Ælfrie of York, and most of the other bishops of England.* Archbishop Edsy, in consecrating him, admonished him as to the duties of his office well and wisely.† The holy precepts for guiding himself in the government of his kingdom, to which Archbishop Edsy on this occasion gave utterance, the King not only willingly retained in his memory, but readily, piously, and promptly fulfilled by his acts during the entire course of his reign.‡

Edward, upon his consecration as King, instituted a new custom, and confirmed it by his charter, namely, that as often as he himself, or any of his successors, the future Kings of England, should wear the royal crown in Winchester, Worcester, or Westminster, the master of the choir should receive from the royal household half a mark, and that there should be given to the monastery a hundred cakes of white bread,§ and a cask of wine. The charter bestowing these privileges is still preserved at Westminster.||

* F. WIGORN. a. 1043. vol. i. p. 197.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1043. The same authority states that the coronation was celebrated "with much pomp."

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 197. vol. i. p. 333.

§ "Sumnellos." *Annal. Eccles. Winton.* "Simenellos." BROMTON. "Panis similaceus vulgo *Simnel bread*. Cui parum abest nostratium panis ille, *Wastellus* olim dictus; vulgo, *Wastell-bread*." TWYSDEN. *Glossarium*. See also BRAND'S *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 7. (Ellis's edit.)

|| *Annales Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*, *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 290, 291. See BROMTON. p. 937. See MILNER'S *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 136. As to election and consecration of Edward as King, see ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 482. H. HUNT. lib. vi. p.

No sooner was Edward raised to the throne, and thus placed in the full possession of the regal dignity, than he endeavoured to prove by the great and fitting gifts he bestowed upon the monastery of Ely, that he was not in the slightest respect forgetful of the kindness which he had received within its walls when he was a boy;* for Edward, even whilst he was a baby in the cradle, had been carried by his royal father and mother to Ely, and there laid as an oblation upon the holy altar;† being at the time wrapped up in a round embroidered cloak composed of narrow circles of a lightish green colour; a decorative garment that was long to be seen there,‡ and as it was stated by the old men of the monastery who were present at the time, Edward was for a considerable period of time nurtured with other boys in the cloisters, and learned with them psalms and pious hymns.†

365. R. HOVEDEN. p. 439. S. DUNELM. *Hist. Reg.* p. 181. ÆTHELRED. p. 366. AILRED. p. 375. *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* p. 1651. *Chron. August. Cantuar.* p. 2346. KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 8. p. 2329. *Chron. Petriburg.* p. 46. (Giles.) *Hist. Ducis de Normand. Chron. Turonens.* SIOBERT, GEMBLAC. *Add. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 317, 346, 638.

* *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 91. vol. i. p. 210.

† "In cunabulis a patre rege et matre regina super sanctum altare oblatum fuerat." *Hist. Eliens.*

‡ "Adhuc ibi ostenditur." *Hist. Eliens.*

§ *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 91. vol. i. p. 210. (Ang. Christ.) The fact thus stated of Edward being made a participator in a religious ceremony whilst an infant, seems confirmatory of the extraordinary assertion of Ailred, (pp. 372, 373), that Edward had been elected as King, even before he was born. Ailred's portraiture of the youth of Edward agrees with that of the Ely historian: Jam in illa ætate frequentare ecclesiam dulce habuit, crebrius orationi incumbere, sacris missarum interesse sollempniis, visitandis monasteriis operam dare, quos sanctiores sciebat sibi monachos in ami-

The profuse generosity of Edward was for this reason manifested towards Ely, and it was such as to exceed all the munificence of all the Kings his predecessors. The many proofs of it will be found united in the charter bestowed by him.* This pious—this most pious sovereign, was anxious that what he had done for the benefit of Ely should have as its security that authority which is the fundamental principle of the entire church—and that the solemn proclamation of its future stability, should bear no other signature than that of Peter.† In order, therefore, that faith might overcome perfidy, truth falsehood, and that which was justly possessed might defy impeachment, the Pope Victor ‡ sanctified by his Holiness's name and authority the lawful donation of the sovereign, and signified, in the following terms, that the gift made should be alike irreversible and unassailable.

“ Victor, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our

citiam copulare.” *Vit. Edward Confess.* p. 373. As to the instances of Kings being educated in monasteries, see GOSSELIN. *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age*, Pars ii. c. i. § 37. vol. ii. p. 53. note 2. And in the admirable English translation by the Rev. M. Kelly of Maynooth, vol. ii. p. 47. (Library of Translations—Dolman, London, 1853.)

* Hujus quoque largitas supra omnium præcedentium regum munificentiam Elyensi se infudit ecclesiæ, dans ei universa quæ in subjecto continentur privilegio.” *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 91. A copy of the charter will be found in vol. i. pp. 211, 212, 213, 214. (Ang. Christ.) lib. ii. c. 92.

† “ Voluit enim rex piissimus inde institutionis suæ habere firmamentum, unde totius ecclesiæ processit fundamentum, et tanquam in futuræ stabilitatis oraculum, non alterum quam Petri adhibere signaculum.” *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 92. vol. i. p. 214. (Ang. Christ.)

‡ “ Pope Victor II. lived 1505—1057.” (Ang. Christ.)

“ dearly beloved son Edward King of the English, and to
“ all the nobles of his kingdom, health and apostolical
“ benediction.

“ That privilege, which by the apostolic authority of the
“ Church of Rome was in former times inscribed, and
“ which has on many occasions been attested and ap-
“ proved, as being invested in the monastery of Ely—a
“ monastery that your glorious ancestors, from pious
“ motives, and with generous gifts constituted—and which,
“ in accordance with your pious petition, we perpetuate,
“ with renovated stability confirm, and that as confirmed,
“ we now hereby ratify. We, therefore, do by our apos-
“ tolic authority order and command that the aforesaid
“ monastery be free, with all things contained therein, as
“ well as all that belongs, or is attached to it, cells, lands,
“ fields, pasturage, lakes, &c. ;* and all other things that
“ by charters or documents, or by the testimony of good
“ men, can be shewn to have been bestowed upon, or
“ conceded to such monastery by pious Kings or by any
“ one of the faithful, and which no person is to presume to
“ take from, to diminish, or to waste at any time, upon
“ any occasion, or under any pretence—and, moreover,
“ that no bishop, nor any person in authority, is to inter-
“ meddle with.

“ And if any one, moved by a spirit of malignity, shall
“ attempt to infringe upon the franchises of Ely, to con-
“ temn or reject our privilege, then let him stand con-
“ demned by God and all his saints, excommunicated by
“ us, and separated from the community of the faithful.
“ This be his doom, if he will not repent. Be it so. Be

* We omit here the usual terms employed for designating the various descriptions of property, and immunities.

" it so. It is decreed. Praise be to those worthy of laudation. Be this unchangeable. Fiat, fiat, fiat."*

In the course of the same year in which Edward had been crowned as king—that is, in the year 1043, and fourteen days before the festival of St. Andrew the Apostle (16th November)—Edward, accompanied by the Earls Leofric, Godwin, and Siward, made a hurried journey from Gloucester to Winchester.† In this latter city he appeared quite unexpectedly, and there, in accordance with the counsel given to him by the companions of his journey, he took from his mother whatever she possessed in gold, silver, gems, and jewellery, or other things of value; and this he did, either because, prior to his being made king, or subsequent to that event, she had given him less pecuniary aid than he desired, and had conducted herself with harshness towards him. Whatever was the cause for this conduct, this, however, is certain, that he commanded that sufficient should be allowed to supply all her necessary wants, and that she should be permitted to remain and pass a quiet, undisturbed life in Winchester.‡

* *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 92, 93. vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1043. vol. i. p. 197.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 197. This is the event in the life of St. Edward for which he is, apparently, liable to the most severe censure. It is differently told by some of the ancient historians, and the most fair manner of judging it, is by comparing their accounts with each other. The words of the Saxon Chronicle will be found to coincide in many points with those used by Florence of Worcester.

"And this year," observes the Chronicle, "fourteen nights before the mass of St. Andrew, it was advised the King, that he

In this year, Æthelstan, the Abbot of Ramsey, bade

and Earl Leofric, and Earl Godwin, and Earl Siward, with their retinue, should ride from Gloucester to Winchester unawares upon the lady; and they deprived her of all the treasures that she had, which were immense, because she was formerly very hard upon the King her son, and did less for him than he wished before he was king, and also since; but they suffered her to remain there afterwards. And soon after this, the King determined to invade all the land that his mother had of him in her hands, and took from her all that she had in gold and silver, and in numberless things, because she formerly held it too fast against him. Soon after this, Stigand was deprived of his bishopric, and they took all that they had of the King in his hands, because he was highest the counsel of his mother, and she acted as he advised, as men supposed." *Saxon Chronicle* (Ingram's translation), pp. 213, 214.

"Some things, however, occurred in the reign of Edward," says Malmsbury, "well calculated to obscure its glory—as, for instance, monasteries were deprived of monks, depraved judgments were delivered by perverse men, and his mother was, by his command, despoiled of the entire of her property. But Edward's admirers endeavoured to extenuate the censure justly attachable to such acts, by the declaration, that the destruction of monasteries and the wrongful judgments, so far from being within the intention of Edward, they were not within his knowledge—that they were attributable solely to the tyrannical disposition of Godwin and his sons, who abused so much the King's kindness towards them, as to deride him openly, and who were afterwards severely punished by him—even by the infliction of banishment—when he was informed of their crimes. As to his mother, that

‘She had but smiled with joy to see
Her son's sad years of misery—’

that she never out of her abundance contributed to the relief of his necessities, and seemed to be animated with a species of hereditary (Danish) hatred against her own son; for that she had always loved Canute the Dane when living, and lamented him more, when dead, than her first husband. Besides this, that she stuffed her purses with money collected on all sides, and in so doing, was utterly regardless of the claims upon her of the poor, to whom she could not endure giving a single coin, because by so doing she must diminish her hoard. Therefore that which was unjustly amassed could not, with any imputation of dishonesty,

adieu to this world.* He was a man calculated to win for himself the affections of others, and he was one, who

be taken away, since the purposes to which it was applied were to benefit those who were in want, and to supply the royal exchequer. Although the persons who made these assertions are entitled to much credit, still we have discovered that Emma was a holy woman, that she certainly expended her treasures in ornaments for the church of Winchester, and, perchance, also in the decoration of other churches." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196, vol. i. p. 331. That Edward's conduct could not be justified by accusations of avarice against Emma, we have already the proof, see reigns of Canute and Hardecanute in this volume, and the testimony of Malmsbury himself, when he says, that in the decoration of churches, "thesauros dilapidabat sanctitate prodiga." (Lib. ii. § 181, vol. i. p. 307.) The words ascribed by Ailred to Edward, shew that he felt he had been abandoned by his mother, from her love for the Dane:—"mater æmuli nostri nuptiis tradita ex hoste mihi victricum fecit." *Vit. Edward Confes.* p. 375. On the other hand, the words used in the *Encomium Emma* serve to shew, that the most cordial feelings of affection existed between the mother and son—"inviolabile viget fœdus materni fraternique amoris" (p. 36). These words were written not only during the life-time of Emma, but when Hardecanute was on the throne, and Edward his guest in England. Whatever then was the cause of the deprivation of her property by Edward, these the most ancient authorities coincide in stating, that the act does not bear the trace of personal animosity or vindictiveness—that what was done by the King was in accordance with the advice of his Raedesmen—"ut consilium ei dederant." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 197. "Man geraedde than cvnge." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1043. See S. DUNELM. *Hist. Reg.* p. 182. R. HOVEDEN. p. 439. R. HIGDEN. p. 277.

Whatever may have been the cause, and amongst them might be suggested the state necessity for seizing on the treasures of Queen Emma, for the purpose of enabling the King to repel the invasions of the Northmen, with which the kingdom was then threatened; and at the same time, of depriving the Danes of a spoil, with the existence of which they must have been acquainted, and the possession of which, in case they landed, they would seek

* R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 483. a. 1043. "Huic mundo valefecit." *Hist. Rames.* c. 103. p. 451.

when he had won them, directed them towards the benefit of the church, and thus reaped for it many rich harvests out of the abundance of laymen, and, doubtless, would have reaped many more, had fate permitted him to live. The lamentable manner in which a sudden death overtook him we have now to describe. This abbot had as a pensioner* a certain person, a native of Ireland, and who, when wasted by want, and his very flesh, as it were, consumed by years of starvation, and sunk into the very lowest squalor of beggary, had been taken into the monastery by Æthelstan, and there long fed by the abbot upon the scraps of food that were left, and his body refreshed with a more generous drink than the man had ever before been accustomed to. For some reason or another, Æthelstan had felt offended by the conduct of this person, and had

to obtain; still, the fact remains, that the pious Emma was deprived of her property by her own son, and that son the sanctified Edward. As far as we know, a sufficient justification cannot be found for this conduct, and therefore it must remain a matter for the condemnation of weak, wicked, and sinful mortals, for all time. Such is the homage which sanctity, otherwise unimpeachable, must pay to truth, and it is the duty of one, who writes history honestly, not to slur it over.—“L’obligation,” says a French hagiologist, “de représenter les Saints tels qu’ils ont été, plutôt que tels qu’ils ont dû être, ne m’a point permis de dissimuler leur fautes: je n’ai point fait difficulté d’exposer leur faiblesses et leur défauts contre le sentiment de ceux qui prétendent qu’il ne doit entrer rien que d’édifiant dans la composition de la vie des Saints.” *Les Vie des Saints*, vol. ii. Avertissemens, § 9. p. v.

W. Malmsbury mentions, that at the time that Emma was deprived of her treasures, the head of St. Andrew was surreptitiously removed to the monastery of Malmsbury by a goldsmith, who gave it to his brother, a monk, to keep for him. *De Pontif.* lib. v. pp. 371, 372. (Gale.)

* “Præbendarium.” See DUCANOE, in verb. *Præbendarius*.

therefore, given directions that the allowance of food apportioned to him should be received out of doors, and that access to the private hall, or an association with others at the common table, should be equally denied to him. On this account, the wrath of the stranger was greatly excited, for, as it is observed by the Wise man, "he who feeds his servant delicately, will afterwards find him contumacious;" and the goads to a fierce and unmitigated contumacy must assuredly have always been at that man's heart, when they urged him to his own utter and complete destruction, by glutting his vengeance in the blood of his benefactor.

It was upon St. Michael's day, and at the very moment when the monks were singing the evening hymn,* and that, in accordance with ancient custom, they were walking in procession to the cross stationed in the nave of the church, that the detestable assassin planted himself near to the church door, and there awaited the abbot, who he knew would be the last in the procession; and then upon the abbot at last advancing towards him, and when no other thoughts but those of innocence and of devotion filled his mind, the fatal steel was plunged with the strength of a desperate man deep into his entrails!

The wounded abbot no sooner felt the injury that had been inflicted, than he sought, by the compression of his hands upon his gashed stomach and his lacerated bowels, to stay the torrents of blood, which threatened, as they flowed from him, to carry away with them his existence. As to the perpetrator of this foul deed, he was at once felled to the earth by the buffets of many fists, his hands

* "Fratribus vespertinam synaxim celebrantibus." *Hist. Rames.*

tied, and his feet fettered. In a moment, the joyous hymn of the monks was converted into lamentation, as they carried in their trembling arms to the infirmary their now fallen father, whose face was impressed with the paleness of death, and whose eyes were to the last fixed upon them.

In the infirmary the abbot laboured in his agony until the morning of the following day, when he attained, in a fitting state of mind, that end which is the happy doom of all good Christians; for then, bestowing his peace and his blessing upon all, and not only pardoning his slayer, but earnestly and affectionately interceding for him that he might be freed from his bonds, Æthelstan had done with life, its toils, its troubles, and its griefs!

The circumstances connected with the death of Æthelstan instantly got bruited abroad, and the consequence was, that the prayers of that pious man, and the wishes which his tenderness and humanity had given expression to on behalf of his murderer, were of no avail; and the just punishment which the law has assigned to such criminals was inflicted on the sacrilegious miscreant.

No sooner were the remains of Æthelstan consigned to the earth, than Alfwin was, by the election of the monks, and with the approval of King Edward, made Abbot of Ramsey—an office which he discharged for a period of nearly eight-and-thirty years.*

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 103. p. 451. In this incident, it must be admitted that an Irishman plays a very sorry part. As a contrast, however, to the conduct of the beggarly kerne, we may be permitted to insert here an anecdote, respecting another Irishman, that finds a place in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, and which he gives under the date of this year 1043. The anecdote is as follows :—

It was in this year (1043)* that the Earl Leofric, a very devout man, and an ever-bountiful bestower of alms, the

“Animchadus, an Irish monk, and a recluse in Fulda, died on the 30th of January in this year. Over this man’s tomb lights were seen and hymns were heard. Marianus, the author of the Chronicle, who for ten years was under his superintendence (ad pedes ejus stans inclusus), and who said masses at his sepulchre, mentions these circumstances with respect to the above-named Animchadus. ‘This man,’ says Marianus Scotus, ‘when he was in Ireland, and in an island named Keltra, did, upon a certain day, receive and (with the permission of his superior, named Cortram,) hospitably entertain a few monks who came to the island. Some of these, having partaken of the food that was placed before them, went away; the others remained, and whilst they sat warming themselves at the fire, they asked Animchadus for something to drink, and when they found that he was unwilling, without permission, to bestow it, they urged him to yield to their request. At length he consented; but before, however, he bestowed it, he sent a portion of the potation to his superior, as if begging his benediction upon the draught. Upon the following morning, the superior inquired of Animchadus why he had sent the potation, and then Animchadus told him all as it had actually occurred. On the instant, and for this fault only, Cortram ordered Animchadus to depart from Ireland—an order which the latter with great humility fulfilled, and so came to Fulda, where, as has been already stated, he lived holily as a recluse, and where he died. This fact,’ says Marianus, ‘Tigernah, my superior, told to me, when I committed some small fault in his presence. And whilst I was a recluse in Fulda, I heard this fact also: a certain very religious man in the same monastery, named William, had prayed the aforesaid Animchadus, then buried, that he would bestow his blessing upon him: and, as he afterwards assured me, he saw the same night Animchadus, in a vision, standing up in his sepulchre, shining with an intense refulgence, and with his hand extended over him, making the sign of benediction upon him—and all that self-same night I myself inhaled a most fragrant odour. So says Marianus.” F. WIGORN. a. 1043. vol. i. pp. 197, 198. See *Marianus Scotus, Chron.* a. 1043, in *PISTORIUS. Veter. Script. Germ.* vol. i. p. 450. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.), vol. ii. p. 1055.

* In adopting this date we follow Alford. See *Annal. Eccles. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 521, a. 1043, § 12.

founder, as well as the benefactor of many monasteries, acting upon the instigation of his wife Godiva, one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful woman of her time, as she certainly was one of the most sanctified and pure of heart, enriched to an immense extent, and that by extraordinary and costly gifts, the monastery of Coventry.* This monastery had been originally constructed by the truly illustrious Leofric and his wife Godiva; and so remarkable was it rendered by them for its display of gold and silver ornaments, that the walls of the church seemed too confined fitly to contain all the treasures that were piled up within their precincts. So very rich was it made, that it dazzled the eyes of the spectators, as if what they looked upon was not a thing of every-day life, but a miracle.† In the entire of England there was not to be found a monastery so abounding in gold and silver, in jewels, and in precious vestments for the altar and the priesthood.‡

As to the vill of Coventry, it was a place which the Countess Godiva, the ever-devout and loving suppliant of the Mother of God; had long been anxious to free from

* INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 57.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iv. p. 289.

‡ "In tota Anglia non inventum fuit cœnobium adeo abundans in auro et argento, in gemmis vel vestibus pretiosis." R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 497. It is melancholy to contrast such words as these with the following:—

"At the dissolution, Dugdale informs us that the church of this monastery, though a most beautiful cathedral, and the mother church of the city, yet escaped not the rude hands of the destroyers, but was pulled to pieces and reduced to rubbish." DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*. vol. iii. pp. 186, 187, 188. See also, p. 189, 199. (Ellis's Ed.)

the servile tribute to which it had been subjected.* With this intention she addressed her earnest prayers to her husband. She besought of him, by his love for Jesus Christ and His Holy Mother, that he would free the vill from its servitude and the heavy exactions to which it was subjected; and when the earl rebuked her because she asked him for that which it would be injurious for him to concede, and when he even prohibited her from again importuning him upon such a matter, and when she, with what seemed a female's wilfulness, still persevered in her entreaties, he, in a moment of exasperation, thus replied to her:—"Mount naked upon thy horse," said he; "ride thus through the market of the town, from one end to the other, when the people are congregated together; and when thou hast returned from such a ride, then hope to obtain what thou now hast asked for." "And if I should do so," asked Godiva, "wilt thou grant my request?" "Yes; I will grant it," answered the earl.

Upon the moment, the pious and devout countess, accompanied by two of her attendants, loosed her long and flowing tresses so as to cover her entire person, otherwise naked, as if she were concealed by a veil, and so that no portion of her could be seen but her snow-white legs, and thus rode she through the town, and then returned rejoicing to her husband, who, struck with admiration at what she had done, immediately complied with her request.

And thus came the vill of Coventry and its men to be freed from servitude; and the enfranchisement then be-

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 497. See BROMTON. p. 949.

stowed upon them by the Earl Leofric, he confirmed by his charter.*

Coventry was not the only place thus favoured. Worcester and St. Mary's of Stone, the Virgin St. Werburga's of Leicester, the churches and the monasteries of Evesham, Wenlock, and Lena, the same earl, by the suggestion of Godiva, magnificently enriched, and splendidly endowed, with lands, buildings, and various ornaments.†

It is, however, in the two porches of Coventry monastery that rest the remains of the founders—of that truly excellent married couple—both renowned, but the more famous for ever must be the wife‡—the woman who, whilst living, had heaped up such vast treasures in that holy place, and who, when dying, bestowed upon it a circlet of jewels, each attached to the other by a thread,

* “Unde Leofricus Coventreiam a servitute et malis customis et exactionibus liberavit et cartam suam inde confectam sigilli sui munimine roboravit, de quo adhuc isti pauperes mercatores ad villam accedentes plenarie sunt experti.” BROMTON. p. 949.

“Tradition says, the privilege of cutting wood in the Herdnolls by the parishioners of St. Briavel's castle, co. Gloucester, was obtained of some Earl of Hereford, then lord of Dean Forest, at the instance of his lady, on the same hard terms that Lady Godiva obtained the privileges for the citizens of Coventry (Rudder's History of Gloucester, p. 307). The remission of the tolls by Godiva's unremitted intercession was commemorated in the portraits of herself and her husband set up in the south window of Trinity Church in the reign of Richard II., with this inscription:—

‘I, Luricke, for the love of thee,
Doe make Coventre tol free.’”

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*. vol. ii. p. 463. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*. vol. iii. pp. 177, 178, note k. (Ellis's Ed.)

† R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 497, 498. See S. DUNELM. p. 189. BROMTON. p. 949.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iv. p. 289.

and that was so used by her, that beginning with the first, as she touched each gem, she said particular prayers, and so proceeding from gem to gem, there was no chance of neglecting the number of prayers she desired to repeat.* This circlet of gems she directed should be hung upon the neck of the image of the Blessed Mary.†

* “Circulum gemmarum, quem filo insuerat, ut singularum contactu singulas orationes incipiens numerum non prætermitteret.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.*

† “Hunc ergo gemmarum circulum collo imaginis sanctæ Mariæ appendi jussit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.* lib. iv. p. 289. He adds, that the value of the circlet was a hundred silver marks. The circlet of gems placed by Godiva upon the image of the Blessed Virgin was manifestly that which would now be called “the beads for reciting her rosary;” and the fact is of some importance, as demonstrating that the use of the rosary in the Catholic church was long prior to the year 1208, when it was established under very extraordinary circumstances by St. Dominick. It is even said that the venerable Bede may be regarded as its author, and *the beads* so called in honour of his name. See a very interesting and learned disquisition on this point by G. CUPER. *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. pp. 423—437, §§ 339—412. BERGIER. *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. vii. pp. 194, 195, in verb. *rosaire*. To those who are not Catholics, the meaning of the words “beads” and “rosary” may not be sufficiently known; and we therefore insert here their signification, as they are given in a work that ought to be in the hands of every Christian.

“What is the meaning of the beads?”

“It is a devotion consisting of a certain number of Our Fathers’ and Hail Marys’, directed for the obtaining of blessings from God, through the prayers and intercession of our Lady.”

“What is the meaning of the rosary?”

“The rosary is a method of saying the beads, so as to meditate upon the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ; and it is divided into three parts, each part consisting of five mysteries, to be contemplated during the repeating of five decades or tens

In the year 1044, King Edward, ten days before the feast of Candlemas,* took to wife Edgitha, the daughter of Earl Godwin †

At this time Edward was firmly established upon the throne, and King and people were alike in the enjoyment

upon the beads. The first five are called the five joyful mysteries: viz. the Annunciation, when our Lord was first conceived in his mother's womb; the Visitation, when the Blessed Virgin visited her kinswoman St. Elizabeth, and by her was declared blessed among women, &c.; the Nativity of our Lord; his Presentation in the temple, together with the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; and his being found in the Temple in the midst of the doctors, &c. The five next are called the dolorous or sorrowful mysteries, as having relation to the passion of Christ; and are, his Prayer and Agony in the garden; his being scourged at the pillar; his Crowning with Thorns; his Carriage of the Cross; and his Crucifixion and Death. The five last are called the five glorious mysteries: viz. the Resurrection of our Lord; his Ascension into Heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost; the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; and her Coronation, together with the eternal glory of the saints in the kingdom of Heaven." CHALLONER'S *Catholic Christian Instructor*, c. 25, pp. 204, 205. (Dublin Ed. 1824.) See BUTLER'S *Feasts and Fasts of the Church*, vol. i. p. 135, (Dublin, Duffy, 1852.) See, also, a very curious book, printed at Ghent, in two volumes, in the year 1655, with this title: "Historie van 't Beghinsel, voort-ganck, utnemenhoden, Gratiën, Aflaten, ende Mirakelen, van het doorluchtigh ende Wyt-vermaert Artsch Brœderschap, des H. Roosen-Crans, van de Alder-heyleghste altigt Maghet ende Moeder Godts Maria doon P. Æ. de Lalaing der Predichers orden."

Alford places in this year the bestowal of a charter by King Edward upon the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury. See vol. iii. p. 520, a. 1043, § 7.

* The second of February—the ancient festival of the church in honour of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, and "in the memorie of Christe, the spirituall lyghte, when Simeon dyd prophceye, as it is redde in the churche that daye." See BRAND'S *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 43—51. DUCANGE. in verb. *Candelaria*.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1044.

of peace, and the possession of prosperity.* At such a time the nobility had become solicitous as to the due succession to the throne, and they had recommended to the sovereign that he should enter the state of matrimony. The proposition had filled Edward with fear, lest it should lead him to lose that perfect purity which he had up to that moment preserved. Under such circumstances he knew not what to do. If, on the one hand, he obstinately refused to comply with such a request, he was apprehensive that he must disclose the secret but fixed resolution he had made; and on the other hand, he was filled with terror at the thought, that when married, he might not have the strength to adhere to his resolution.

In season and out of season Edward was urged to marry; and at last, deeming it to be for the best to yield to the importunities addressed to him, he, in the following words, commended the care of his virginal purity to the Lord:—

“ Good Jesus! Thy mercy in former times preserved
“ uninjured three youths in the midst of the furious Chal-
“ dean flames. Through Thy aid the temptations of a
“ harlot were resisted by Joseph, and he won, from the
“ victory to which he had been exposed, the title of
“ ‘ Chaste.’ By thy assistance the admirable constancy of
“ Susanna triumphed over the immodest elders, and with
“ Thee the wondrous chastity of the sanctified Judith
“ continued stainless and unshaken, although surrounded
“ on all sides by the gorgeous feasts and rich wines of
“ Holofernes, and her woman’s hand was armed with
“ steel against the head of an accursed tyrant, and an entire
“ city was liberated from a besieging foe. But, in addi-

* AILRED. *Vit.* Edward Confess. p. 377.

“tion to all these examples there is one that excelleth
“every other—thou thyself didst desire, that Her, from
“whom we derive the sole hope of this world, that our most
“sweet Lady, Thy mother and Thy spouse, should be a
“Virgin, and that Her chastity should ever remain
“pure and intact. Behold me then Thy servant, the
“son of Thy handmaid, to the utmost of my ability
“devoted to Thee and to Thy mother; not from any pre-
“sumption venturing to do aught that may be regarded as
“like to what Thou hast done, but humbly, fearfully,
“tremblingly, aspiring to imitate Thee in this respect.
“Thou, therefore, oh! Lord, son of our Virgin Lady,
“protect; me and thou our Lady Virgin, and mother
“of our Lord, help me; so that even in marriage, my
“virginal purity may remain scathless and secure.”

The King yielded his assent to the prayer of his nobles, and there was then the enquiry made as to what maiden who from her high rank, her accomplishments, and her virtues, might be deemed worthy to be associated with the sovereign.

Amongst the mighty men of the kingdom, the most powerful was Earl Godwin. Possessed of immense wealth, and gifted with a marvellous astuteness, the betrayer of Kings, and a traitor to his native land, an eloquent speaker and a consummate dissembler, he had the art of leading the fickle multitude to give its support to whatever faction in the state he might be disposed to favour; but as from the thorn there springs the rose, so was Godwin the father of the fair Edgitha—his child according to the flesh, but so endowed by the grace of God as to be a marvel of sanctity. Edgitha then was the spouse that the Lord himself seemed to have prepared for

His beloved Edward—inspiring into her heart from her very infancy a love of chastity, a hatred of vice, an affection for virtue. In her girlhood Edgitha exhibited the prudence of a sage woman—and at all times the privacy of her chamber was sought for, and the public sight avoided by her. In the retirement of her own apartment no moment was lost by Edgitha in idleness, and there was never felt by her the tedium that associates itself with indolence ; for it was her constant practice to spend her time in reading, or in labouring with her hands in ornamenting vestments with a skill that was truly wonderful, embroidering silks with gold, and imitating so well in her work whatever object pleased her, that her needle seemed to be endowed with the powers of the limner's pencil ; and by such an occupation, as well as by pious meditation, she avoided every notion of impurity, and escaped all the dangers of the idle conversation of the young.*

* “ *Ubi non dissoluta ocio, nec onerosa fastidio, legere aut operari manibus consuevit, ornare miro artificio vestes, sericis aurum intexere, quæque rerum imitari pictura ; tali opere ac meditatione vitare lasciviam, colloquia juvenum devitare.*” ALRED. Such were the employments of a virtuous maiden in the commencement of the eleventh century. The labours of embroidery, as we have already shewn, tended to the decoration of the churches, and the adornment of altars. Edgitha was not, however, a mere reader, nor alone skilful with her needle. The following is the testimony given respecting her by one who had seen and spoken with her :—

“ Edgitha, the daughter of Earl Godwin, who became the wife of Edward, was a most beautiful maiden. She was a first-rate scholar (*literis apripe erudita*) ; in her bearing, her manners, and every action of her life she was a most chaste virgin, whilst by her humility she was truly sanctified. She had not the slightest smack of the rudeness of demeanour that marked the conduct of her father or her brothers, but meek and modest, faithful and honest, she never offered the slightest injury or insult to any one ; and therefore there came to be written upon her the elegiac lines :—

Beautiful, by the charms of her countenance, she was still more beautiful on account of the lustre of her virtues.

By a marriage between his daughter Edgitha and the King, Godwin hoped to remove from the mind of Edward any animosity he might entertain for the murder of his brother, and the frequent treasons of which he had been guilty. Godwin thus hoped to pacify Edward's resentment, and to quiet his own fears; and for this reason he exerted all his influence with his own friends, and those who were on the most intimate terms with the sovereign, to induce him to accept his daughter in marriage. As to those courtiers who were the most warmly attached to the interests of the King, they were also persons who had already had bitter experience of the treachery of the Earl—they therefore feared him, and deemed it to be necessary for Edward's safety to secure the support of Godwin. Thus, therefore, it was, that though all parties were influenced by different motives, yet all agreed in the same result, viz, upon Edward's marriage with Edgitha.*

' As the sweet rose springs from the rugged thorn,
So was Edgitha of Earl Godwin born.'

(Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.)

I myself have seen her many times, (*vidi ego illam multotiens*), when, as a boy, I went to visit my father, who was then living in the King's palace, and very frequently when she met me coming from school she would question me about my literary studies and the progress I was making in them, and readily changing from the solidity of scholarship, to the quirps of logic, which she knew thoroughly well, she would entrap me in the subtle snares of argumentation, and then having bestowed upon me, through her little attendant maiden three or four pieces of money, she would send me to the royal ladder, which, with a good feast, I was always sure to leave." *INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 62.*

* The exposure of this court intrigue given by Ailred, is incon-

The nuptial festival was prepared in accordance with the wealth of the bride and bridegroom. The sacrament of marriage was completed with the blessing of the bishops, the maiden Edgitha was hailed as the wife, and then crowned as the Queen of King Edward. Bride and bridegroom met together: as King and Queen they came to a mutual agreement they would lead a life of perfect purity; and to the solemn mutual pledge they then gave, each to the other, they did not feel it necessary to have any other witness than God alone. She became his wife with a spiritual and not an earthly love; and he became her nominal husband to assist her in every work of charity.

* * * Some there were—those whose thoughts, like their hearts, are carnal—who ascribed this course of proceeding to the king's simplicity; and that having entered into the marriage state by compulsion, he would not become the perpetuator of a race of traitors such as he was allied with. A notion like this was, however, readily refuted by the fact of which all were witnesses—namely, that a love as pure as it was intense united together Edward and Edgitha. The fact, as it really was, we have deemed it right to insert in our history, in order, first, that no one may ever entertain a doubt as to the purity of the king, and next, that no one may controvert the pious motive in which that purity originated.*

sistent with the statement of Malmsbury of the compact entered into between Edward and Godwin.

* ALLRED. *Vit. Edward. Confess.* pp. 377, 378. As to the marriage of Edward and Edgitha, see W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg.*

In the year 1044,* Eadsy, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had long been confined to his bed by severe sickness, appointed as his vicar a certain person named Siward.†

In the same year died Brithwold, Bishop of Wiltshire,

Ang. lib. ii. § 197, vol. i. pp. 333, 334. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 483. BROMTON. p. 938. KNYGHTON. p. 2338. Chron. Turo-nens ; Hist. Ducs de Normandie ; Chron. Alberic Trium. Fort. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. xi. pp. 346, 347, 352. BUTLER'S Lives of the Saints, vol. x. p. 647. "La separation des corps ne servit qu' à unir plus étroitement leur cœurs et leurs esprits dans les exercices de la priere et des bonnes œuvres." Les Vies des Saints, vol. ii. p. 70. S. Edouard. (Paris, 1739.) "Perpetual virginity with the state of marriage ; an example very rare, though sometimes found in the Church of Christ, as an extraordinary effect of the power of divine grace, but never yet heard of anywhere else, but in the true Church of Christ." Britannia Sancta, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6. (St. Edward.) See HARPSFIELD. xi. SÆC. c. 3, p. 217. SMITH. Hist. Eccles. Ang. lib. iii. c. 19, § 2, p. 226.

* *Sax. Chron.*

† *R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 483, a. 1043.* The account given of this transaction in the *Saxon Chronicle* is curious, and serves to show that at the period in question, promotions in the Anglo-Saxon church were more influenced through the personal interest than the priestly virtues of the candidates for high office :—

"This year," remarks the *Saxon Chronicle*, "Archbishop Edsy resigned his see from infirmity, and consecrated Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, bishop thereto, with the permission and advice of the king and Earl Godwin. It was known to few men else before it was done; because the archbishop feared that some other man would either beg or buy it, whom he might worse trust and oblige than him, if it were known to many men." *INGRAM'S Translation*, p. 214.

"Siwardum sibi vicarium seu corepiscopum ascivit." Canon. Lichfeldens. de Success. Archiep. Cantuar. in *Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 106.* See also p. 107, for a full account of Siward, collected from the ancient authorities. The *Saxon Chronicle* states that Siward was succeeded as Abbot of Abingdon by Athelstan—"Cyric-Weard," and that Stigand returned to his bishopric this year. See *F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 199.*

having occupied the see for no less a period than thirty-eight years.* The body of Brithwold was buried in Glastonbury, a monastery that he had richly endowed with many lands and gifts,† even whilst he exhibited his great liberality to the monastery of Malmsbury.‡

Upon the death of Brithwold, Edward immediately bestowed the bishopric upon Herman, his chaplain,§ who was by birth a Fleming.|| Either this Herman's notions of the dignity of a bishop were too exalted, or the poor

* *Sax. Chron.* F. Wigorn. a. 1045, vol. i. p. 199.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 249. A list of the gifts made by Brithwold to Glastonbury is mentioned by William of Malmsbury in another place. They consisted of priests' vestments of various kinds, embroidered with gold and jewels, "auro et gemmis," of chalices composed of silver and gold, and two copies of the Gospels, "textus Evangeliorum duos;" with these there was a gold and silver thurible, candelabras, &c. The gifts to which, however, the most value was attached, were three reliquaries, as the following words of the author testify: "Scrinia tria Sanctorum Guthlaci, Georgii et Oswaldi. In quo sunt hi versus.

" Exiguus præsul Brithwoldus onomate dictus.
Arehonti Domino, nec non matrique Mariæ,
Confert exiguum devoto pectore munus,
Ecclesiæ veteri transmittens Glastoniensi,
Dulcia perpetuæ capeat quo gaudia vitæ."

W. MALMSB. *Antiq. Glaston.* pp. 325, 326. (Gale.)

‡ "Nostro quoque monasterio perliberalis." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.* Brithwold's great sanctity entitled him to canonization. See *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. ii. p. 446. He is already referred to in this volume as having had a vision at the time that St. Edward was in exile, that he would be elected to the throne.

§ "Capellano suo." W. MALMSB. "Cynges preost." *Sax. Chron.*

|| "Natione Flandrensi." W. MALMSB. "De Lotharingia oriundus." F. WIGORN.

circumstances in which he found his see did not correspond with his cupidity ; for no sooner did he discover that there was not a chapter of canons at Ramesbury,* nor the means wherewith to subsist, than he petitioned the king that the man who was honoured with such a dignity by his sovereign should not be permitted by the same sovereign to live in a mode that was unbecoming his position.† He therefore requested that the king would bestow upon him Malmsbury monastery, as the abbot had then chanced to die at that time, and his decease afforded the pretext for such a request. King Edward, whose conduct was always characterised by a greater simplicity of heart than of foresight as to consequences, supposed that what was thus asked might be legitimately conceded, and therefore assented to that which, ere three days had elapsed, he was compelled to recal ; for, before Herman was able to gain possession of the monastery, the monks (men remarkable for their prudence), having heard of what was in agitation at court, and fearful that justice might be defrauded of what was its due, repaired in all haste to Earl Godwin and his son. Both were moved with a fitting resentment against such an unworthy proceeding. With these feelings they addressed themselves to the king, and induced him to revoke the concession he had made. The task was not a very difficult one to accomplish, when there combined to secure its success men possessed of the wealth and power enjoyed by Godwin and his son, a just cause, and a

* See, as to this monastery, CAMDEN's *Britannia*, vol. i. pp. 137, 162.

† " Ut qui se dignatus honore fuisset, non inhonorum victitare permetteret." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont.*

pure-hearted king to pronounce the decision. And thus was Herman expelled from the monastery, before he had been formally invested with its possession.* Confused by the shame of this defeat, and indignant because he had been exposed to it, Herman abandoned England.

Influenced by the vexation he had endured, and conscious that his secular interests had not prospered, Herman in an angry mood renounced his hopes of fortune and his chances of success in this world, by becoming a monk in the monastery of Saint Bertin; but that happened to him which occurs to most others who, under the excitement of a fugitive feeling, take the vows of a religious. His ardour cooled, and his zeal abated, whilst his thoughts of England, and of a return to it, daily increased in strength. He who had long been accustomed to have others to wait upon him, who had been delicately nurtured, could not but feel the want of those comforts to which he had been accustomed from his infancy, and therefore the news was received by him with welcome of a vacancy being occasioned in the see of Sherborne by the death of Alfwold, it being a bishopric which, upon a vacancy occurring, had been promised to him by Edgitha, when he first arrived in England. This bishopric was, therefore, eagerly sought for, and the hope of obtaining it was speedily realized. Godwin, who was most feared by Herman, had departed, and his son (Harold), who was then seeking to

* The proper course of conduct adopted by Godwin and Harold in maintaining the liberties of Malmesbury, is referred to by its historical monk in another of his writings: "Hermannus Episcopus vacantem Abbatiam sede sua implere cogitavit, sed prævenerunt conatum suam monachi, fautoribus Godwino et Haraldo comitibus." *De Pont.* lib. v. p. 372 (Gale).

be adopted as the king's heir, readily complied in this, as in so many other things, with the expressed wishes of Edward. Herman thus came to be appointed to the whole and undivided see of Sherborne, to the possession of which three villis were added by gift from King Edward.

Herman outlived his royal benefactor, and was Bishop of Sherborne in the reign of William. It was in the reign of William that a canon was promulgated, in accordance with which all bishops' sees were transferred from villis to cities. In compliance with this canon, Herman removed from Sherborne to Salisbury Castle, situated on an eminence, defended by a great wall, and well supplied with all sorts of provisions, but labouring under such a want of water, that that great necessary of life is bought and sold, and made the subject of a miserable traffic. In this place a new cathedral was commenced by Herman, but death, which overtook him at a good old age, prevented him from witnessing its dedication.*

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. pp. 249, 250. We have inserted the account of Herman, as he is the first of the "foreigners" to whom the favour of St. Edward was shewn. The partiality of the King, it will be found, by the subsequent pages, provoked hostility at the time, and entailed upon his memory the censure of the ancient monkish historians. We cannot now part from Herman, without referring to the praises bestowed upon his successor, Osmund, for his munificence, his patronage of literature, and his personal virtues. A few lines from the original will be sufficient to justify the praises bestowed :—

"Veruntamen succedente sibi Osmundo viro probatissimo ecclesia ad summam deducta, et cætera, quæ competeabant, adaucta. Clerici undecunque literis insignes venientes non solum libenter retenti, sed et liberaliter coacti ut remanerent. Denique emicabat ibi magis quam alias canonicorum claritas cantibus et literatura juxta nobilium: *librorum copia conquista, cum episcopus ipse nec scribere, nec scriptos ligare fastidiret, castitate præeminens,* *

In the year 1045, "there was very great hunger over all England, and corn so dear as no man remembered before; so that the sester of wheat rose to sixty pence, and even further."*

In the year 1045, died Elfward, Bishop of London.† Elfward was at the same time both Bishop of London, and Procurator of Evesham monastery.‡

Elfward was in the eleventh year discharging his episcopal functions, when he was seized with such a severe sickness, as to make him despair that he could ever be cured;

* * Ambitionis immunis sua stulte non perdere, aliena non querere." *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 250. See as to Salisbury, vol. i. pp. 150, 151 of this work.

Amongst the Ecclesiastical events of this year, the following is recorded by the *Saxon Chronicle*.

"This year, Walfric was consecrated Abbot of St. Augustine's, at Christmas, on the mass-day of St. Stephen, by the King's leave, and that of Abbot Elfstan, by reason of his great infirmity." INGRAM's translation, p. 215.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1045. INGRAM's translation, pp. 214, 215. The famine here alluded to, did not confine itself within the limits of England. Reference to the desolation it caused will be found in the Annals of France and Germany, see Hepidan. M. S. Gall; Herman. Contract; Sigebert. Gemblac; Chron. Leodiens, and Chron. S. Maxenti, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 9, 19, 163, 202, 217. The words of the last-mentioned authority are worthy of being cited, as giving a terrible description of the effects of the famine-disease with which mankind was then afflicted:—

"Fuit magna fames grandisque mortalitas, ita ut homo aliquis satius pergeret quingentos passus; iterum mox esuriret et desideraret manducare: itaque satius moriebatur, aut vix evadebat mortis periculum."

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1045.

‡ "Londoniensis Episcopus et Eveshame procurator." *Hist. Rames.* c. 104. p. 451. "Et in episcopatu, abbatis jure, Eveshamnensi cœnobio præfuit." F. WIGORN. a. 1044. vol. i. p. 198. See DUCANGE, in verb. *procurator.* *Hist. Rames.* c. 95. p. 448.

and hence it was, as the ancient chroniclers assert, that he renounced the discharge of the duties of both offices, and by so doing afforded the opportunity to two others of being elevated to high positions in the church, that he had, when in health, alone occupied.* Although the Chroniclers are silent as to the cause of his illness, still the following report respecting it has been circulated, viz., that he had with presumptuous rashness dared to inspect the body of the holy virgin and martyr, St. Ositha,† which lay interred at Chich,‡ in his diocese; that he, moreover, had even presumed to remove from thence some

* *Hist. Ramesiens.* c. 104. p. 451.

† "Beatæ Osgithæ virginis martyris corpus." *Hist. Rames.* "St. Osithe, virgin and martyr, who was trained to sanctity by St. Modwenna, at Pollesworth, near the forest of Arden, in Warwickshire; afterwards, with the aid of her parents, she built a nunnery at St. Osiths, formerly named Chich, where serving her divine spouse, in all purity and religious perfection, she was at length martyred by the Danes, in the ninth age." *The Roman and British Martyrology*, p. 334 (Dublin, 1846). "A fountain is said to have broke out in the place where she was beheaded, which is seen to this day, near the town of Chich; and divers miracles are recorded to have been wrought by her intercession." *Britannia Sancta*, vol. ii. p. 164. See BUTLER's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. pp. 601, 602. CAPGRAVE. pp. ccxlv. b. ccxlvii. a. SURIUS. vol. v. pp. 616, 617, 618.

‡ "Below this" (Colchester), "where the Colne falls into the sea, is the little town of St. Osith, whose ancient name of Chich was sunk by that royal virgin, Osith. * * * Richard, Bishop of London, erected a religious house to her memory about 1120, filling it with regular canons. * * * The remains of Bishop Richard de Belmeis' foundation, valued at £677, is now the seat of the Earl of Rochford." CAMDEN's *Britannia*, vol. ii. pp. 124, 138. "Income, £758 5s. 8d., now worth £15,165 8s. 4d., granted 31st Henry VIII., to Thomas, Lord Cromwell, and after his attainder, to Sir Thomas Darcy, 5th Edward VI." COBBET. See DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. pp. 308—310.

of her relics, and that therefore, by the Divine Judgment, he paid the penalty of such awful temerity, for in a very short time after the perpetration of those deeds, turgid pimples burst out and so covered his entire face, as to make it one mass of distorted features; that these pimples dried up in a few days, and the skin then assumed the scabious, whited appearance of a leprosy. But as the causes of those accidents which lead to the destruction of the fragile health of mortals are manifold, we will not take upon ourselves to affirm the truth of the report to which we have thus referred. * * * Whatever might have occasioned the sickness of Elfward, whether it originated in accident, or was attributable to the vengeance of Heaven, there could not be any doubt as to the fact itself, that his body was corrupted with leprosy; that even whilst living, the greater portion of his person was prematurely rotted and dead, and that in this state he humbly sought permission, through messengers sent to the monks of Evesham, that they would allow him, who had until then, both by his office and his bishopric, presided over them, to hide himself even in the most obscure corner of the monastery, and there waste away in sickness, in silence, and in sorrow, the few days of life that still remained for him on this earth. This request was irreverently rejected by the monks of Evesham, who refused in the most positive manner to harbour Elfward; and he then gave expressions to his feelings by saying; "I will return to the bosom of my mother,* and where
" my boyhood first imbibed the rudiments of learning,

* Elfward had been originally a monk at Ramsey. See Hist. Rames. c. 93, 95, 96. pp. 447, 488 (Gale).

"there shall I seek for solace and repose in my old age ;
 "for maternal affection feels as little repugnance to the
 "health, as abhorrence to the diseases of its offspring."
 So saying, Elfward took with him all those things which
 he had previously deposited at Evesham—his ecclesiastical
 ornaments, and his pontifical books ;* and so laden, the
 poor patient repaired to Ramsey, where he was kindly
 received and tenderly nurtured by the monks, and in the
 course of the same year was by death relieved from the
 tortures of his afflicting ailments, and his body deposited
 in that place on earth, to which from childhood his eyes
 had been most familiar.

Amongst the other precious gifts that were brought at
 this time to Ramsey monastery, were the jaw-bone of
 St. Egwin, confessor and bishop, and the cowl of the most
 holy martyr Elphegus—the very cowl that he wore when
 he received his death-blow as a martyr, that was reddened
 with the rich stains of his sweet and illustrious blood, and
 that still retains them conspicuous to the eye as they
 must be dear to the heart, and attractive to the lips of
 every beholder.† The sagacious patient coming to the
 monastery with the oblation of such mighty treasures as
 these, invited all the brotherhood to meet him, and by
 bestowing upon them all the precious relics of which he
 stood possessed, he inclined the hearts of all to have pity
 upon him.

* "Quapropter, ablatis ex maxima parte libris et ornamentis,
 quæ ipse eidem contulerat loco et quædam, ut fertur, quæ alii
 contulerant." F. WIGORN. a. 1044. vol. i. p. 198.

† "Quas usque hodie et oculis conspicabiles, et osculis attrac-
 tabiles ostendit." *Hist. Rames.*

And thus it was that the monks of Eversham, by their heartless refusal of shelter and sustenance to their infirm father, conferred, and at their own expense too, great profit and advantage upon Ramsey monastery.*

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 104. pp. 451, 452. In this extract from the historian of Ramsey there is one passage omitted. It is where the old monk gives expression to a medical opinion, which we transcribe from the original, as it may interest those curious in such matters. "Ut enim quidam philosophus ait, quicquid nos in vitia morborum à naturali sanitate commutat facit aut nimii sanguinis pondus exæstuans, aut superfluous calor aut ultra naturalem modum humor exundans, aut spiritus per tacitos meatus non solita laxitate discurrens." Whatever amount of ignorance or of knowledge may be discovered in this passage, it will be proper to bear in mind that the monks were diligent in searching for the best books on medicine—that to obtain even a perusal of those books no toil was considered too great, and no danger so awful that it was not to be willingly encountered. There is not, perhaps, in ancient or in modern history, a narrative more interesting, as illustrative of this truth, than the account given by the French historian and medical monk, Richer, of a journey once undertaken by him to obtain the perusal of a single work on medicine. We translate this narrative of events that occurred in the year 951—a period of time, when it has been supposed (most erroneously) that monasteries were the abodes of contented ignorance. "My mind," says the monk Richer, "was much and deeply engaged in the study of literature, and I had, in accordance with that inclination, long entertained an ardent desire of having the opportunity of learning the logic of Hippocrates of Cos, when (about fourteen days before the arrest of Charles of Lorraine, the son of Lous d' Outre-mer.) I met in the city of Reims a horseman from Chartres. Upon being asked by me who and what he was, and why and wherefore he had come to Reims, he said, that he had come as a messenger from Heribrand, Clerk of Chartres, and that he wished to speak to Richer, a monk of St. Remi. As soon as I heard the name of my friend, and the subject of his message, I indicated to the stranger, that I was the person he came to seek; we then embraced, and betook ourselves to a private place (datoque osculo semotim secessimus). He then presented to me a letter, which was, I found, one inviting me to a perusal of the Aphorisms.

The death of Elfward occurred on Wednesday, the

" I was in no slight degree rejoiced at such a message as this ; and, therefore, taking with me a servant boy, as well as the Chartres horseman, I determined upon travelling to Chartres. The only assistance I procured from my abbot was the use of a single horse, generally employed for the purposes of draft (*unius tantum par varedi solatium*). Therefore, without money, without a change of clothes, and destitute of every thing necessary for such a journey, I arrived at Orbais, a place renowned for its great hospitality. There I was not merely delighted and refreshed by the conversation of the Abbot D., but was also considerably aided by his munificent gifts, and was able on the following morning to pursue my journey to Meaux. Upon entering the woods, however, with my two companions, we were involved in many misfortunes ; for deceived by its wild and broken openings, upon coming to two highways, we made a mistake, which carried us not less than six leagues out of our right road.

" By the time we had passed by Chateau Thierry, my cart-horse, which had at first seemed to have the paces of a Bucephalus, began to lag as lazily on his road, as if he were nothing better than a donkey. The sun had for a long time declined from the meridian, and as he approached to the horizon, the atmosphere was dissolved in rain. It was at this moment that our stout Bucephalus, completely wearied out by the hardships of his journey, sunk under the boy who was riding him—and the poor animal, as if it had been struck with lightning, expired on the instant. This happened when we were at a distance of six miles from the city (of Meaux).

" My extreme agitation, my great anxiety, can well be conceived by those who have been subjected to a misfortune like this ; and such, by their sufferings, can alone adequately estimate what mine must have been. The boy, inexperienced in the difficulties and dangers of a journey of such extent as this, lay utterly helpless on the road by the side of the dead horse. The baggage was there with none to move it ; a heavy rain came pouring down upon us ; the sky was covered with thick, dark clouds ; and the sun, in setting, seemed to threaten us with an universal darkness.

" Amid these doubts and difficulties the goodness of God was manifested in a prudent thought suggested to my mind. (*Inter hæc omnia, dubitanti consilium a Deo non defuit.*) I left the boy on the road with the baggage, I stated to him what he ought to say if he should be asked any questions by travellers, and strongly

25th of July, and at a general council which was held

urged upon him, that he should resist every inclination to sleep that he might feel. Having then the Chartres horseman as my sole companion, I proceeded to Meaux. I had scarcely light enough to see the bridge, and upon examining it, I found that I was again exposed to new and unexpected misfortunes. It was so much broken up, there were such immense holes in it, that it was with difficulty that the neighbours and friends of the citizens had been on the same day able to cross it in safety. The Chartres equestrian was, however, a ready and active man, and one well experienced in the dangers of travelling, as well as the proper means for surmounting them. He first sought on all sides for a boat, and having been unable to procure one, he then returned to the bridge, he looked to its perils, and then it pleased heaven, that through his means the horses should be passed over in safety. In some places, where there were immense holes, he covered them with his shield, so as to give a solid support to the feet of the animals—then he placed together the separated planks—and what with stooping, what with holding himself erect, what with keeping them close together here, and then separating from them, and at times retracing his steps, he was at last able to pass over with myself and the horses. (See Gregor. Turonens, lib. v. as quoted in Rer. Gall et Franc. Script. vol. ii. p. 283, shewing the miserable state of the bridge of Paris.)

“It was a dreadful night, and all around me was buried in complete darkness, when I entered the Church of St. Faro, and, it so happened, at the time that the monks were preparing the cup of charity (*fratribus adhuc parentibus potum caritatis*). They had that day had a solemn dinner, and had recited the chapter respecting the Dukes of a Cellarist of a monastery. (See Capit Ludov. Pii. Addit. i. c. 56. Cyprian. in Vit. S. Hilar. Arclatens.) These circumstances had delayed the preparation of the potation to so late an hour. By these monks I was received as a brother (*a quibus ut frater exceptus*) ; I was greeted with kind words, and refreshed with abundance of food.

“As to the Chartres horseman, he was on the instant sent back with other steeds, to encounter again the dangers of the bridge, in order that he might seek out and recover the boy I had been compelled to leave on the road. The man passed the bridge with the same happy skill he had previously exhibited, and then wandering, as it might be said, by chance, he was able to come up with the boy about the second watch of the night. Again and again did he call aloud for

about the same period of time at London, Wlmar, a religious monk of Evensham, was elected to act as abbot

the boy, before he was able to find him. He then brought the boy with him to the city; but upon arriving at the bridge, he was so fearful of exposing himself a third time to dangers that he had already with difficulty avoided, that he determined resting for the night, with his companion and the horses, in a poor cabin. They thus passed the entire night without food. They sought for repose and shelter, not for nourishment. How sleepless was the night I passed, and with what agonising cares it was troubled, can alone be imagined by those, whose anxiety for some one very dear to them, has made them wakeful, watchful, and miserable. At last the light of day appeared, and they at a very early hour presented themselves at the gates of the monastery, where they were found almost dead with hunger. Food was immediately given to them, whilst corn and straw were placed before the horses.

"I left my dismounted boy with the Abbot Augustine, and accompanied by the horseman, I soon arrived at Chartres. From thence I sent horses, and was thus able to have the boy back from Meaux.

"When the boy was back, and my mind relieved from every care, I set myself down to the earnest study of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates with Master Herbrand; a man as much distinguished for his politeness as for his great learning (*magnæ liberalitatis atque scientiæ virum*). In these Aphorisms, as I only learned the premonitory symptoms of diseases, and as such knowledge alone did not suffice for me, who was desirous to be acquainted with the nature of different maladies, I also wished for the reading of a book respecting the concordance between Hippocrates, Galen, and Suranus. This I obtained from Herbrand, for he was perfectly well skilled in the science to which he devoted his time. There was nothing in medicine, in pharmacy, in botany, or surgery, unknown to him (*dinamidia, farmaceutica, butanica, atque cirurgia non laterent*)."
RICHER, *Hist. lib.* iv. c. 50.

We have no apology to offer for the length to which this note extends, if the reader has not felt interested in its perusal, as a curious and valuable auto-biography of a monk in the tenth century, seeking for knowledge. Proofs of the medical science possessed by Richer will be found in his own work, lib. i. c. 11, 13, 18, 49, 56, 65; lib. ii. c. 37, 46, 59, 99, 103; lib. iii. c. 14, 96, 109; lib. iv. c. 24, 50, 94. See GAUDET (the Editor of Richer), p. xxiii. note 1.

over Evesham monastery, and was, as such, ordained, on the 10th of August, in the same year.*

Here it may be observed, that though King Edward had been born in England, he had been educated in Normandy, and had remained there such a length of time, that he had become Gallic in his taste and manners, and when he returned from Normandy to England, he brought with him several Normans, who were promoted by him to offices of high honour and dignity.† The principal person amongst these was Robert, a monk of Jumieges, who was made by him Bishop of London, and afterwards elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and next to Robert were William and Wulfelm, both chaplains of the King, the first of them being subsequently appointed Bishop of London, and the second Bishop of Dorchester. It was under King Edward was commenced the change that at a later period was confirmed by the Norman sovereigns, namely, the disuse of the Anglican customs, the imitation of the manners of the French in many things, the adoption of the Gallic language by the great men in their courts, and as the tongue most suited for those of exalted rank, the composition of charters and other documents in accordance with the practice of the Franks, and the repudiation of old habits, in a vast variety of things, to which reference shall be more fully made hereafter.‡

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 199.

† INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 62. "These Normans had been faithful and kind to Edward in the days of his adversity," "*qui olim inopiam exulis pauculis beneficiis levarant.*" W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 198, vol. ii. p. 334.

‡ INGULPHUS. Hist. p. 62.

As to Robert and the other Normans, the Anglo-Saxons long heaped contumely upon their memory,* affirming that they were the false accusers of Godwin and his sons; that Robert was not only a sower of discord, but the simoniacal purchaser of the archiepiscopal mitre, whilst Godwin and his sons were, in point of fact, brave-hearted men, full of zeal, of energy, and of talent in their defence of the kingdom of Edward; and that being so, it could not be a matter for marvel if they became indignant upon seeing obscure individuals—foreigners, too!—preferred to themselves—and yet never had they, notwithstanding the cause they had for being dissatisfied, given utterance to a harsh word against their sovereign. On the other hand, the Normans defended themselves from such charges as these, by declaring that Godwin and his son had conducted themselves with arrogance and treachery against the King, and his friends, who sought to vindicate his just rights and prerogatives in the government of the kingdom; that Godwin and his adherents too frequently took advantage of the simplicity of the King, and had but too often wounded his feelings by their flagrant gibes—that the Normans seeing this, could not patiently permit it to continue, and therefore, as a matter of duty, felt bound to destroy, as far as in them lay, the power of Godwin and his family.†

By such contradictory statements as these, our narrative is embarrassed, nor have we now the means of being able

* “Hunc (Robertum), cum reliquis, Angli moderni vituperant delatorem Godwini et filiorum ejus.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 197. vol. i. p. 335.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 197. vol. i. p. 335.

to determine with positive certainty on which side is to be found the whole, complete, and perfect truth. So obscured is it by the mutual hatred of two hostile races, who were placed in such a position towards each other, that the Anglo-Saxons were too haughty to yield to the Normans as their superiors, and the Normans too proud to recognize the Anglo-Saxons as their equals.*

In this year (1045)† Gunhilda, a noble matron, daughter of King Wyrtegeorn and of King Canute's sister, and then the widow of the two jarls, Hacon and Harald, was, with her two sons, Hemming and Turkhill, banished from England.‡ From England she proceeded to Flanders, and remained for some time in the city of Bruges, and from thence she went to Denmark.§

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 198. vol. i. p. 336. The difficulty of writing the reign of Edward, is thus well described by Malmsbury:—"Propter istas, ut dixi, altercationes periclitatur oratio, dum quod ex asse verum definiam non habeo, vel propter naturale utrarumque gentium dissidium, vel quia ita res se habet quod Angli aspernanter ferant superiorem, Normanni nequeant pati parem."

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1045.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1044. vol. i. p. 199. As to the marriage of Gunhilda with Hacon, see F. WIGORN. a. 1029.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1044. vol. i. p. 199. Herr Lappenberg connects the banishment of Gunhilda with the proceedings of Edward against his mother in the year 1043, when he deprived her of the treasures she had accumulated in Winchester, see *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 238. The greater probability is, that Gunhilda was discovered in a conspiracy to aid the invasion of her relative Magnus, and against which it will be seen preparations were made by St. Edward in 1045, the same year in which she was expelled from England. Previous to the abortive attempt of Magnus, Herr Lappenberg shews, that there had been a pretender to the throne, "Svend, the son of Cnut's sister, by Ulf,

It was in this year (1045) that Edward, King of the English, mustered in the port of Sandwich an immense fleet against Magnus, King of the Norwegians, who was at that time making preparations for the invasion of England. The contemplated expedition of the Norwegian king was prevented by war being waged against himself by Swein, king of the Danes.*

jarl, the brother-in-law of Godwini" (Vol. ii. pp. 236, 237). Lappenberg quotes as his authority, Adam Bremen. lib. ii. c. 57; lib. iii. c. 12. To this may also be added, BERING. *Florus Danicus*, pp. 234, 235. Of the Svend or Sweyne to whom allusion is thus made, it may be mentioned, that like the English Edwy, he married a person who was within the forbidden degrees, and in the Archbishop of Hamburg he encountered a St. Odo, who compelled him to repudiate his unlawful wife. The facts are thus stated by Adam of Bremen:—

" ——— oblitus est celestis regis et consanguineam a Suedia duxit uxorem. Quod domno archiepiscopo valde displicuit, furentemque regem, missis legatis, ad eum, de scelere terribiliter increpuit, postremo, nisi resipuerit, excommunicationis gladio feriendum esse minatus est. Tunc ille conversus in furorem, minatur omnem Hammaburgensem parochiam vastare et excindere. Ad quas minas imperterritus noster archiepiscopus arguens et obsecrans perstitit immobilis, donec tandem flexus Danorum tyrannus per litteras pupæ, libellum repudii dedit consobrinæ." *Gest. Hammab. Eccles. Pont.* lib. iii. c. ii. PERTZ. *Mon. Ger. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 339.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1045, vol. i. p. 199. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1045. R. HOVEDEN. p. 440. R. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 483. BROMTON. p. 938. KNYGHTON, p. 2330.

In *Konung Magnus then Godes Saga*, c. 38, 39. SNORRO. vol. ii. pp. 51, 52, 53, there is a more full but probably not as accurate an account given of this transaction as what is to be found in the English annalists. We adopt Mr. Laing's translation:—

" King Magnus ruled then both over Denmark and Norway; and when he had got possession of the Danish dominions he sent ambassadors over to England to King Edward, who brought to him King Magnus's letter and seal. And in this letter there stood, along with a salutation from King Magnus, these words:— 'Ye must have heard of the agreement which I and Hardecanute

In the year 1046 Earl Sweyn* proceeded to Wales,

made,—that he of us two who survived the other should have all the land and people which the deceased had possessed. Now it has so turned out, as ye have no doubt heard, that I have taken the Danish dominions as my heritage after Hardecanute. But before he departed this life he had England as well as Denmark : therefore I consider myself now, in consequence of my rights by this agreement, to own England also. Now I will, therefore, that thou deliver to me the kingdom ; otherwise I will take it by arms, both from Denmark and Norway ; and let him rule the land to whom fate gives the victory.’

“ Now when King Edward had read this letter, he replied thus : ‘ It is known to all men in this country that King Ethelred, my father, was udal-born to this kingdom, both after the old and new law of inheritance. We were four sons after him ; and when he by death left the throne, my brother Edmund took the government and kingdom ; for he was the oldest of us brothers, and I was well satisfied that it was so. And after him my stepfather, Canute the Great, took the kingdom, and so long as he lived there was no access to it. After him my brother Harold was king as long as he lived ; and after him my brother Hardecanute took the kingdom both of Denmark and England ; for he thought that a just brotherly division that should have both England and Denmark, and that I should have no kingdom at all. Now he died, and then it was the resolution of all the people of the country to take me for king here in England. So long as I had no kingly title I served my superiors, in all respects, like those who had no claims by birth to land or kingdom. Now, however, I have received the kingly title, and am consecrated king. I have established my royal dignity and authority, as my father before me ; and while I live I will not renounce my title. If King Magnus come here with an army, I will gather no army against him ; but he shall only get the opportunity of taking England when he has taken my life. Tell him these words of mine.’ The ambassadors went back to King Magnus, and told him the answer to their message. King Magnus reflected awhile, and answered thus : ‘ I think it wisest, and will succeed best, to let King Edward have his kingdom in peace for me, and that I keep the kingdoms God has put into my hands.’” LAING’S *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, vol. ii. pp. 397, 398, 399. See JOHNSTONE. *Antiq. Celtæ Scand.* pp. 184, 185, 186. TORFÆUS. *Hist. Norweg.* lib. iv. c. 3, vol. iii. pp. 233, 234.

* This Sweyn was one of the sons of the Earl Godwin.

and Griffin, king of the Northern Welsh, united his forces with Sweyn, and hostages were delivered to him. As Sweyn was on his way homeward he seized upon the Abbess of Leominster, and was guilty of sacrilege.* For this offence he had to abandon England.†

In the same year was outlawed Osgod Clapa, the Master of the Horse.‡

In the year 1046 died Lyfing, the eloquent bishop,§ on the 25th of March. He had held three bishoprics; one in Devonshire, one in Cornwall, and another in Worcester-shire.||

Lyfing, originally a monk at Winchester, had been appointed Abbot of Tavistock, and next a bishop in Crediton; and during the reign of Canute was admitted to terms of the closest intimacy with, and possessed considerable influence over that monarch.¶ He was the attendant

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1046.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1049, vol. i. pp. 201, 202. " — Edgivam Leof monasterii abbatissam, et eam matrimonialiter sibi disposuerat copulasse, sed a rege et proceribus impeditus, Angliam propter hoc, rege ipsum, relegante." BROMTON. p. 939. See S. DUNELM. p. 183. KNYGHTON. p. 2330.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1046. F. WIGORN. a. 1046, vol. i. p. 200. This was the Osgod Clapa, "the man of great power," at whose daughter's marriage-feast King Hardecanute had died suddenly. See F. WIGORN. a. 1042. For an account of his spoliation of the church of its lands, see *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 96, vol. i. pp. 216, 217, 218. (Ang. Christ.)

§ "Se wordsnotera biscop." *Sax. Chron.*

|| *Sax. Chron.* a. 1046. F. WIGORN. a. 1046, vol. i. p. 199.

¶ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 255.

on Canute for a considerable time in Denmark, and the companion of his journey when the king proceeded to Rome. He was occupied with the king's affairs as long as Canute remained in Rome; and when the sovereign resolved upon returning to Denmark by land, Lyfing became the bearer of the King's letters, and, as the destined executor of the loyal commands, sailed to England, where all that had been enjoined on him to do was carried into effect with such marvellous wisdom and discretion previous to Canute's arrival, that he attained the highest favour with the sovereign, and upon the death of his uncle Brithwold, who had been Bishop of Cornwall, he was permitted to hold both sees in his own possession.

Lyfing was an ambitious man—a ruthless tyrant—who would be bound by no ecclesiastical laws; who esteemed as of no value, and as commanding no respect from him, that regulation, whatever it might be, that ran counter to his own will, or was adverse to his personal interest. At last, when he died (and the fact we here mention we have heard from our ancestors), at the very moment that his last expiring breath was emitted from his body, there was heard in all parts of England such an horrific, crashing, and astounding noise, that each one as he listened fancied that the utter destruction and consummation of the earth, and all earthly things had come.*

Lyfing's remains were interred at Tavistock monastery, a place upon which he had bestowed many magnificent

* "Denique a majoribus accepimus, cum ille spiritum efflaret, tum horrisonum crepitum per totam Angliam auditum, ut ruina et finis totius putaretur orbis." W. MALMEB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Such was believed to be the awful manner in which an ambitious bishop departed from this world.

donations, and where his munificence had won for him such favour with the monks, that up to the latest period,* a certain number of psalms were daily recited by them for the repose of his soul.†

The successor of Lyfing to the bishopric of Crediton was Leofric, a dignified and learned man, a native of Lorraine.‡ Leofric transferred the seat of his see to the city that stands upon the river Exe, and the walls of which are laved by its waters. This city is named Exeter.§ This Leofric expelled the nuns from the monastery of St. Peter, established there his bishopric and canons, who, contrary to the custom that prevailed amongst the Anglo-Saxons, he directed should, as in Lorraine, eat all at the same table, and sleep all in the same dormitory. The rule so established by him was preserved by his successors, although it fell partly afterwards in disuse, owing to the luxury of the times. By this bishop there was established a steward, whose duty it was to distribute their food daily to the clerks, and yearly to give out to them their necessary clothing.||

* "Ut hodieque."

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. pp. 255, 256.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 256. "Cujus post decessum, regis cancellario Leofrico Brytonico mox Cridiatunensis et Cornubiensis datus est præsulatus." F. WIGORN. a. 1046, vol. i. p. 199.

§ A passage in the original is here omitted. It will be found translated in vol. ii. pp. 374, 375 of this work.

|| W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. ii. p. 256. See CAMDEN's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 55. "The year of his (Leofric's) death is uncertain: in a missal given by him to the church of Exeter, now in the Bodleian library, it is written that he died on the 10th Feb. 1071; in a chronicle of the church of Exeter his death is placed on the same day, but two years afterwards." COXE (Roger de

Lyfing's successor in the see of the Hwiccas was Aldred, a monk at Winchester, and afterwards Abbot of Tavistock.* "In the same year (1046), after Candlemass, came the strong winter, with frost and with snow, and with all kinds of bad weather; so that there was no man then alive who could remember so severe a winter as this was, both through loss of men and through loss of cattle; yea, fowls and fishes through much cold and hunger perished;"† and in the year 1047, so great was the fall of snow in the west, that the branches of trees broke down beneath it. The winter of this year was, in sooth, awfully severe. ‡

Sweyne, the King of the Danes, sent in the year 1047 his ambassadors to Edward, King of the English, to ask of him to despatch a fleet against Magnus, King of

Wendover, vol. i. p. 284, note 3, E. H. S.) See as to the establishment of the cathedral in Exeter, and the enthroning of Leofric by St. Edward and Queen Edgitha, ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 533, 534, a. 1049, §§ 5, 6.

* F. WIGORN. 1046. vol. i. pp. 199, 200. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1046. "In 1056 he received in addition, to that of Worcester, the see of Hereford, which he resigned for the Archbishopric of York in 1060." COXE (Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 484, note 4). Aldred, upon proceeding to Rome, in the year 1061, was compelled by the Pope to resign the See of Worcester also, before his Holiness would bestow upon him the pall as Archbishop of York. See *Annal. Eccles.* Wigorn in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 474. note a. This was one of the innumerable instances in which Rome had to use all its energies in checking the local abuses of Churchmen.

† *Sax. Chron.* Ingram's translation p. 217. See HERMAN. *Contract. Chron.* a. 1046. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. xi. p. 19.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1047. vol. i. p. 200.

the Norwegians.* The advice that Earl Godwin then gave to the King, was that he ought to send fifty ships with armed men to Sweyne; but as this advice was opposed by Earl Leofric, and unanimously disapproved of by the people, no such aid was despatched to Denmark.*

* F. WIGORN. a. 1047. vol. i. p. 200.

† F. WIGORN. "Sweyne also sent hither, and requested the aid of fifty ships against Magnus, King of the Norwegians; but it was, thought unwise by all the people, and it was prevented, because that Magnus had a large navy." *Sax. Chron.* The decision come to by the English King and people, is found fault with by Lappenberg, *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 239; and this because the refusal led to the hostile attacks of the Norwegians—attacks, however, that in all human probability never would have been made but for the unexpected and sudden death of Magnus. The argument of Herr Lappenberg on this point is a pure specimen of the *post hoc, propter hoc*. Mr. Turner's views on this subject are much more rational. See vol. ii. pp. 356, 357. (sixth Ed.) See TORVÆUS. *Hist. Norreg.* lib. iv. c. 7. vol. iii. pp. 252—257.

A single anecdote in the life of Sweyne will suffice to shew that no services rendered to him as a friend could secure his fidelity or ensure his gratitude. In the Saga of Harald Hardrada it is mentioned, that when Harald and Sweyne had entered into a treaty with each other, they chanced upon one occasion to have some angry words with each other.

"Thereupon," says the Saga, "each went his own way. At night, when Harald went to sleep within the bulkheads of his own vessel, he said to his footboy, 'I will not sleep in my bed to-night, for I suspect there may be treachery abroad. I observed this evening that my friend Swend was very angry at my free discourse. Thou shalt keep watch, therefore, in case anything happen in the night.'

"Harald then went away to sleep somewhere else, and laid a billet of wood in his place. At midnight a boat rowed alongside to the ship's bulwarks; a man went on board, lifted up the cloth of the tent over the bulwarks, went up, and struck in Harald's bed with a great axe, so that it stood fast in the lump of wood. The man instantly ran back to his boat again, and rowed away in the dark night, for the moon was set; but the axe remained sticking in the piece of wood as an evidence. Thereupon Harald waked

After this, and in the course of the same year, Magnus, King of the Norwegians, sustained by an immense and brave fleet, engaged in battle with Sweyne. In that battle many thousand men were slain on both sides, but its result was, that Magnus drove Sweyne out of Denmark, reigned over the kingdom, and compelled the Danes to pay him no light tribute. A short time subsequent to these achievements, Magnus died.*

his men, and let them know the treachery intended. 'We can now see sufficiently,' said he, 'that we could never match Swend, if he practises such deliberate treachery against us; so it will be best for us to get away from this place while we can.' " *Konung Harald then Hardrades Saga*, c. 22. *SNORRO*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80. *LAING's Chronicle of Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 23.

* *F. WIGORN*, a. 1047. vol. i. p. 200. *S. DUNELM*, pp. 182, 183. "Magnus and Harald Hardrada," says Snorro in the *Heimskringla*, "remained in Denmark late in summer, and subdued the whole country. In autumn they were in Jutland. One night, as King Magnus lay in his bed, it appeared to him in a dream, that he was in the same place as his father St. Olaf, and that he spoke to him thus:—'Wilt thou choose, my son, to follow me, or to become a mighty King, and have long life; but to commit a crime which thou wilt never be able to expiate?' He thought he made the answer, 'Do thou, father, choose for me.' Then the King thought the answer was, 'Thou shalt follow me.' King Magnus told his men this dream. Soon after he fell sick, and lay at a place called Sudathorpe. When he was near his death he sent his brother Thorer with tokens to Swend (Sweyne) Ulfsson, with the request to give Thorer the aid he might require. In this message King Magnus also gave the Danish dominions to Swend after his death; and said it was just that Harald should rule over Norway, and Swend over Denmark." *SNORRO*, *Konung Harald then Hardradas Saga*, c. 28. vol. ii. p. 88. *LAING's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. pp. 27, 28. See *TORFÆUS. Hist. Norreg.* lib. iv. c. 15. vol. iii. pp. 283, 284. *BERING. Florus Danicus*, pp. 230, 231.

In the year 1047, died Grimkytel, Bishop of Sussex, who was succeeded by Heca, the King's Chaplain; and in the same year also died Elfwine, Bishop of Winchester, whose successor in the see was Stigand, Bishop of Norfolk.*

Upon Elfwine, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Queen Emma, a gross and scandalous imputation had been cast, and this, too, through the means of Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury.† This miserable accusation made by Robert against Emma and Bishop Elfwine, was

* F. WIGORN. a. 1047. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1047. See R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 484. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 530, § 13. *Annal. Winton.* Eccles. a. 1047. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 293.

† "Grave scandalum imponitur Emmæ reginæ et Alwyno Episcopo Wyntoniensi, mediante Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo." RUDBORNE. *Hist. Maj. Winton.* lib. iv. c. 4. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 236. In placing before the reader an account of the trial of Queen Emma by the Ordeal, we beg it will be observed that we attach no more value to it than as a legend, worthy of being known, if for no other reason than as detailing the ceremonies employed at ordeals, and deserving at least of respect, as finding some credence in former times. One reason for asserting that the legend cannot be true is, that at the time that Queen Emma is alleged to have been charged with impurity, she must have been between sixty and seventy years of age—the second, that not the slightest allusion is made by any of the most ancient monkish historians, to any such circumstance in her life: a third reason might be given—namely, that Robert was not Archbishop of Canterbury during the lifetime of Elfwine, Bishop of Winchester, the unjustly accused criminal with Emma; but that Harpsfield disposes of this last objection by declaring that Robert was acting for the archbishop, who was then unable, from sickness, to discharge the functions of his office." "Robertus præsertim Cantuariensis postea, Archiepiscopus, quique hoc tempore, impedito et morbo sontico afflictato Archiepiscopo, ut illius vicarius totius Archiepiscopatus curam gerebat." *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* xi. Sæc. c. 4. p. 220. See also RUDBORNE. lib. iv. c. 4. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 237, 238. "The fact," says the Rev. Alban Butler, "is related by Bromton, Knyghton, Harpsfield, and others, though no mention is made of it by Ingulphus, or any others who lived nearest the time." *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 648. See MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 138. note (*).

embodied in three distinct charges, viz., that she had assented to the death of her own son Alfred; that she had exerted herself to prevent the accession of Edward to the throne; and that she had been guilty of impropriety with Bishop Elfwine.*

Elfwine was, upon this accusation being made, removed from his episcopal palace to a prison; and the Queen was sent for safe custody to Wherewell monastery.† There she was so far from being guarded with that strictness which her son had commanded, that she was even allowed to write to all the bishops who she believed were faithful to her, and in so doing to expose to them her condition, and the afflicted state of her mind.‡ In this letter Queen

* "Scandalum, de quo dolendum erat, contra Emmam Reginam et istum Alwynum Episcopum Wyntoniensem proposuit in tribus, viz., de consensu in mortem filii sui Alfredi, et quod laboraret ad impediendum ne regnaret Edwardus, et de consensu turpitudinis cum Alwyno Episcopo." *RUDBORN. Hist. Maj. Winton. lib. iv. c. i. Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 233.*

† "Alwino Episcopo sedes sua mutatur in carcerem. Regina apud Warewellam custodiæ tradita." *Annal. Winton. a. 1043. Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 291.* By Bromton these events are placed in the year 1046. *Chron. p. 941*; by Polydore Vergil in 1047; see lib. viii. p. 140.

‡ *Annal. Winton. a. 1043. Ang. Sac. vol. i. p. 291.* The letter inserted in the annals expresses the desire of the Queen to free the bishop and herself of the accusation preferred against them, by the judgment of God, and the ordeal of hot iron—"Dei probare iudicio,"—"Candentis ferri examen." It is manifestly apocryphal from its two classical quotations, "*Nil habet infelix paupertas in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines fecit.*" and "*Omne etenim vitium tanto conspectus in se Crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur.*" Such a letter might be written for Emma by a monk; but never could have emanated from one in the distressed state of mind it describes her. Its value consists—if any value there be in it—in proving that she, and not Bishop Robert, had suggested the trial by ordeal. The Annalist of Winchester, however, agrees

Emma declared that she was far more afflicted with the disgrace that had befallen the bishop, than with the infamy that was sought to be attached to her own character; and that she, therefore, was prepared to abide the judgment of God, and the ordeal of hot iron, for the purpose of demonstrating that the prelate Elfwine had been falsely accused.*

The bishops assembled, and they would have induced the King to listen to their prayers on behalf of his mother, had not Robert of Canterbury† obstinately opposed their prayer: "How, brother bishops," said he, "is it possible that you can undertake to defend this wild, fierce animal, for a woman she cannot justly be called, who has dishonoured her own son, and that son a king, and who, at the same time, presumes to designate her mitred minion as a true disciple of our Lord? Admit her to free, at her personal peril, the bishop; but who, I ask, is to free, at his own peril, herself from the charge of assenting to the death of her son Alfred, and of preparing a poisonous composition for Edward? Let her then, if she dare submit herself to the authority of him, Who has no regard for age, nor sex, nor condition—let her, if she dare, take but four steps for herself, and five steps

in declaring that Robert proposed the ordeal—a proof, we may remark, of *bona fides* on his part, as demonstrating that he did not act from a malicious motive, but was really convinced of her guilt. See his speech to the bishops, *Annal. Winton.* in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 291, 292.

* KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 8. p. 2329.

† "In plerisque Chronicis in diversis locis Vicarii Archiepiscoporum sive Episcoporum, dummodo funguntur suis officiis, appellantur Archiepiscopi sive Episcopi." RUDBORNE. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 238.

“ for the bishop—let her thus pass over nine burning
 “ ploughshares, one after the other, with naked feet, and
 “ each foot distinctly impressed upon each ploughshare ;
 “ and, should she then be scathless, so let her be deemed
 “ blameless before men, as she may have shewn herself
 “ to be innocent in the sight of God.”*

That which the Archbishop thus proposed, was approved of by the King and the bishops, and a day appointed at which all parties were to assemble at Winchester.†

The doom then declared was conveyed to the Queen, and she felt no more disturbed nor agitated by it than if it had been an invitation to a nuptial feast. The rumour, however, that a queen was about to be subjected to the ordeal soon spread through all parts of the kingdom ; and such a multitude of persons were thus collected within the walls of Winchester, as had never before been seen congregated in the one day together. King Edward himself came to Winchester ; and there was not one of all the leading men of the nation who did not come, with the exception of Archbishop Robert, who pretended to be detained by sickness at Dover, in order that he might from that place readily make his escape out of the land, should

* KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 8. p. 2329. Compare this with the Annals of Winchester, of which it seems to be an abridgment. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 291, 292. In the latter case, Robert is described as declaring his willingness, should the Queen Emma be proved innocent, to be deprived of all the rank and honours he then enjoyed—“ Quod si penitus illæsa pertulerit, me in Deum et Regem reum condemnabitur honore privandum.”

† Annal. Eccles. Winton. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 292.

anything untoward to his interests occur. And as he had not foreseen, but apprehended, it so happened.

Queen Emma, in accordance with the commands of the King, was conducted from Wherewell to Winchester; and there she, during the entire of the night immediately preceding her day of trial, kept her vigil by the sepulchre of St. Swithin. It is scarcely necessary for us to add, that in so doing, she prayed with her whole heart and soul; that she slept but little during that night; that she offered up her fervent aspirations, and that she begged that she might be saved, in the awful danger to which she was about to be exposed.

Disinclined to sleep, she did, however, fall into a slumber for a few moments, and whilst so reposing, she saw, in a vision, St. Swithin standing by her side, and heard him addressing her in such words as these:—

“ Daughter, be firm and resolute. I am Swithin, whose
“ aid thou hast invoked. I will be with thee; and there-
“ fore fear not. Those who persecute thee shall be con-
“ founded; because when thou art passing through the
“ fire, the flame shall not injure thee. Do thou, how-
“ ever, pardon thy son the wrong that is now done to
“ thee.”

Upon the day appointed, the clergy and people assembled in the church, and the King seated himself in front of the pulpit. The Queen was then led forward and placed in presence of her son, and upon being asked if she desired to proceed to the Ordeal, she

“ Prepared to answer; but silence chained her tongue:

“ Though mute, her quiv’ring lips proclaim’d her thoughts:

“ There were words upon her brow, and in her eye

"Eloquence. At length accents mellifluous,

* "With grace and sweetness, filled the listeners' ear."*

"My lord and my son," she said, "I am the same Emma who bore thee, who am now accused of being a criminal as regards thee and Alfred, both of you, mine own children! likewise, of consenting to impurity and to treason with the bishop of this see; and so accused, I place this my poor body in peril; I invoke God as my witness, and I call upon Him here to destroy me if I be guilty in deed or even in thought of the crimes now imputed to me."

Upon the well-swept pavement of the church there were placed in due order nine plough-shares glowing with the intensity of a white heat from the fire. Over these the words of benediction were briefly and speedily uttered. The shoes and stockings of the Queen were then taken off, her cloak cast away and her gown tucked up, and thus was she led by two bishops from the place where she had been disarrayed, to where the instruments of her torturing trial had been deposited. The bishops wept as they led her forward, and they who felt far more of fear than she herself did, gave utterance to words that were intended to encourage her not to be dismayed. At the same instant, the entire church was filled with a burst of grief, and an explosion of prayer, as the same words were poured forth by the lips and tongues of all—"St. Swithin! St. Swithin! help! oh, help the Queen!" Had, at that moment, a thunder-cloud burst over the church, it

* Respondere parat; meruitque silentia vultus.
Postquam fœmineo rediit mens mota stupore,
Gratia verborum tenero distillat ab ore."

could not have been heard by the people, for with such energy, with such loud clamorous cries, and such vehement agonizing prayers did they address themselves to heaven, and call upon St. Swithin then or never to aid and assist them. Heaven is won by violence, and God hears the requests of His servant Swithin, who is forced thus to appeal to the Divine Mercy. No clamour marked meanwhile the devotions of Queen Emma. Forward she walked with this prayer in her heart,—“ Oh, God! who “ didst free Susannah from the wicked elders, and didst “ render the three youths capable of passing unscathed “ through a flaming furnace, now deign, through the “ merits of St. Swithin, to liberate me from the fire pre- “ pared for my destruction.”

Lo! a miracle had been accomplished!

The bishops who were conducting Emma had so directed her steps, that in advancing nine paces, she had, at each pace, walked upon a burning ploughshare, pressing with the full weight of her body upon each particular ploughshare, and yet in so doing, she was not conscious that her naked foot had touched upon iron, much less perceived that the iron was a mass of glowing heated metal. So utterly unconscious was Emma of what had occurred, that she said to the two bishops by whom she was accompanied:—“ Wherefore is it that I am not permitted to “ obtain that trial for which I am most anxious? Where- “ fore do you advance as if you were about to bring me “ outside of the church, when it is within its walls that I “ must undergo my trial.”

As Emma said this, she still walked forward with the bishops, and still ignorant that her ordeal had been successfully terminated.

The Bishops answered briefly and intelligibly as their sighs would permit them to do:—"Look, lady, behind thee. The trial is over. The ordeal which thou fanciest is still to be undergone, has been passed through."

Emma looked back. Her eyes were then opened; and as she beheld the innoxious iron lying before her, she recognized the miracle that had occurred. "Lead me," she said, "lead me to my son, that he may see my feet, and may know that I have not suffered the slightest injury."

The bishops returned with Queen Emma to Edward. They found him not seated, but with his head covered with his robe, and his body prostrate on the earth. The words of compassion and of pity that were on his lips he found himself unable to express, for tears and sobs so choked his speech, as to render him incapable of utterance. At length he was raised from the earth. He recognized the miracle and his mother's innocence, and then this most sanctified sovereign cast himself at the feet of his mother, saying:—"Mother, I have sinned against Heaven, and against thee, and I am no longer worthy to be called thy son."

Emma thus replied:—"Call Bishop Elfwine before thee; and when thou hast satisfied him for the wrong thou hast done, thou shalt speedily obtain pardon from me."

The Bishop Elfwine, who, up to that moment, had not been permitted to take his seat amongst the other bishops, was called before the King. The King with tears asked for his pardon, and obtained it; and then he was stricken with rods by each of the bishops; and from the hands of

his weeping mother received three blows.* The kiss of peace was given and returned. The King received them

* Et virgis cæsus a singulis episcopis, per manum flentis matris tres ictus accepit." *Annal. Eccles. Winton.* p. 293. "Tunc rex ingemiscens et veniam petens disciplinam ab utroque præsule et eciam a matre sua recepit." *KNYGHTON.* lib. i. c. 8. p. 2329. "Ab utroque, præsule scilicet et matre, disciplinas recepit." *BROMTON.* p. 942. "Virgis cæsus a matre et a singulis episcoporum, per manum enim flentis matris accepit tres ictus cum virgâ." *RUDBORNE.* Hist. Maj. Winton. lib. iv. c. i. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 234. "Paucis et lenibus nudo corpori per episcopo, et matrem flentem impressis virgarum verberibus expiavit." *HARPSFIELD.* Hist. Eccles. Ang. ix. Sæc. c. 4. p. 221. In *HIGDEN.* *Polychron.* lib. vi. a. 1043. p. 278, the words used to describe the King's submitting to personal discipline at the hands of bishops, and his mother, are the same as those already quoted from Bromton. In this submission, or supposed submission to discipline by a King at the hands of bishops, we find a precedent for the penitence and discipline of Henry II., in the year 1174, at the tomb of the martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury. Between the reigns of those illustrious Kings, Edward and Henry, there lived St. Walthen, an abbot, in whose veins flowed the royal blood of England and of Scotland (See Vit. S. Walthen. Prolog. § 1, 2, 3. *Act. Sanct.* August, vol. i. pp. 248, 249). The practice of this Saint (Walthen) with regard to the discipline was very remarkable; for it is said of him, that upon the discovery of the slightest fault in himself, he instantly repaired to the confessional, and insisted upon having the discipline applied to his naked back—"non patiebatur, ut ita dicam, moram momentaneam transire, quin curreret ad confessionis sanativum remedium, et virgis exponere dorsum. Si vero confessor ejus pietate ductus illud corpus innocentissimum virgis mitius percuteret, ipse in virtute obedientiæ præcipere districtius consuevit, ut non parceret oculus ejus aut manus in eum, donec aliquoties sanguinem elicevet." Vit. S. Walthen. c. 3. § 39. pp. 258, 259. That which was the habit of St. Walthen was the rule with the Cistercians. *G. CUPER.* *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. p. 260, note f. St Walthen was not only like to St. Edward in using the discipline, but also by passing his entire life in virginal purity, Vit. c. i. § 15, and even inducing his relative, Malcolm, King of Scotland, to imitate him in this respect, Vit. c. 4. § 50. *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. pp. 251, 261. The great St. Dominick made daily use of the

into his grace and favour—they renewed the marks of love and veneration that they had always felt for the sove-

discipline for a treble purpose—"Nempe tres accepit singulis noc-tibus de catena ferrea disciplinas, unam pro se; aliam pro peccatoribus, qui versantur in mundo; tertiam pro iis, qui in purgatorio cruciantur." Vit. S. Dominic. Confess. c. 19. §. 220. *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. pp. 599, 600. He too preserved his virginal purity untarnished. *Præv. Com.* § 827. p. 519, Vit. c. 1. § 6. p. 546; c. 4. § 68. p. 555, in the same volume. In the life of St. Peter Damian, it is observed by the Rev. Alban Butler:—"This saint recommended the use of disciplines, whereby to subdue and punish the flesh. * * * Sir Thomas More, St. Francis of Sales, and others, testify that such means of mortification are great helps to tame the flesh, and inure it to the labours of penance; also to remove a hardness of heart and spiritual dryness, and to soften the soul into compunction." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii. p. 260. The names of Sir Thomas More and St. Francis of Sales are pretty well known to English readers. Such may not be the case with St. Peter Damian, the great advocate for the use of the discipline, and we may therefore add, that he also manifested great zeal in providing a library and promoting a study of the sacred scriptures by the monks. *Comment. Præv. c. i. § 5*; that at a council held at Rome in the year 1063, he introduced a statute commanding the *clerici* to eat and sleep, and have all their goods in common, c. 6, § 37; and that he resisted and corrected various abuses that had grown up amongst the Milanese clergy, Vit. c. 7. § 32, 35. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.), vol. iii. pp. 407, 415, 423. See as to the discipline, BERGIER. *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. ii. p. 402. DUCANGE. in verb. *disciplina*. We may remark, that in the year 1046, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, having, in an attack on the town of Verdun, destroyed the church of the Virgin Mary, did, amongst other proofs of his penitence, submit to be publicly whipped:—"Sed post modicum facti in tantum eum pœnituit, ut publice se verberari faceret." Lambert. Schafnaburg. a. 1046. in PISTORIUS. *Fet. Script. Germ.* vol. i. p. 160. See also BARONIUS. a. 1056. § 7, 8, vol. xvii. p. 220.

The use of the discipline may be regarded as the very excess of mortification; and we can well fancy the smile of contempt which will curl the lip of our modern philosophers, at the mere mention of such a practice. There is no portion of the Christian religion so distasteful to worldlings, as the practising that which

reign. To the Queen and to the bishop was then restored whatever had been taken from them; and then, in accordance with the special orders of His Majesty, due proclamation was made both inside the church and outside the church, and this too in the hearing of a weeping multitude in both places, as to the entire mode and process of the miracle that had been worked; and as the sorrowing people listened to the marvellous narrative, their grief was converted into joy, so that at the same moment there were tears in the eyes and smiles on the faces of every human being.

No sooner was Emma placed in possession of the lands that former kings had bestowed upon her, than she demonstrated her gratitude to her liberator, St. Swithin, by bestowing that very day upon his monastery, for the nine ploughshares, nine manors.* Bishop Elfwine, out of his

it enjoins—a mortification of the passions—and to carry that mortification to such an extreme as to inflict pain upon the body seems to them the very absurdity of a blind and stupid superstition. *They* reproach Christians in the very words employed against them by the ancient Pagans, and that still stand on record in the pages of Minucius Felix:—

“Vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis: non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis; convivia publica absque vobis; sacra certamina, præceptos cibos, et delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis. Sic reformidatis deos, quos negatis, non floribus caput nectitis, non corpus odoribus honestatis: *reservatis unguenta funeribus*: coronas etiam sepulchris denebatis, pallidi, trepidi, misericordiâ digni, sed nostrorum deorum, ita nec resurgitis miseri, nec interim vivitis.” MINUCIUS FELIX. *Octavius*, p. 12 (Leyden, Ed. 1652).

See on this passage the notes of Ouzel, Wower, Elmenhirst, and others, pp. 105—111 (Leyden, 1672).

* The names of the manors so bestowed by Emma and Elfwine will be found in Rudborn, lib. iv. c. 1. p. 235, where it is stated that the nine ploughshares on which she walked were buried in the

own patrimony, also bestowed nine manors upon the monastery. King Edward not only ratified and confirmed the donations so made by the queen and the bishop, but he also bestowed upon St. Swithin, Portland, Weymouth, and Wyke.*

The queen and bishop sought out of their respective treasures to rival and surpass each other in the presentation of rich ornaments for the church of St. Swithin. In this generous contention the mastery was won by Elfwine, either because he had more wealth at his command, or because his desire for the decoration of the House of the Lord was greater than hers.†

western cloisters of the cathedral. "It was about this time (a. 1047) that Queen Emma, the mother of St. Edward, adorned all the bodies of the saints in St. Augustine's at Canterbury with rich palls." THORN. *Chron.* p. 1784.

* See RUDBORNE. lib. iv. c. 1, p. 235. *Annal. Winton.* p. 293. MILNER'S *History and Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 138.

† *Annal. Eccles. Winton.* a. 1043, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 292, 293. Thus concludes the legend of the ordeal of Queen Emma. It is introduced into this history as a legend, and as nothing more, although it is received by some hagiologists as a fact. See, for instance, BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. pp. 648, 649. *Les Vies des Saints*, vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

We cannot, however, part from this legend without adverting to the similarity that may be discovered between Emma of England and Emma, the widow of King Lothaire, at the moment that Adalberon, Bishop of Laon (afterwards the Archbishop of Rheims), was obliged to fly from his enemies, and who was, like the pious Bishop of Winchester, falsely accused of an unbecoming intimacy with a widowed queen. It was in these terms that the French Emma wrote to her mother, the Empress Adelaide :—

"My grief is at its fullest height, oh my sovereign lady and dearest mother! I have lost my husband: *I had placed all my hopes in my son, and he has become my enemy*: those who were but lately cherished by me have abandoned me, and they have done this for my ruin and the destruction of my race. *They have*

In the year 1047 died Athelstan, the Abbot of Abingdon,* whose successor was a monk of St. Edmund's, named Spearhafoc, a wonderful artificer in articles composed of gold and silver.†

circulated odious lies against the Bishop of Laon : they are now in pursuit of him, with the intention of depriving him of his rank, and for the purpose of attaching to my character an infamous accusation, which if it were true, would have the effect, justly, to deprive me of mine." See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. ix. p. 288.

This extract is, we conceive, suggestive of the legend given in the text.

With this legend is mixed up the use of Ordeals as sanctioned by the church, to which reference has been previously made in this work. In addition to the authorities already quoted, see, as particularly applicable to this legend, POLYDORE VERGIL. lib. viii. p. 140. ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 527, 528, 529. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. note to pp. 648, 649. BERGIER. *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. iii. pp. 82—86 in verb. *epreuves superstitieuses*. JACOB DÖPLER. *Theatrum Penarum, Suppliciorum et executionum criminalium*, vol. i. c. 1. "*Von der Gerichter ingemein und insonderheit.*" § cxxiv—cxxxii. pp. 73—77.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1047.

† F. Wigorn. a. 1048. "In auri argentique fabricio operator mirificus." vol. i. p. 291, note 3. (E. H. S.) For an account of monks celebrated as painters, see Vit. S. Lazar. Confess. Monach. Presbyter, et Pictor. Comment. Hist. § 2. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. iii. p. 392. Every monk remarkable for his talent in any way was expected to labour in its improvement and perfection, and to devote it to the service of God. Thus, in the History of Ramsey Monastery, we are told of a monk living at this period of time named Oswald, of whom it was said, "Vir eruditione et religione apud omnes percelebris." This monk declined a bishopric when offered, and preferred retirement and literary studies to a mitre: "In maternis sinibus Ramesiæ placida literarum studia confovebat. Habetur hodieque in archivis nostris liber ejus versificus, multiformis peritiæ ipsius et perspicacis ingenii testis." *Hist. Rames.* c. 106, p. 453. Contemporary with Oswald of Ramsey was the illustrious St. Marianus of Ratisbon, who died in the year 1088, and who was the most indefatigable of writers: "Veloci calamo

In the year 1047 there came "to Sandwich Lothen
"and Irling, with twenty-five ships, and plundered and

perscripserit." An account of all that Marianus transcribed as a mere copyist is perfectly marvellous. "—— idem homo sanctus Vetus et Novum Testamentum, cum commentariis expositi-
torii codicibus eorumdem librorum, non semel, nec bis, sed sæpe-
numero æterna pro mercede, in tenui habitu, et subtili victu, cum
propriis Fratribus suis, tum in Superiori, tum in Inferiori monas-
terio, qui pergamena parabant, adjutus, *propria manu perscripsit.*
Eodem quoque tempore multos libellos, multaque manualia psal-
teria viduis indigentibus, ac Clericis pauperibus ejusdem civitatis
pro remedio animæ suæ, sine ulla spe terreni quæstus scriptita-
verat." Vit. S. Marian. c. 2, § 9. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. ii.
p. 367. To state that at the same period of time there was a
monk who was an accomplished gold or silversmith, like Spear-
hafoc, is to state that which might naturally be expected in a
country like England, in which the following wise laws were
enacted for the government of clerical persons:—

"And we enjoin, that no dispute that be between priests be
referred to the adjustment of secular men; but let them adjust
among and appease their own companions; or refer to the bishop
if that be needful.

"And we enjoin that no priest voluntarily forsake the church
to which he was consecrated, but have it to him for lawful spouse."

"And we enjoin, that *every priest, in addition to lore, diligently
learn a handicraft.*

"And we enjoin that no learned priest put to shame the half-
learned, but improve him, if he know better.

"And we enjoin, that no high-born priest despise the lower-
born; because, if it be rightly considered, these are all men of one
birth.

"And we enjoin, that *priests diligently teach youth, and educate
them in crafts; that they may have ecclesiastical support.*" Canons
enacted under King Edgar, § 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 51. THORPE.
Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, pp. 395, 396, 400.
(folio edit.) The monks were always *labourers*. We prove them
to be so in the eleventh century, and so they were in the sixth
century, when St. Bandaridas, Bishop of Soissons, sought refuge
in an English monastery, and whilst there acted as a gardener:
"Delegit sibi beatius esse labores manuum suarum manducare,
quam otio vacare." Vit. S. Baldar. c. 1, § 9. *Act. Sanct.*
(August), vol. i. p. 64.

“ took incalculable spoil, in men, and in gold, and in
 “ silver, so that no man wist what it all was ; and they
 “ went about Thanet, and would there have done the
 “ same ; but the landfolk firmly withstood, and resisted
 “ them both by land and sea, and thence put them to
 “ flight withal. They then betook themselves thence into
 “ Essex, where they plundered, and took men, and what-
 “ soever they could find, whence they departed eastward
 “ to Baldwin’s land (Flanders), and having there deposited
 “ the booty they had gained, they returned east to the
 “ place whence they had come before.*

“ This same year (1047), also, Earl Sweyne (Godwin’s
 “ son) went out to Baldwin’s land to Bruges, and remained
 “ there all the winter. In the summer he departed.”†

“ On the first of May, in the year 1048,‡ “ there was an
 “ earthquake in many places ; at Worcester, at Wick, and
 “ at Derby, and elsewhere wide throughout England ; with
 “ very great loss by disease of men and of cattle all over Eng-

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM’s translation, p. 218.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1047. INGRAM’s translation, p. 217. In placing these two paragraphs together we desire to show how great is the probability that this piratical aggression by the Norwegians on the coast of England was effected with the connivance, and probably at the suggestion, of the traitorous Sweyn, the son of Godwin. Herr Lappenberg entertains a different opinion upon this point. (See vol. ii. p. 239.) Lothen and Irling are designated by Henry of Huntingdon, “ Danish vikings ”—*duo principes Dacorum*, lib. vi. p. 365. This author is correct in placing in this year the great victory of Val-des-Dunes (*W’alesdune*), won by Henry, King of France, and William of Normandy over Guy and the other rebel Norman nobles who refused to acknowledge William as their lord. Of this victory and the cruel use made of it by William, see *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 166, 167, 207, 256, 316, 366, 379, 387, 403.

‡ *Sax. Chron.*

"land; and the wild fire * in Derbyshire and elsewhere did "much harm,"† destroying in its progress both villages and crops.‡

It was in the year 1048, that King Sweyne recovered possession of Denmark, and that Harald Hardrada,§ the son of Siward, King of the Norwegians, and by his mother the step-brother of St. Olaf, that is, uncle of King Magnus, repaired to Norway, from whence he in a short time afterwards despatched his ambassadors, to King Edward, tendering to him peace and friendship.|| The offer so made was accepted by Edward. Sweyne, the King of the Danes, sent a message to the same effect to the English King, and besought of him that he would send him naval assistance; and, although Earl Godwin wished that there should be at least fifty ships sent to Sweyne, still Leofric and all the English people peremptorily refused to afford any such aid.¶

* "Et ignis ærius, vulgo dictus silvaticus." F. WIGORN. a. 1048. vol. i. p. 201.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, pp. 318, 319.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 201. See *INGULPH.* p. 64.

§ See note by Thorpe to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 200.

|| F. WIGORN. a. 1048. vol. i. p. 200.

¶ F. WIGORN. a. 1048. vol. i. p. 200, 201. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1048. "Both Harald and Svend sent ambassadors to Eadward, for the purpose of entering into a friendly alliance with England, who met with a welcome reception; Svend, however, it is said, received from Eadward an annual payment, after having threatened him with a new Danish invasion." LAPPENBERG. Upon this passage, we find the author quoting his authority with this observation. "Adam Brem. iii. 12. The personal acquaintance of this chronicler with King Svend Estrithson, renders all he says

In the same year, Sandwich and the Isle of Wight were plundered by pirates, who slew the noblest and best men in both places. These pirates were pursued by King Edward and his earls, who went out to sea after them in their ships.*

Bishop Siward, on account of an infirmity with which he became afflicted, resigned the episcopal duties which he had been discharging, and withdrew to Abingdon monastery. At the same time Archbishop Eadsy resumed the performance of his functions. Within eight weeks from the time of his retirement to Abingdon, Siward departed this life.†

In the sixth year of the reign of King Edward, that is, in the year of our Lord 1048, sickness first seized upon the

relative to these transactions particularly worthy of notice." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 240. There is a greater probability that Sweyn wilfully misled Adam of Bremen, or that the latter unintentionally fell into a mistake, than that an English King paid tribute to the same sovereign to whom he refused to afford the slightest naval assistance when asked for it. The independent position as a sovereign maintained by the pious, simple-minded, and pure-hearted Edward, is an historical puzzle for the anti-monastic Herr Lappenberg, and he grasps at any improbable statement to escape from it. What is mysterious to him is plain, rational, and intelligible to the monk of Malmsbury, who thus describes Edward as a sovereign, and *wherefore* it was that he was revered at home, and feared abroad: "Erat interea ejus apud domesticos reverentia vehemens, apud externos metus ingens; fovebat profecto ejus simplicitatem Deus, ut posset timeri qui nesciret irasci." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 196. See also AILRED. *Vit. Edward Confes.* p. 375.

*-*Sax. Chron.* a. 1048. This piratical invasion which King Edward sought personally to punish, is not to be confounded with the invasion by Lothen and Irling, in the year 1047. The partial success of one expedition led to its imitation by another band of the professional sea-robbers of the North.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1048, see also a. 1049. See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 106, 107—(Eadsius).

venerable father and lord, Brichtmer, Abbot of Croyland, and when he had completed eighteen years of a faithful and diligent government of the monastery.* Of this sickness Brichtmer died on the 24th of April, and his body was interred in the doorway of the chapter.

It was during the time that Brichtmer was Abbot of Croyland, that the venerable father, Wulgat, Abbot of Pegland, was exposed to a long legal persecution promoted against him by the Abbots of Peterborough, Elfin, Arwin, and Leofric, by which he lost his abbacy, and—oh! the wickedness of mankind!—he was even deprived of the entire site of his monastery by the judgment of the King's court! So much greater in those times was the power of the purse than the claims of justice, so much stronger cunning than truth, and so predominant the influence of Earl Godwin in the palace of King Hardicanute. And when the aforesaid Abbot Wulgat, upon losing the site of his monastery, which was near to the bank of a stream named Welland, laid the foundation for a new monastery in one of his own manors, which was nearer to Northhamburg than the former, and was determined to transfer his abbatial powers thither, and aided by the alms of many of the faithful, was diligently engaged in building a church, a dormitory, cloisters, and out-offices, there came a certain knight, named Fernot, the lord of Bosworth, to challenge the abbot about his right to North-

* *INGULPHUS. Hist.* p. 62. (Gale). p. 905. (Script. post Bedam.) The extract here introduced from Ingulph, will convey a more accurate notion than any essay could possibly give, of the evils inflicted upon religion by the supremacy of the Danes as Sovereigns over England. Ingulph had, it is to be remembered, the best opportunity of ascertaining the facts described by him in this extract.

burg; and who plainly shewed, by the signatures of preceding abbots, that the said manor of Northburg had been given by his ancestors to the monastery of St. Pega, and to the monks devoted to the service of God in that place; and, consequently, he alleged, that since Abbot Wulgat and his monks no longer fulfilled the condition of the grant by serving God and St. Pega in that very place, they should no longer be allowed to retain the said manor. This challenge was accepted by the King's Justiciary, and by that functionary it was on the instant adjudicated that the said manor of Northburg, with all things appertaining to it, should be taken possession of by the Knight Fernot, and as his hereditary property retained, and henceforth and for ever alienated and taken away from the monks of St. Pega. No sooner did such a legal decision as this become known throughout the kingdom, viz., that the Abbot of Peykyrk * had been deprived of his monastery, and through that deprivation lost his right to every manor attaching to the monastery, than there were found the following persons coming forward, *i. e.*, Edmer, knight and lord of Holbrok, to challenge the same abbot and his monks for the manor of Makesey; Horsyng of Wathe, to claim his manor of Badyngton; Earl Siward his manor of Bernak, and Hugolin the treasurer, his manor of Helpie-

* "Pega settled, on the death of her brother Guthlac, in a cell at Peykirk. Edmund Atheling made it a monastery * * * Part of the college remains: the church is not very antient, though the bells hang exposed in a stone frame or belfry at the west end, as in several churches in Lincolnshire, Northumberland, and in this county." (Northamptonshire.) CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii. pp. 289, 290. See *Chron. Petriburgens.* a. 1048. pp. 47, 48. (Giles). ECTON'S *Thesaurus*, p. 372—in verb. *Peakerke*. DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. iii. pp. 203—205.

ston ; and with these several others, all claiming manors that had for a long time belonged to the monastery ; and all for the same cause, and in accordance with the spirit of the same decree, defeated the rights of the monks. And so were deprived of their manors, and so iniquitously and cruelly were the abbot and monks of Peykyrke ejected from their monastery ; for to them, as to many others, it happened that " misfortunes never come single."

In this manner had the Abbot Wulgat and his community, consisting of eighteen monks, been deprived of their monastery, cast destitute upon the world, wanderers, seeking for subsistence, blown hither and thither, as waifs upon the ocean, exposed to every adverse gale ; immersed, too, in the deepest, lowest state of misery ; until the most pious King Edward, having heard of the state to which they had been reduced, took compassion upon them, received them into his own palace, and commanded, until he should find the means of providing for them, that they have every day the use of his own chapel, and admission to the royal apartments.*

Scarcely had such charitable sentiments been expressed by the King, when tidings were brought to the King's court of the death of Brichtmer, Abbot of Croyland, whose pastoral staff was presented by the prior and two other monks of the monastery to the king.

* " Suam capellam, ac aulam quotidie frequentare imperavit." *INGULPH.* The pleasure that St. Edward took in the society of monks is indicated in the *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 91, vol. i. p. 210. (Ang. Christ.) Another proof of it is to be found in the History of Ramsey Monastery, where it is stated of King Edward, and the monks Oswald and Withman : " Rex Edwardus familiaritatis suæ prerogativa donatos ad privata eos colloquia, quoties in eas regni partes devenisset, accersivit." *Hist. Rames.* c. 106, p. 453.

(Here it is to be remarked) that from the reign of Ethelred, the father of King Edward, abbots of monasteries were observed to hold a very conspicuous position in the palaces of the sovereigns; and that from that time forth the kings' ministers were courted with rich gifts and flattering discourses by some monks animated with the ambitious desire of obtaining dignities and bishoprics.* Amongst the principal monasteries that were then the most spoken about was Croyland; and this mainly, because during the period of the Danish tribulation, gifts and tributes had with a ready hand been poured by it into the royal palace. For many years, therefore, there had been no election of prelates perfectly free and purely canonical, but all the dignities, of bishops as well as of abbots, had been conferred in the King's court, and in accordance with the King's pleasure, by the delivery of the ring and the staff.†

The most pious King Edward, receiving upon this occasion

* This unhappy change in the manners of churchmen established itself in the reigns of Canute, Harold, and Hardecanute, the Danish sovereigns. This statement is so important that we feel it necessary to quote the words of the original: "A tempore namque regis Ethelredi patris sui, cœperunt abbates in regum curiis clarius agnosci: et indies continebat regum ministros per monachos [nonnullos] dignitatum et prælatiarum nimium ambitiosos, variis xeniis, et blandis salutationibus deinceps abundantius honorari."

† Here, too, is marked the change in the church discipline of the Anglo-Saxon church, by which religion was so long distracted in this country, and from which it still suffers. Again we feel it necessary to place on record the words of the original: "*A multis itaque annis retroactis nulla electio prælatorum erat mere libera et canonica, sed omnes dignitates tam Episcoporum, quam abbatum per annulum et baculum regis curia pro sua complacentia conferebat.*"

the pastoral staff of Croyland monastery, he invested with it, as Abbot of Croyland, the venerable father Wulgat, in the presence of Sir Gerard the prior, and of his two associate monks who had come to the court with him, and of all the other monks of Pegland, the compatriots and truly friendly neighbours to those of Croyland, who knew each individual of them perfectly well. Edward having so invested Wulgat with the pastoral staff, he addressed the following letter to the community at Croyland:—

“ Edward, King of the English, to the sub-prior and
“ holy community in Croyland, greeting :

“ Feeling deep sorrow for Sir Wulgat, the quondam
“ Abbot of Pegland, who, by no crime of his own, but by
“ the decision of the law, has lost his monastery: feeling,
“ also, great compassion for you, who, by no will of your
“ own, but by the violence of death have been lately
“ deprived of your father, I have endeavoured to cure
“ both misfortunes by the same antidote, and that is, by
“ substituting the said Father Wulgat in the place of him
“ that is now lost to you.

“ You, therefore, as holy men, will welcome this your
“ father and shepherd, and you will render due obedience
“ to him who has been disciplined and tried in many
“ afflictions; and his associate monks, your brethren, and
“ travelling with him to Croyland, you will generously
“ welcome with the tender love of fraternal charity, so
“ that when your course in this life is terminated, you may
“ with them enter into heaven, and so come to be united
“ to the holy choir of your patron saints, who, also, have
“ been your brothers.

“ Begging your prayers to God by day and by night,
“ for myself and for my kingdom, I bid you farewell.”

At the same time, King Edward (at the request of Wulgat, Abbot of Croyland, and in accordance with the suggestion of Sir Gerard, the prior of the monastery, who was particularly anxious on the subject) confirmed by his charter the monastery of Croyland in the possession of all its lands, tenements, marshes, and other things belonging to it. This King Edward did in a charter bearing his own signature, and set forth in the words following:—

“ I, Edward, by the grace of God, King of the English, at the request of the Lord Wulgat, Abbot of Croyland, and in compliance with the humble supplication of Sir Gerard, prior of the same monastery, do in all things laud, approve, and confirm the charters conceded to Croyland monastery by my predecessors, Kings of England, viz. of the pious King Edred, and of my ancestor, the illustrious King Edgar. For they gave, and by their signatures confirmed, the gift to God, and St. Guthlac, and to their monks, the entire of the island of Croyland, as a distinct and separate site for the monastery of the aforesaid monks; and as it lies around such monastery, and within those limits and bounds plainly described and defined in the charters of the aforesaid Kings, with its two marshes, viz. Alderlound and Goggislound, lying opposite the western portion of the island, and with the same merings and boundaries as particularised in those charters. These and all other gifts of the aforesaid kings, viz. of Edred, the restorer of the same monastery, and of Edgar, my ancestor, I concede and confirm to the aforesaid monks and their successors, with all the franchises and privileges conceded and contained in their charters, and so to be held by

" St. Guthlac and the before-named monks as a perpetual and purely royal eleemosynary donation.

" The witnesses to this are, Edgitha, my Queen ; Edsy
 " and Ælfrie, archbishops ; Godwin, Leofric, and Siward,
 " earls ; with many more of my nobility."*

* This charter, as well as the letter by which it is preceded, demonstrate what was the power of the sovereign, and how limited and confined it was by *the law* in the Anglo-Saxon times. The king strengthened by his sign-manual all the muniments enjoyed by a monastery, and to which its existing charters proved that the preceding kings with their Witan had assented : but at the same time he had not the power to repair an iniquitous doom, by which a monastery had been spoliated, when that doom had been once pronounced by a king in council. Wulgat had been deprived of his monastery "*judicio regalis curiæ ;*" and Edward compensated him with Croyland for that which he had lost "*juris dictamine suum monasterium perdidit.*"

It was not the only monastery the property of which was so invaded in those calamitous times by wicked noblemen, as the following statement in the History of Ely will fully demonstrate :—

" Of the famous vill of Estre, or as it is now called by the name of Plassiz," says the historian of Ely, " and of the shameful and unjust manner in which it was abstracted from the church of Etheldrida, we must not omit mentioning ; for the facts are plainly and distinctly stated in the ancient writings of the monastery.

" A certain person named Osgod (Clapa), Master of the Horse ('*Æsgarus quidam stallere*'), and in the Latin language, '*Dux*,' invaded this property, and having invaded, held possession of it, and so possessing used and abused it, as if it were his own property. Of that which justly belonged to another, he was made the unjust possessor.

" The Abbot Wulfrie and the monks of the monastery constantly, although in vain, sought restitution from him ; and when they found their prayers were of no effect, they proceeded to the pious King Edward, complained to him of this unjust aggression of an adverse party upon their rights, and implored his majesty's intercession in their behalf. Osgod was, however, a man so rich in wealth, and so exalted by worldly dignities, that he feared

The venerable father, Wulgat, with all his monks, to the number of sixteen (for two of them had died in

neither God nor man; and would not yield obedience even to the commands of his sovereign, and so imitated him, who once said, *'I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the North. I will be like the Most High;'* and like to him who so spoke, and from Heaven fell headlong into Hell, so this man (Osgod), from haughtiness and pride, fell into infamy and disgrace, when the Normans (through God's judgment) won England by war, and followed up their victory by confining him to the day of his death, with many others, in the narrow precincts of a prison.

"The monks of Ely observing that the determination of Osgod to withhold from them their property was not to be changed by prayers or promises, endeavoured then to wound him with the javelin of their anathema. They permitted, therefore, no day to pass without pronouncing upon him the sentence of excommunication. Of himself, he cared little for this; but still, although he was great and powerful in the kingdom, and even though he was the King's Master of the Horse, he yet found himself excluded from the church, and cut off from association with the faithful. Hence it was, but not until he had become an object of detestation to all, that he felt himself driven to make some amendment.

"Here was a man who, misled by the wickedness of his heart, and by his avarice, had seized upon those donations which the faithful had willingly assigned to God, for the redemption of their own souls, and those of their families. He had taken those donations and perverted them to his own use and pleasure; and then, when he found the church continually claiming what was her right, publicly exhibiting the testament of the donor, and with it the confirmatory charter of the King, and that the consequences of all these proceedings were that he was execrated by the multitude, and even reproached by the king, he bethought himself how he might be able to obtain by prayer that which he had not hesitated to seize upon and retain by violence and injustice.

"The monks of Ely, upon ascertaining this, conducted themselves as men who have devoted themselves to the service of God; as persons desirous to live in peace with all, and therefore did they assent to his prayer; he taking oath that this property should return to the church, free from all claim on the part of his family. The agreement then made was written in the Anglo-Saxon language. By it, the Abbot Wulfric, and the community of the Ely monastery, agreed with Osgod, the Master of the Horse, that with

London), and with all his moveable property, arrived at Croyland, and was there received as abbot on the festival of St. Mark the Evangelist (25th April), in the year of our Lord 1048.*

God's blessing and their permission, he should hold and possess the land of Estre during his life, and that after his death, it, and all belonging to it, should return, free of all incumbrance, to the church.

"King Edward, his Queen, and the nobility of the kingdom, were witnesses to the document embodying this concession." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 96, vol. i. pp. 216, 217, 218. See THOM. ELIENS. *Hist.* in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 609. For an account of the deprivation of Ramsey monastery of lands, by a nobleman, under circumstances nearly similar, see *Hist. Rames.* c. 116, pp. 458, 459 (Gale). The spoliation of church lands was not confined to the nobility. Wulfric, the abbot, who in this case had acted so well, yielded himself to temptation, to enable his brother to marry the daughter of a wealthy man. He surreptitiously alienated a portion of the property of the monastery to his brother, to qualify that brother to be a nobleman by rank as he was by birth: "*Quoniam ille quadranginta hidarum terræ dominium minime optineret, licet nobilis esset, inter procures tunc numerari non potuit.*" Upon the monks discovering the alienation of a portion of their lands by the abbot, the unfortunate man fled from the monastery, and died a few days afterwards of a broken heart. See *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 97, vol. i. pp. 218, 219 (Ang. Christ). THOM. ELIENS. *Hist.* in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 609.

* INGULPH. *Hist.* pp. 62, 63, 64 (Gale).

Florence of Worcester places in this year the accession of Ethelric to the see of Durham, vol. i. p. 201.

Before passing from the events of this year, we cannot omit noticing that there were discovered during its progress secret conventicles of peasants in Chalon-sur-Marne, who, amongst other strange doctrines maintained by them, affirmed the unlawfulness of marriage, and depriving any animal of life: "*Nuptias abominantes; esum carniū non modo devitantes, sed et quodcunque animal occidere profanum dicentes.*" ANSELM. *Gest. Episcop. Leodiens.* in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 11.

In the year 1049, the Emperor Henry collected together an immense army against Baldwin, Count of Flanders, because the latter had greatly offended and injured him by the destruction and conflagration at Nimeguen* of a most splendid palace.† In the expedition of the Emperor on this occasion, Pope Leo was a participator, as well as a vast number of the noblest, greatest, and most mighty men of many lands. Even Sweyne, the King of the Danes, in accordance with the commands of the Emperor, came to his aid with a fleet, and upon this occasion took the oaths of fealty to the Emperor.

The Emperor also sent to Edward, King of the English, and asked of him that he would not permit Baldwin to escape, supposing he should make the attempt to do so, by sea. In consequence of the message so sent to him, Edward proceeded with a large fleet to Sandwich, and there he remained until the King had exacted from Baldwin all that he required or wished.‡

In the meanwhile, the Earl Sweyne, the son of Earl Godwin, and of the lady Gytha, who had some time previously fled from England, because he had carried away

* See GUICCIARDINI. *Belg. Univers.* Part. Tert. pp. 5, 6, 7. Neomagus (4) in MARTINIERE. pp. 57, 58. (N.) The destruction of the ancient and magnificent palace of Nimuegen is ascribed by other authorities to Geoffrey, Duke of Lorraine, the ally of Baldwin in their revolt against the German Emperor. See Lambert Schafnaburg, a. 1046, Sigebert. Gemblac. a. 1047. Chron. Leodiens. a. 1047. Chron. Alberic. Trium—Font. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 60, 164, 202, 353.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 201. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 201. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049. BERING. *Florus Danicus*, p. 237. *Magnum Chronicon Belicum* in PISTORIUS, vol. iii. p. 119. (Ed. Struv.) Sigebert. Gemblac. a. 1049. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 164.

Edgiva, the Abbess of Leominster, and would not be permitted to marry her, returned this year from Denmark with eight ships.* Sweyne returned with the false profession on his lips, that he would then henceforth be true and loyal to the King;† and so saying, he requested the Earl Biorn to be of assistance to him, and give him land to feed him on. But Harold, his brother, and the Earl Biorn, resisted, and would give him nothing of that which the King had given them.‡ The King also refused him every thing; whereupon Sweyne retired to his ships at Bosham.

"Then, after the settlement between the Emperor and Baldwin, many ships went home, and the King remained behind at Sandwich with a few ships. Earl Godwin also sailed with forty-two ships from Sandwich to Pevensey, and Earl Biorn went with him.

"Then the King gave leave to all the ships to return home, and they did so."§

At the moment that Edward had under his command but a few ships, and that he had ordered the great body of his fleet to return to their several ports, he was informed that Osgod Clapa lay with twenty-nine ships in Ulpe,|| and

* "Thither also came back again Earl Sweyne, who had gone from this land to Denmark, and there ruined his cause with the Danes." *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. pp. 201, 202.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049. INGRAM's translation, p. 220. The opposite of this is stated by Florence of Worcester:—"Cui Beorn * * * promisit se a rege impetraturum, ut suus ei comitatus redderetur." vol. i. p. 202.

§ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 220.

|| "Or Wulpe, a village on the coast of Flanders, to the N.W.

he consequently recalled as many ships as he possibly could under his command.*

As to Osgod Clapa, he took with him his wife, who had been left with him at Bruges, and then returned with six of his ships to Denmark. The remaining portion of Osgod Clapa's fleet proceeded to the coast of Essex, and there carried off an immense quantity from all the district around the promontory of Eadulfsness.† The fleet of the plunderers then sailed towards their own country; but in so doing, they were intercepted by an awful tempest, in which all the ships were lost but two, and these two being captured by the inhabitants of foreign lands, every man found on board of them was put to death.‡

"Whilst Earl Godwin and Earl Biörn lay at Pevensey
"with their ships, came Earl Sweyne, and with a pretence,

of Sluys. See Grimm's *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 330." THORPE, note to Florence of Worcester, vol. i. p. 202. (E. H. S.)

* F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 202.

† "The *Ness*, or *Eadulfsness*, now called *Thorpe*, q. d. *the village*, by way of eminence, gave its name in Domesday to the district of three parishes, *Thorpe*, *Walton*, and *Kirkby*, known by the name of the *Sokens*, peculiars of the Dean and Chapter of London, till Queen Mary subjected them to the Bishop. In this liberty none might be arrested but by the bailiff of the liberty, and the consent of the lord first obtained; nor did the sheriff's power extend hither." CAMDEN's *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 138. In the reign of Richard II., some large teeth were discovered—supposed to be of the elephants brought over to England by Claudius, A.D. 64. See same page, and p. 124.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 202. "But there came upon them a strong wind, so that they were all lost but four persons, who were afterwards slain beyond sea." *Sax. Chron.* Thus it appeared, that Heaven avenged the wrong that had been done by those pirates to the unoffending subjects of St. Edward.

“ requested of Earl Biörn, who was his uncle's son, that
 “ he would be his companion to the King at Sandwich,
 “ and better his condition with him, adding that he
 “ would swear oaths to him, and be faithful to him.*
 “ Whereupon, Biörn concluded, that he would not, for
 “ their relationship, betray him. He therefore took three
 “ companions with him, and they rode to Bosham, where
 “ his (Sweyne's) ships lay, as though they should proceed
 “ to Sandwich; but they suddenly bound him (Biörn),
 “ and led him to the ships, and went thence with him to
 “ Dartmouth, where they ordered him to be slain, and
 “ buried deep.† The body of Biörn was afterwards found,
 “ Harold the cousin of the murdered man had it disin-
 “ terred, and brought to the old minster at Winchester,
 “ where it was placed beside the remains of King Canute,
 “ the uncle of the deceased. Then the King and all the
 “ army proclaimed Sweyne an outlaw.

“ A little before this, the men of Hastings and there-
 “ abouts fought with their ships two of Sweyne's ships,
 “ slew all the men that were in them, and brought the
 “ ships to Sandwich to the King.‡

“ Eight ships had Sweyne ere he betrayed Biörn.
 “ Afterwards they all forsook him except two; whereupon

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049.

† “ But Sweyne led Biörn to Bosham, where he had stationed his fleet, and no sooner had he his victim on board, than he ordered him to be bound with thongs; and so held him, until he reached the mouth of the river Dart, where Biörn was slain, his body cast into a deep trench, and then covered over with earth.” *F. WIGORN.* a. 1049. vol. i. pp. 202, 203.

‡ “ Dimiserunt illum sex naves, quarum duas paulo post cœperunt Hastingenses, et occisis qui fuerunt in eis.” *F. WIGORN.* vol. i. p. 203.

“ he went eastward to the land of Baldwin, and sat there
 “ all the winter in full security.*

In the month of August, in the same year (1049),† Irish pirates,‡ in six-and-thirty ships, entered the mouth of the Severn, effected a landing at a place called Wylesecaxan, and being there aided by Griffin, King of the South Britons, they collected a large amount of spoil from all the adjoining districts, and did much mischief. Both parties then united their forces together—the King and the pirates—and passing up the river Wye, they set fire to Dymedham, and all persons found in the place were slaughtered by them. Against these invaders, Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, and a few of the inhabitants of Gloucester and Hereford, assembled hastily together for the purpose of encountering them. Amongst the persons so hurriedly mustered, there were Welshmen, who having vowed fidelity to the English, still secretly sent a messenger to King Griffin, beseeching of him that he would

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, p. 222, slightly altered. “That private vengeance was the immediate cause of this atrocious deed” (the murder of Biörn) “cannot be doubted, though it may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the deep-rooted hatred fostered by the Anglo-Saxons towards the Danes, which was, moreover, soon rendered more manifest by the expulsion from England of Asbiörn (Esbern) with all his followers, whereby Danish influence in public affairs was totally annihilated.” LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 242.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 203.

‡ “Hiberniensis piratæ.” F. WIGORN. “In the same year came up from Ireland, thirty-six ships.” *Sax. Chron.*

make a sudden and unexpected charge upon the English. No sooner had Griffin received this communication, than he flew forward with his own men and the Irish pirates, and at the dawn of day, coming down with a desperate charge upon the English, he slew vast numbers of them, and put the rest to flight.*

“ In this same year (1049), King Edward put nine
“ ships out of pay; and the crews departed, and went
“ away with the ships withal, leaving five ships only
“ behind, for whom the King ordered twelve months’
“ pay.”†

* F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 203. We find Griffin, the Prince of Wales, by whom this massacre was committed, in the year 1046, (Sax. Chron.) making terms of peace with Earl Sweyne—that same Earl Sweyne, afterwards an outlaw and a pirate (pirata factus prædis marinis virtutes majorum polluit, W. Malsb.); in constant communication with the Danish pirates (Sax. Chron. 1048, 1049); and then we find in this year, his banishment followed by the piratical invasions of those who most probably were Danes, supported by Sweyne’s old friend Griffin, and both united in defeating Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, and the same Aldred effecting the restoration of Sweyne to England. (F. Wigorn. a. 1049. Sax. Chron. 1049, also 1050.) With these circumstances combined together, is it not a probable inference that Aldred interfered on behalf of Sweyne, either because he was persuaded he might by so doing save those intrusted to his care from further aggressions on the part of the Welsh and the pirates, or, because they had made such the condition of their abstaining from future molestation?

† *Sax. Chron.* Ingram’s translation, p. 223. This action, so simply told, was a portion of the wise and humane policy pursued by St. Edward as an English monarch. Its importance and its

In the course of this year (1049), died Ednoth, the Bishop of Dorchester,* to whom succeeded the King's chaplain, Ulf, a Norman by birth.† In the same year also died Oswy, the Abbot of Thorney, Wulnoth, the Abbot of Westminster, and Siward, who had been the coadjutor of Edsy, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Siward was buried where he had died, at Abingdon monastery.‡

The same year (1049), went Bishops Hereman and Aldred to the Pope at Rome, on the King's message.§

value is fully appreciated by the Anti-Catholic Lappenberg, who thus refers to it:—

"By the expulsion of all the powerful Danes it became practicable to relieve the nation from the burthen of Danegild, the most odious of the numerous taxes under which the nation groaned. Such a measure could only be gradually carried into execution, and it was not until the year 1049 that the last steps for its abolition were taken, when the King *dismissed nine Danish ships*, retaining five only with their crew (lithsmen) in his service, for the next twelve months. In the following summer, the Anglo-Saxon looked with feelings of gladness on his havens, in which no longer waved the hated Danish flag; and on the towers of London, no more guarded by a mercenary and privileged band of hus-carls." LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 242, 243. The author who thus appreciates the wisdom and patriotism of the Sainted King, still finds fault with him because of his "veneration for Rome," and "the homage paid by Edward to the papal chair." See same vol. pp. 243, 244, 245.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1049. "This year died the good Bishop Ednoth in Oxfordshire." *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN. "King Edward gave the bishopric which Ednoth had to Ulf, his priest; but it ill betided him, and he was driven from it, because he did nought like a bishop therein, so that it shameth us now to say more." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 203.

§ "And on tham ylcan geare ferde Hereman biscop and Eal-

The object in sending those messengers to the apostolical see, was that Edward might be released from the vow, "that he would go to Rome, if he should ever be able to obtain possession of his paternal kingdom."*

In the midst of all the fortunate circumstances with which he was surrounded, the blessed King Edward had never been unthoughtful for a moment of the vow that he had made; for he was one who, however prosperous at the present time, could never be forgetful of the miseries that he had previously endured.† He pondered over and over again what great and mighty things God had done for him; how he who had been poor had become rich; how he who had been humble had been exalted; how he who had been living an inglorious exile was now a crowned king;—and pondering upon all those changes, he resolved that his acts should convert into a substantial reality that which was as yet but the spoken word of an unfulfilled vow. He allocated the sums necessary for the journey; he set apart what was intended as donations, and then summoning to his presence all the nobles of his entire kingdom, he addressed to them the following discourse upon the state of his empire, and his contemplated pilgrimage:—

"Blessed be God, Who hath magnified His mercy towards us; Whose rod hath fallen upon us for our

dred biscop to Rome. to tham papan. on thaes cinges acrende." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049. F. WIGORN. a. 1050. vol. i. p. 204.

* "Hujus Papæ temporibus misit rex Eadwardus legatos ad sedem Apostolicam, ut a voto quod voverat absolveretur, voverat enim ire Roman, si regna paterna eum adipisci contingeret." M. WESTMINST. a. 1049. p. 416.

† AILRED. *Vit. Edward Confess.* p. 179.

“ iniquities, and Who, in chastening us for our sins, hath
“ not ceased to feel compassion for us. Lo, He hath
“ reduced the proud and exalted the humble, filled the
“ hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty.
“ ‘ By me,’ He hath said, ‘ kings reign, and princes dis-
“ pense justice.’

“ By you, who now hear me, it is not, and cannot be
“ forgotten, as a thing that never had been, how foreign
“ barbarians intruded upon, and usurped our inheritance,
“ rendered us an opprobrium to our neighbours, a mockery
“ and a scorn to all surrounding nations. Some were
“ slain, some put to flight, some subjected to the ignomi-
“ nious yoke of slavery ; and there was left to our entire
“ race neither the enjoyment of existing honour, nor
“ so much as the admission of glory as a nation, even
“ though that glory had passed away ; calamity succeeded
“ to calamity—the death of my father—the assassination
“ of my kindred—my nephews in exile—fortune fa-
“ vouring our foes in all their achievements—whilst for
“ myself, not one single hope remained !

“ And yet, I hoped against hope ; for I had faith—I
“ abandoned myself totally and absolutely to the mercy of
“ God—I vowed a pilgrimage to the threshold of the holy
“ Apostles, and having so done, I committed myself to the
“ Divine protection and disposition. God looked down
“ upon my prayer, and He did not despise my devotion,
“ and He took away my opprobrium, and He restored me
“ to my father’s kingdom ; and He did more than all this :
“ He endowed me with wealth, He increased the glory of
“ my nation, and He illuminated it with heavenly gifts.
“ He subdued rebels without bloodshed, destroyed my

“foes, and has quieted all into the sweet calmness of a loving peace, and an affectionate concord.

“Far—far then—be from me, or from you, the thought of being found ungrateful for so many and such great benefits bestowed on us by the Lord. On the contrary, let us, who are now freed from the hands of our enemies, prove ourselves but the more ready and willing to serve Him in justice and with truth. Let us act as the Prophet says—‘Fulfil the vow thou hast made to thy Lord and God.’ Do you, therefore, now determine with me in what manner, whilst I am on my pilgrimage, the affairs of the kingdom of England shall be administered; by what laws, by what pacificatory mode, by whose supreme disposition all things shall be decided; who shall preside over the land, who superintend our military defence, who take care of the cities, who look to the interests of individuals, and provide for the public necessities? For us all there will be the same guardian and the like protector—God. The peace that He has given us He will preserve, at the same instant travelling with us and remaining with you; and He who watches over you in my absence, will also bring me back in safety to you.”

At the utterance of these words the entire multitude trembled, whilst sighs and tears betrayed the secret grief that was in their hearts. Again the fear arose amongst them of those Danish bands, whose incursions they had escaped through the merits of St. Edward; and so fearing, the dread came upon them that that country was about to be overwhelmed with destruction. The speech that he had made became bruited amongst the multitude—it seemed to burst over and amongst them

with the shock of the thunderbolt ; and lo ! there arose on all sides a clamour and a tumult, as when fires rage through a populous city ; and the entire island might be said to be bedewed with tears. Then might the poor be seen first to raise their hands to heaven, and then to fall headlong to the earth, as if they felt that once their King had departed from amongst them they were doomed to die of famine, and their only cares henceforth should be their burial, and the grave-yard. And then men, of every degree, cried out to the King that he ought not, could not, must not desert them, expose them to the swords, and this nation to the ravages of their enemies, by taking from them that pledge of peace and sincerity which God, in him, had given to them ; and they reminded him, that, for the contentment or even advantage of one individual, the general weal should not be placed in peril. The bishops commanded, the nobles prayed, the people exhorted Edward, if he could not determine upon abandoning his contemplated pilgrimage, he would at least consent to its postponement.

Edward being so assailed by the affection of his people, so moved by their tears, so stirred by their words, so pressed by their prayers, hesitated long and anxiously between his piety towards God and his love for his subjects ; for he deemed it to be perilous to his salvation not to fulfil his vow, and he regarded it as unfeeling, if not inhuman, not to yield an assent to the petitions so incessantly addressed to him. At length, desirous to know what course of proceeding might be the more in accordance with the will of God, he considered that it would be best not absolutely to abandon, but for a time to postpone his contemplated pilgrimage, so that, guiding his conduct

by the advice and the wishes of apostolical authority, he might, in accordance with the decision of the Pontiff, either fulfil his vow, or make compensation for its non-fulfilment.

No sooner did it become known that the King had determined upon adopting this course of proceeding, than the joy that was diffused amongst all classes, amongst the poor as well as the rich, appeared to be almost as great, as if Edward had been restored to them after a long absence, or as if he were again recalled from his exile to ascend the throne of his ancestors. Each, according to his rank, his ability, and his office, laboured to relieve the King's mind of any compunction that might be felt by him, for the postponement in the execution of his vow, some by their prayers, some by their alms-gifts, and a few by the promise of performing the self-same pilgrimage on his behalf.

Thus it was that there came to be despatched as ambassadors to the Apostolical See, Aldred, Bishop of Worcester,* and Herman, Bishop of Winchester, and with these two abbots, illustrious for their piety, and along with these several other individuals, laymen as well as clergymen. All that was necessary for so great a journey was prepared; and the King's commands being delivered to his ambassadors, they set forth on their journey to Rome.

It may be believed it was in accordance with the providence of God, that when the King's representatives

* In the original, and by mistake, "Archiepiscopus Eboracensis Ælredus," as Aldred did not obtain that dignity until 1060. He visited Rome in 1061. *Sax. Chron.* 1060.

arrived in Rome, they found a numerous council assembled there, engaged in the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and over which presided Pope Leo, of blessed memory.* This illustrious assemblage of holy men rejoiced in the arrival of the English ambassadors; they looked upon their coming as a consolation sent to them from heaven, and hailed as a favour the presence amongst them of so many reverend men; they estimated as a great boon from God, that at such time, and to such a council, such individuals should come amongst them from the very boundaries of the earth.

In accordance with the commands of the most blessed father, the Pope, the King's ambassadors stood up in the midst of the council, and proceeded to state the cause of their coming, and as they did so, they found the assembled fathers listened to them in silence so marked, and so profound, that it might be termed an almost devout attention. The King's ambassadors there unfolded what was the desire of their sovereign, and what the dangers of the monarchy, the critical circumstances on which its prolonged tranquillity rested, the clamours of the poor, the tears of orphans, the wounds inflicted by a recent invasion and a late usurpation not yet cicatrised, the miseries that Danish cruelty had inflicted upon the English, and the renewal of which, in an aggravated form, were to be apprehended if the King absented himself from the country.

The ambassadors ceased to speak; and the silence that

* As to the councils held this year at Rome by Pope Leo IX., and his efforts to reform church abuses, see BAKONIVS. vol. xvii. pp. 22, 23, 24, 25, § 7—14.

ensued was soon broken with words of praise and expressions of thanks from all present. The King's love and devotion to God, and the people's love and loyalty for their King, were alike descanted upon. All alike admired him, for they found combined in the same individual the meekness of David, the prudence of Joseph, and the riches of Solomon.

At length the Supreme Pontiff dictated a decree, in which all coincided, viz. : " That, for the sake of the peace
" of the kingdom, for the advantage of the church, for the
" benefit of the poor, and for the tranquillity of monas-
" teries, the King should, by the authority of God and of
" St. Peter, as well as of that most holy council then pre-
" sent, be solemnly absolved from the obligation of his
" vow, and the sums which he had accumulated to defray
" the expenses of his journey bestowed upon the poor ;
" and that in compensation of his vow, there should, out
" of the royal treasures, be constructed, in honour of
" St. Peter, a monastery, either one entirely new, or one
" that had been destroyed by the barbarians restored."

The ambassadors then presented to the churches of the saints those gifts and offerings which the holy King had directed to be bestowed upon them, and having received the pontifical benediction, they returned with great joy, the bearers of the Pope's letter to their own country.* No sooner had they arrived in England than they delivered, in presence of a witenagemot, especially summoned by the King for the purpose, the following epistle :

* " This year returned the bishops home from Rome." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1050.

“ RESCRIPT OF THE POPE.

“ Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our
 “ beloved son, Edward, King of the English, health and
 “ apostolical benediction !

“ Recognising as we do thy laudable and most grateful
 “ devotion to God, we give thanks for it to Him, through
 “ Whom kings reign, and princes decree justice. But,
 “ since God is in all places present to those who invoke
 “ Him in truth, and that the Holy Apostles with their
 “ Head are ever united in spirit, and equally hear the
 “ pious prayers addressed to them ; and because it is
 “ manifest that thy kingdom of England would be endan-
 “ gered by the absence of thee who restrainest with the
 “ curb of justice the movements of the seditious, we there-
 “ fore, by the authority of God, of His holy apostles, and
 “ of this sacred council, do absolve thee from the sin of
 “ that vow, by which thou fearest to have offended God,
 “ and from all thy omissions and transgressions, by that
 “ power which God hath conceded to us through St. Peter,
 “ when He said—‘ Whatsoever sins you loose on earth
 “ ‘shall be loosed in Heaven.’ Wherefore we command
 “ thee, in the name of holy obedience and penitence, that
 “ thou bestow upon the poor those sums of money which
 “ thou didst intend, and had accumulated, for the purpose
 “ of expending upon thy journey ; and that thou construct
 “ in honour of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, either
 “ a new monastery, or that thou enlarge and repair an old
 “ monastery, and allocate out of thy revenues a sufficient
 “ sum for the maintenance of the monks, so that they in
 “ that place may assiduously praise God, increase the
 “ glory of the Saints, and intercede for thee. And upon
 “ that place, whatever thou shalt bestow, is given, or con-

“ferred, we do, by apostolical authority, command that it
“be regarded as ratified, and that the same place be ever-
“more a habitation for monks, and be subjected neither
“to layman nor king. And whatsoever privileges thou,
“for the honour of God, shalt declare that it is henceforth
“to be invested with, we also concede to it, and by apos-
“tolical power confirm; and at the same time condemn
“with an everlasting malediction whomsoever may be
“their violators.”*

With the vow of the King and the letter of the Pontiff there was coincident the delivery of a heavenly oracle, by means of which there was made known to a certain holy man, who otherwise must have been ignorant of the circumstances, what had occurred at Rome. The oracle in this case was pronounced by the Prince of the Apostles.

There was an individual, beloved by God and man, who had lived for many years a recluse in a cave under ground, and who was then approaching that period when he was destined to receive the reward in heaven of his merits upon this earth. To this individual the most blessed Peter appeared in a vision by night, and dispelling, by the gentleness of his voice and the meekness of his aspect, the fear that his presence was calculated to inspire, he gave utterance to these words:—

“King Edward, when he was an exile, bound himself
“by a vow, and then consulting for the welfare of his
“kingdom, and the good of his people, and anxious to

* The Pope (Leo IX.) who granted this dispensation to Edward, when Bishop of Toul, “out of devotion to St. Peter, visited once a year the tombs of the apostles, at Rome.” See BUTLER’S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv. p. 485.

“ provide for the necessities of the poor, and attentive to
“ their prayers, has sent an embassy to the church of
“ Rome, to take advice as to that course which shall be
“ for the good of all. He will learn that he is, by my
“ authority, released from his vow, and that the sanctifying
“ command is given to him, to construct a monastery in
“ honour of my name. Let him then at once faithfully
“ attend to the Apostolical letter, obey its precepts, and
“ act upon its counsels. Let him do so, for the proposi-
“ tion emanates from me, whom he long since chose as his
“ patron, as the companion of his days, and as the bestower
“ of grace. Let him know there is in the western district
“ of London a spot, chosen by me, a place loved by me, a
“ site by my own hands consecrated by me, a locality
“ that I have ennobled by my presence, and that I have
“ rendered illustrious by divine miracles. The name
“ of this place is Thorney; a place which, formerly,
“ on account of the sins of the people, was delivered over
“ to the power of barbarians, and thus from being once
“ rich has been rendered most poor, humiliated where it
“ once had been exalted, and contemptible where it
“ had previously been ennobled with dignity. Let, then,
“ this same place, in accordance with my commands, be
“ made by the King a habitation for monks, and not
“ only its ruins be repaired, but itself adorned with
“ spacious edifices, and its property amplified; and so
“ shall it be nought else than a house of God, and a gate
“ of heaven. There shall be raised up a ladder, upon
“ which angels, ascending and descending, shall bear up
“ to God the prayers and vows of men, and shall bring
“ back to them His grace and mercy; and to those coming
“ up from thence I will unlock the gate of paradise, and

“ by virtue of the office which our God and Saviour hath
 “ confided to me, I shall loose those that are bound, and
 “ receive those that are loosed, and open the portals of the
 “ celestial regions to those who are justified. All that thou
 “ hast now heard and learned from me do thou commit to
 “ writing, and send it by a messenger to the King, so that
 “ by this double gift of God, he may feel the more secure
 “ respecting the absolution bestowed upon him, be the
 “ more devoutly eager to execute the command given to
 “ him, and be ever found the more disposed to love and
 “ obedience for me.”

With these words, light and the speaker vanished at the same instant.

The recluse, without a moment's delay, sent for a clerical scribe, by whom, at his dictation, was committed to writing all that he had seen and heard. The epistle was then delivered by him to a clerical messenger,* with directions that he should take and deliver it, as it was addressed, to the King's palace, which was many miles distant from the cell of the recluse.

And so it came to pass, that on the same day, in the same place, and before the same witenagemot to which the ambassadors returning from the Apostolical See rendered an account of their embassy, that the epistle of the holy recluse was presented to the King, and its purport unfolded to him. The reading of the Rescript of the saintly Pope was followed by the perusal of the lines of the holy sage. With uplifted voices, and with inward joy, God was blessed by all for His gifts, and praised for every one of His works. All admired the sanctity of the King,

* “Bajulo,” AILRED. See DUCANGE, in verb. *bajulus*.

all comprehended the glory of the Apostolical See, all were confirmed in their faith, and by that faith the thoughts of all were raised from this earth to heaven, and so inflamed with a more intense love for God.

As to the truth of the oracle, there could not be, even for an instant, the hesitation of a doubt, for the man lived in the province of Worcester, secluded from the conversation of his fellow-men, and, therefore, as to what had occurred at Rome, or what injunctions had been given to the ambassadors, or when those ambassadors returned, it was absolutely impossible for him to know, unless through the means of a revelation from God.

The King then with great joy and alacrity did as he had been directed. The money that he had set apart for the expenses of his pilgrimage, he distributed and gave to the poor ; and he next employed his mind and devoted his wealth to the great work which it had been enjoined upon him to execute.*

* AILRED. Vit. Edward Confess. pp. 379, 380, 381, 382, 383. These are marvellous incidents in the life of St. Edward, and all bear upon the construction of the monastery at Westminster—that glorious monument, which still remains a witness of the piety of Anglo-Saxon Kings. The charter of Edward for founding Westminster is still to be found amongst the ancient records of the nation ; and it still continues as a corroborative proof of the statements contained in the text.

A few extracts from this valuable document will suffice to prove this.

“ Edward, by the grace of God, King of the English, &c. I wish it to be known, that, whereas, in the time of my ancestors, and of my father, the English nation was afflicted with many dangers and grievous wars, excited against them by domestic enemies, as well as by foreign foes ; so that the hereditary succession of the English Kings was placed in the most imminent peril, and a

It was in this year (1049) that the Pope St. Leo, at the desire of the Abbot Heriman, a man conspicuous for his

long space of time elapsed between the death of my brother Edmund, who succeeded my father, and my own accession. During which time, the kingdom was invaded by Sweyne and Canute, Kings of the Danes, and by the sons of Canute, Harold, and Hardecnute, and through their means my brother Alfred was cruelly put to death, so that I, as Joas was saved from the murderous designs of Athulia, alone escaped their cruelty. At length God took compassion upon me, and after many years had passed away, I returned to my native land, and was, without the peril of war, placed in possession of my rights, and like to Solomon, the beloved of God, I have so abounded in peace and prosperity, that none of the kings, my predecessors, can be regarded as like to me in glory and riches. * * *

Therefore it was, that I was deliberating upon proceeding to the threshold of the sublime Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of there offering up my thanks for the blessings that have been bestowed upon me, and of praying that the same peace and tranquillity that have been granted to me, God would be pleased to secure to my successors. I had calculated and prepared the expenses necessary for my journey, as well as those gifts intended to be borne by me as proofs of my respect and veneration for the Holy Apostles. And because I did this, deep grief and sorrow were felt by the nobles, who remembered the evils they had endured under the preceding kings, and who were apprehensive lest, in the absence of their lord, their father, and their king, the country which had been but recently settled should be again disturbed by hostilities. They dreaded that their Ezekias should be lost on the way, through sickness, or some other misfortunes, and that they thus might be deprived of their native princes, especially so, as I have not any son.

“ Upon this subject they held council with me, and besought of me, that I would abandon my intention— they promising they would offer satisfaction to God for the non-fulfilment of my vow, by the oblation of Masses and prayers, as well as by a large distribution of alms (*tam in Missarum et orationum oblatione, quam in eleemosynarum larga distributione*). But when I was strongly opposed to any such proposition, it was at length agreed between us, that ambassadors should be sent on both sides, the Bishops Aldred, and the Abbots Wulfric and Elsin. * * *

(The charter then proceeds to recapitulate what occurred at

piety and religious zeal, came to France.* The Pope was on this occasion accompanied by the prefect and other great dignitaries of the city of Rome, and then it was, that the monastery erected at Rheims to St. Remy, the Apostle of the French, was dedicated with all the ceremonies and magnificence calculated to confer the highest honour upon a circumstance in itself so interesting.†

Rome, and sets forth the Rescript of the Pope published in the text, and then thus continues.)

"When the ambassadors related to us these and other commands from the Apostolical See, it appeared, that in the meanwhile, the Blessed Peter had revealed to a certain man of exemplary life, a recluse and a monk, named Wulfin, that it was his will that I should restore a place that is called Westminster, that was instituted in the time of Saint Augustine, first bishop of the English, that had been honoured by the great munificence of ancient kings; but which, on account of its antiquity and the frequent tumults of wars, appears to have been almost completely destroyed. And when this vision was related to me, and the Apostolical letters conveyed to me the like command, I then made my will submissive to the will of God, and with the approval of my entire kingdom, and I devoted myself to the restoration of the aforesaid place. Therefore have I commanded a tithe to be taken of my entire substance, of gold, of silver, of cattle, and every other description of property, and destroying the old, I have constructed a new church from its very foundations." *SPELMAN*. p. 628, as quoted in *ALFORD. Ann. Eccles. Anglican.* vol. iii. pp. 538, 539. § 13—16. See *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i. p. 7.

* *F. WIGORN.* a. 1049. vol. i. p. 203.

† *F. WIGORN.* a. 1049. vol. i. p. 203, 204. "This year was also consecrated the great Minster at Rheims, in the presence of Pope Leo and the Emperor." *Sax. Chron.* Upon this occasion the Pope bore upon his own shoulders the relics of St. Remy: "Ipse ante alios, cum præfatis Archiepiscopis et Abbatibus, suppositis humeris illud devote lacrymans extulit." *ANSELM. Hist. Dedication. Eccles. S. Remig. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 466. See also in the same vol. p. 491, the letter of Pope Leo IX., with respect to the celebration of the feast of St.

There was afterwards held in the city of Rheims, a great synod* of archbishops, bishops, and abbots, which lasted for six days.† At this great synod, there “was present Pope Leo, with the Archbishops of Burgundy, of Besançon, of Treves, and of Rheims; and many wise men besides, both clergy and laity. A great synod there held they, respecting the service of God, at the instance of St. Leo the Pope.‡ It would be difficult to recognize all the bishops that came thither, and also abbots. King Edward sent thither Bishop Dudoc,§ and Abbot Wulfric, of St. Augustine’s, and Alfwin, Abbot of Ramsey,|| with the intent that they should report to the

Remy, as Apostle of France. See also BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 29. § 17.

* An attempt was made, but in vain, by the King of France, to prevent this synod being held; see Anselm’s History of the Dedication of the Church of St. Remy, as quoted in Baronius, vol. xvii. pp. 27, 28. § 17. Many dreaded the holding of this synod, because it was well known that its object was to prevent simony amongst churchmen, and incestuous marriages by laymen. The opponents to the synod are thus described by Anselm: “—— quosdam potentes laicos—qui incestis conjugii operam dando, et aliorum criminum nefariis usibus se implicando *

* Sed et nonnullos Episcopos et Abbates illis adjungit, qui in ovile dominicum aliunde non per ostium irruperant; et in Ecclesiis suis Catholicorum Patrum sanctionibus contraria quædam pululare permiserant.” BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 27. §. 17. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 465.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1049. vol. i. p. 204.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1049.

§ “Dudocus sive Dudoc, xiv. Wellensis Episcopus, de Saxonia in partibus Alemanniæ oriundus.” Canon. Wellens de Episc. Bathen. et Wellen. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 558. See Concil. Remens. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 522.

|| In the History of Ramsey monastery, it is stated that King Edward confided to Dudoc, Wulfric, and Alfwin, the task of giving an account, in the Anglo-Saxon, of the Acts and Decrees of

“ King what was there determined concerning Christendom.”*

the Council at Rheims, which account was deposited in his treasury, and confided to the care of his chamberlain, Hugolin. *Hist. Rames.* c. 114. It is also mentioned, that when at Rheims, Alfwyn obtained from the Pope a charter, confirming to the monastery all the rights and privileges it then enjoyed. *Hist. Rames.* c. 115. p. 458 (Gale). For an account of Wulfric, the Abbot of St. Augustine's, and who was punished by a sudden death, for his presumption in pulling down the oratory of the Blessed Virgin at Canterbury, see THORN. *Chron.* pp. 1784, 1785.

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, pp. 223, 224, slightly altered. See F. WIGORN. a. 1049. p. 204. S. DUNELM. p. 184. R. DICT. p. 475. SPELMAN. *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 571.

Of this council an account will be found in Baronius, vol. xvii. pp. 31—36. § 17.

Amongst the Decrees issued by this council, and that are not to be regarded as novelties, and as then for the first time issued, we find the following, that are still worthy of perusal, especially by those who may fancy they are themselves members of “the church.”

“ Ne quis sine electione cleri et populi ad regimen ecclesiasticum proveheretur.

“ Ne quis sacros ordines, aut ministeria ecclesiastica, vel altaria emeret, aut venderet: et si quis clericorum quidlibet eorum emisset, ut cum digna satisfactione suo episcopo redderet.

“ Ne quis pro sepultura, vel baptismo, sive pro Eucharistia, aut infirmorum visitatione quidquam exigeret.

“ Ne quis clericus vel laicus usuras exerceat.

“ Ne quis pauperes homines rapinis vel captionibus vexaret.

“ Ne quis legitima uxore derelicta aliam duceret.”

These were not novelties introduced by a Pope, but “sanctorum patrum decreta, quæ jam per incuriam per nihilo habebantur, præcepto suæ auctoritatis renovavit.” BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 36.

It was at this council that Baldwin of Flanders was interdicted from giving his daughter Matilda in marriage to William of Normandy. BARONIUS. vol. xvi. p. 36. *Concil. Remens.* in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 523. See, with respect to the

In the year 1050, died Edsy the Archbishop of Canterbury.* Then had King Edward a meeting of the great council in London, in mid-lent, at which he appointed Robert the Frank, who had previously been Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury; and Robert during the same Lent went to Rome for the purpose of being invested with his pall.†

Spearhafoc, the Abbot of Abingdon, obtained the see of London, but before he could be consecrated, he was driven from it by King Edward,‡ and the abbacy of was bestowed by Edward upon his cousin Bishop Rodulph.§

"The Pope held a council again," (in 1050,) "at Ver-cell|| and Bishop Ulf came thither, where he nearly

marriage of William and Matilda, and some interesting particulars as to Matilda, MICHEL. notes to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 111, 112, 113, 114. (Documents Inédits sur L'Hist. de France.)

* F. WIGORN. a. 1050. vol. i. p. 204.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1050.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1050. vol. i. p. 204.

§ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1050. "Rodulph, a Norwegian bishop, and the King's relation." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 204. note 2. (E. H. S.)

|| It was at this council that the heresy of Berengarius first attracted attention—the heresy consisted in "the denial of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist." Berengarius had "attacked Paschasius Radbert, who, in 831, wrote a learned treatise on the Eucharist, and held up to admiration John Scotus Erigena, who flourished in the ninth century, and is believed to have been *the first* who attacked the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Cardinal Gotti, however, remarks, that Berenger is looked on as the founder of this heresy, as the church was obliged to summon several councils to condemn it." ST. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI'S *History of Heresies*, c. x. art. i. § 3. vol. i. p. 249, translated by the most Rev. J. T. MULLOCK (Duffy's Edition). See also BARONIUS. vol. xvii.

“ had his staff broken, had he not paid more money, because he could not perform his duties so well as he should do.”*

pp. 47, 48. § 2, 3, 4. a. 1050. See also ad an. 1055. § 23, 24, 1059. § 2, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19. 1079. § 3. BOSSUET'S *Variations of the Protestant Churches*, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53, 363, 364, 365, 366, 377, (Duffy's Edition). BERGIER. *Dictionnaire de Theologie*, vol. i. pp. 352, 353, 354, in verb. *Berengeriens*. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. iv. pp. 486, 487, (St. Leo IX. P. C.)

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, p. 225. “ And forneah man sceolde tobreccan his staef. gif he ne sealde the mare gersuman. forthan he ne cuthe don his gerihte. swa wel swa he sceolde.” What then was the offence of Ulf, and how was it compensated for? The *Saxon Chronicle* has already referred to Ulf's appointment as bishop, by saying, “ It ill betided him, and he was driven from it, because he did nought like a bishop therein, so that it shameth us now to say more.” ad. a. 1049. See H. HUNT. p. 365. Probably he had obtained the mitre by simony, and like other simoniacal clergymen, was guilty of extortion, and, therefore, was compelled to disburse, for the purposes of charity, what he had unduly obtained. The practice of simony was but too frequent about this period of time. For the frequent condemnation of it by the Popes and the church, see BARONIUS. vol. xvii. ad a. 1047. § 6, 7, 8. 1049. § 17, 1056. § 12, 1057. § 30, 1059. § 50, 51, 52, 53, 1063. § 32, 1065. § 37, 1067. § 4, 1072. § 6, 1073. § 2, 1075. § 4, 1090. § 2. Its practice in the early part of this century is observed by Pagi, both in Germany and Italy, see BARONIUS. vol. xvi. pp. 549, 550, 596, 597, 598. ad a. 1025. § 2. 1033. § 7. Whatever was the crime of Ulf, simony or otherwise, are we to suppose that it could be compensated for by money given to the Pope, or to the officers of the Papal Court? Perchance, the slanderers of the Papacy, relying upon the words of the *Saxon Chronicle*, may attempt to make such an assertion. Its probability, however, will not be found consistent with the following incident in the life of Pope Leo IX., which is placed by Baronius under the date of the year 1049. The incident is taken from the Life of St Leo, by Desiderius, Abbot of Casino :—

“ Upon another occasion,” says Desiderius, “ a certain French

In the year 1050,* the land seemed to be deprived of its productive powers, and no longer to be able to give forth with its usual fertility the fruits of the earth.† Numbers of the inhabitants were wasted away with famine ;

bishop (for so the fact has been told to me by Pope Gregory) was suspended from the discharge of his functions by Pope Leo. This French bishop had in his diocese a priest named Gibert, a man eloquent in discourse, and by no means ill-informed in letters, and Gibert promised the bishop, that if he were sent to Rome, he would, by his cunning and his asseverations, be able so to delude the blessed Pope, as to induce him to restore the prelate to his see. For this purpose money was given to Gibert, and he arrived at Rome. Upon being presented to the holy Pontiff, he began like the artful serpent, and sought by winding round him in every way, by rhetorical discourses, by sweet expressions, and by humble prayers, to induce the Pope to restore the bishop to the office of which he asserted he had been unjustly deprived. But when this priest found that what he so urgently sought for was firmly refused, and that he could not, as he had hoped, deceive the Pope, then he exerted his ingenuity how he might make it appear to the bishop, from whom he had received no inconsiderable sum of money, that his errand had not been fruitless. With this intention he went to the Chancellor of the Apostolical See, and having offered him a sum of money, endeavoured to persuade him to give forged letters, marked with the Apostolical seal, which he might bring back to his bishop, and that would signify that the prelate had been restored to his bishopric, and to the grace of the Apostolical See. This circumstance was not concealed from the knowledge of the blessed Leo. He immediately summoned the priest before him, and taking the money that had been offered, and flinging it to him, he said : ‘ *Keep thy money to thyself to perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.* ’ These words were on the instant followed by the divine vengeance ; for from that day forth the priest lost his senses ; went about the world as a vagabond ; and never could he be retained, nor would he remain in house or in cloisters for a longer period than two or three days.” DESIDER. AB. CASSIN. De S. Leo. Papa, as quoted in BARONIUS. vol. xvii. pp. 42, 43. a. 1049. § 27.

* Sax. Chron.

† INGULFUS. Hist. a. 1051. p. 65.

and the want of growing crops, and the consequent deficiency of bread afflicted thousands upon thousands of human beings. In such a state of things, the most pious King Edward was moved with compassion for the poor; and, therefore, did he then abolish, and command that it should never again be enforced in any part, that most grievous and afflicting impost called "Danegelt."* This was done in the thirty-ninth since it had been first imposed in the reign of King Ethelred. For so long a time had this tribute harassed all the people of England. It was a tax that was always paid before other imposts, which were levied indiscriminately, and vexed men variously.†

It is stated by some persons, that when the chamberlains had carried the "Danegelt" into the King's exchequer, and then brought the most holy monarch to look upon the vast heap of money that was thus collected, he started back with horror upon beholding it, and declared that he saw a demon dancing upon the pile of treasure, and exulting with great joy in having so much money amassed together.‡ He instantly ordered the money to be returned to its original possessors, and he would not consent to retain out of such a dread exaction even the smallest coin for himself.§

* INGULPHUS. p. 65.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1050.

‡ INGULPHUS. p. 65. "Diabolum super cumulum sedentem et ludentem vidit." CAPGRAVE, as quoted in ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 541. § 8.

§ INGULPHUS. p. 65. See F. WIGORN. 1051. vol. i. p. 204. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 487. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1051. *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1051. HIGDEN. a. 1050. p. 278. S. DUNKELM. p.

The same year, King Edward put all the Danish lieth-men out of pay.*

About this same period (says Ingulphus), the venerable father and abbot, Wulgat, finding the hardness of the timest† daily to increase, and that his sons, the monks of the monastery, who before his coming were refreshed with rich food, and abounded in luxuries, were now reduced to live upon coarse meal and tiny fishes from the river, he began to grieve exceedingly, and loudly to lament that the multiplication of people had not brought with it increase of joy, and therefore he took counsel as to what had best be done to ward off the urgent danger of the famine with which his community was threatened.‡ And hence it was, that he adjured the rich to make gifts, the wise to advise, and all the friends of the monastery, according to their capability, to assist him and his monks.

At that time there was, amongst those who were best acquainted with the monastery, and who were deservedly esteemed as its benevolent friends, a certain distinguished member of the King's council, and the Viscount of Lincoln, named Thorold,§ the relative of another person named Thorold, who had been a very great admirer of

184. AILRED. p. 383. R. DICET. p. 475. BROMTON. p. 943. KNYGHTON. p. 2331. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. pp. ccclxxxiii, ccclxxxiv.

* *Sax. Coron.* a. 1050.

† "Tenacitatem temporis." INGULPHUS.

‡ INGULPHUS. *Hist.* p. 65.

§ We omit translating the words, "quem multi adhuc superstites et regulares et seculares viderunt et noverunt."

Croyland monastery, and who bestowed upon it his manor of Bokenhale, with all its appurtenances. The first-named Thorold being, however, moved with a most praiseworthy compassion for the existing state of Croyland, and with the desire of alleviating its sorrow, and in part exonerating it from the heavy burden then placed upon it, did bestow that which he deemed would be sufficient for the sustentation of six monks, that is, for one prior and five associate monks, and the services necessary to be performed for and by them. With this intention, he conceded to them, as an alms-gift for ever, the entire of his manor of Spalding, with all the rents accruing from it, and with all the due services of those upon it: and this gift he confirmed by a written deed.*

* "Algar, eldest son of Leofric and Godiva, encouraged Thorold de Bokenhale (from whom descended a numerous family, that is and ever was an honour, ornament, and benefactors to this county) to compassionate the vast losses Croyland had sustained by the Danes; and he accordingly, at the instance of Wulfget, and attended by him and six most learned, discreet monks, on Easter day, 1051, founded here a cell for the said six monks, one to be prior, and endowed it with a manor called in Domesday *Berewita*, now Spalding Crowland, giving the site to God and St. Guthlac, in frank almoigne, and making it a cell to Croyland; but the monks were soon obliged to quit it by the ill treatment of Ivo Talbois, Earl of Angiers, who afterwards gave the church and manor to the Benedictine abbey of Angiers, to which it was an alien priory. It was made denizon, and at last an abbey, by Edward IV., and valued at £767 per annum. All that now remains are some cottages with Gothic windows, and part of the church and gateway. Mr. Johnson had a discharge under the hand and seal of Thomas Kidbie, bailiff of the township of Spalding, for the sum of £4 16s. 8½d., for the charges of buying the abbey church of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, dated 34 Henry VIII., 1543. Edward VI. granted the site of the priory, with another in Suffolk, to Sir John Cheke, a. r. 3, Jan. 3." CAMDEN'S *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 345. See also same vol. pp. 332,

There were thus taken from Croyland monastery by Thorold six monks—a circumstance that in itself was felt

346, 347. "Spalding * * * valued at £878 18s. 3d. yearly, now worth £17,578 5s.; granted 3 Edward VI. to Sir John Cheke." COBBETT.

The charter of Spalding is set forth by Ingulphus. It will be found a very curious and interesting document, and we translate therefore the greater portion of it.

"I, Thorold of Bukenhale, in the presence of my noble lord, Leofric, Earl of Leicester, and of the most noble countess, the lady Godiva, *my sister*, and with the consent and good-will of the lord and earl, my relative, Algar, their first-born son and heir, do give and transfer to God and St. Guthlac of Croyland, and into the hands of the lord abbot, Wulgat, of the said monastery, and for the foundation of a cell of Croyland-monks, and in honour of the blessed and holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, the entire of my manor in the vill of Spalding, situated near to the church of that vill, and lying between the manor of my lord, the Earl Leofric, and the western bank of the river, running through that vill, with all the lands and tenements, profits, serfs, cattle, and utensils, that I have in the said manor, and in the said vill, as well as in the fields, on the eastern as the western banks of the river, with all that is attached to them, that is to say, COLGRIN *my steward*, and all his household, with all the goods and chattels he has in the said vill, and in his fields and marshes, and this free from any claim or drawback whatsoever: item, HARDING, *the smith*, and all his household, &c.; item, LEFSTAN, *the carpenter*, &c.; item, RYNGULPH, *the small*, &c.; item, ELSTAN, *the fisherman*; item, GUNTER LINIET; item, OUTY GRIMKELSON; item, TURSTAN DUBBE; item, ALGAR, *the black*; item, EDRIC, the son of Siward; item, OSMOND, *the miller*; item, BESI TUK; item, ELMER of Pyncebek; item, GOUSI GAMELSON."

[To all these names the same form of expression is attached, "et totam sequelam suam, cum omnibus bonis et catullis, quæ habet in dicta villa, et in campis ejus, et mariscis, absque ullo de omnibus retinimento."]

"These, my slaves (*servos meos*), and all their goods and chattels, with all cottages formerly mine, situate on the east bank of the river, and lying around the wooden chapel of St. Mary, in the vill of Spalding, and pertaining to the old Croyland monastery, with all rights and properties attaching to them, I give to God and St. Guthlac, for the construction of a cell, as well as all

to be a great relief to the refectory.* The task which

my piscatorial rights in the marshes, as well as in the sea adjacent to the said vill, as a free and perpetual alms-gift, for the salvation of my own soul, as well as for the soul's sake of my progenitors and parents. This, my deed, I, Thorold, with the sign of the Holy Cross, confirm at Leicester, and in the presence of many faithful Christians there collected, on the holy feast of Pentecost, in the year of our Lord, 1051." *INGULPHUS*. pp. 86, 87. See for signatures attached, pp. 87, 88.

* "Refectorium multum relevatum est." *INGULPH*. This natural remark is strongly indicative of the writer, and the circumstances in which his narrative was written. But what became of Spalding? The results of the "Reformation" are thus told:—

"In 1789, the remains of Spalding priory consisted of some cottages with gothic windows, and part of the church and gateway; *but these have since been diminished.*" *DUGDALE'S Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 214. (Ellis' Ed.) See also vol. ii. p. 96, and vol. iii. pp. 206—231.

The following letter, published in the *Times* newspaper of June 30th, 1853, will shew that Spalding is not the only place in England that has to complain of neglect on the part of its new possessors—the *Reformed Clergy*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

"SIR,—There is a small village in the marshes of Essex, called Barling. The parish contains about 1,200 acres, more than a third of which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who are patrons of the living and impropriators of the rectorial tythe. Their property in the parish must, therefore, be worth at least £1000 per annum.

"It will, of course, be anticipated, that these sacerdotal landlords contribute largely to the charities of the parish; but so strictly do they adhere to the scriptural maxim of keeping the right hand in ignorance of the good deeds of the left, that after the closest inquiry I have not been able to ascertain the manner in which they dispense their alms. Of course this fact, like all ecclesiastical facts, is susceptible of explanation, and no doubt the explanation, when it comes, will be as satisfactory as that to which the Lords listened the other night from the lips of the Bishop of Salisbury.

"But there is another fact which cannot be explained away.

Thorold had thus taken upon himself he pursued with great zeal. He removed his family from the manor, he then gave to his private chapel a more decorous and dignified appearance; he changed his hall into a refectory, his chamber into a dormitory, and he converted that which had been his gallery into cloisters for the monks. And in addition to this, he made a present to the monks of such cattle on the manor as were suited for agricultural purposes, and at the same time, all vessels and utensils required for the kitchen, brewery, and bake-house.*

The chancel of Barling church, being what is called a shallow one, has but two windows, the large east window, and a smaller one to the south. There is a large hole in the south window, many 'quarries' being broken, and this hole is patched with the end of an old plank. The east window is entirely obscured by a tarpaulin nailed securely down on the outside, which has been rendered necessary by the fact that the window, having been long out of repair, was some months since blown in by a gale.

"Now, sir, I wish to know whether the ruinous state of the chancel has not been presented, time after time, by the churchwarden, and whether the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, to which cathedral *the parish of Barling was given by Edward the Confessor*, are not perfectly aware of this disgraceful fact. It is bad enough that these priestly drones do not give one sixpence towards the charities of a parish from which they suck so large a portion of its substance, but it is surely monstrous that they should not even take the trouble to keep wind and water-tight a chancel which, as rectors of the parish, they are bound by law to maintain.

"Propriety of feeling and reverence for the sacred nature of the edifice are not to be expected from men in whom familiarity has no doubt bred contempt; but, perhaps, the insertion of this letter—for the length of which I apologize—may do something towards reminding men not tied by moral obligations, that they run a legal risk by their neglect.

"I am, sir, yours obediently,

"A MAGISTRATE OF THE COUNTY."

* INGULPHUS. *Hist.* p. 65.

There was too, about this period of time,* a certain man named Ædnoth, alike distinguished by his rank and riches, the intimate friend of the Abbot of Ramsey (Alfwin), and so charmed by the piety and religious practices of Ramsey monastery, that he determined that his son Ætheric, a boy indeed in years, but in mind a man, should there become a monk.† At the same time Ædnoth, with

* "Erat tunc temporis." *Hist. Rames.* c. 117.

† *Hist. Ramesiens.* c. 117. p. 459. (Gale.) The extract given in the text is introduced for the purpose of shewing, first, how the example of St. Edward in piety was imitated by his nobles; secondly, how much the freedom of those who were in the situation of serfs was promoted by the transfer of lands to monasteries, whilst the condition of the industrial poor was ameliorated; thirdly, how the pious intentions of the Anglo-Saxons were defeated by the avarice of Norman nobles; and lastly, with the intention of shewing that in England, as in every other place in which the Roman Catholic Church was established, the practice prevailed amongst pious parents, of dedicating their children to the church, even before those children had attained the age of reason. We have had the examples of this practice in the case of the Venerable Bede in our first volume, and of St. Edgiva in the second. Upon the practice itself, we borrow the following observations from Gosselin:—

"The ancient custom of offering children to God in the ecclesiastical or religious state, without waiting for the time when they could be competent to give their own consent, has been differently judged of both by ancient and modern writers. By the greater part of the ancient authors, it was deemed to be a most praiseworthy and pious action, and they considered it, according to the words of a recent writer, 'a sort of ransom which men of the world paid to God for their sins, by choosing one, as a vessel of election, from their family to sanctify it.' (Nettelement, Vie de Suger. p. 6.) The greater number of modern writers regard it as an abuse, in every respect censurable, and directly opposed to that liberty which parents are bound to give their children in the choice of a state of life, and above all of a state which imposes obligations peculiarly painful to nature. (Nettement. Ibid. Nisard, Histoire de la Reine Blanche. p. 83.) We are far from justifying in this custom manifest abuses which

the advice of his wife, and in accordance with the counsel of the abbot, agreed that he and his spouse should bestow

have been but too often the occasion for scandal in the ecclesiastical or religious state; but, at the same time, we ask, if we cannot make a distinction in this, as in everything else, between the custom itself and the abuse of which it has sometimes been the occasion or the pretext? To destroy the liberty of children with regard to their undertaking the grave and responsible duties of the ecclesiastical or religious state, is without doubt a great abuse, an abuse that has been constantly disapproved of by the church, as may be seen by the twenty-third canon of the council of Mayence, held in 813, which expressly forbids giving to any one, no matter who he may be, the ecclesiastical or monastic tonsure before a proper age, and without the full and free consent of the individual. (Labbæus, Concil. vol. vii. p. 1248.) Considering the thing in itself, it is certainly permissible for parents to consecrate their children to God in their infancy, at the same time allowing them the liberty of ratifying or revoking this offering, when they arrive at an age capable of making a choice of what their own reason approves. It was with this reserve, that these offerings were anciently made in churches as well as monasteries. According to the ecclesiastical and monastic rule, this first offering was by no means considered as an irrevocable engagement, but only as a species of noviciate, which was not always followed by a full profession. It was a sure and easy mode of procuring for one's children a good education, and of preserving them, at least for a time, from the dangers and contagion of the world." (For the development of these observations, see Mabillon, *Præfat.* in iii. *Sæc. Bened.* § 1. n. 17. &c.; *Præfat.* in iv. *Sæc. Part* ii. c. 7. n. 199; *Præf.* in vi. *Sæc. Part* ii. § 11. *Mège Comment.* Sur la Règle de Saint Benoît. c. i. pp. 50—52. *Fleury. Hist. Eccles.* vol. xiii. liv. lxiii. n. 58.) GOSSELIN. *Pouvoir du Pape au moyen Age*, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53. n. 2. (Louvain, 1845.)

To this interesting note of M. Gosselin, upon this truly interesting subject, we cannot avoid adding a few valuable facts which may be found in a single work: "The Chronicle of the Monastery—La Novalesse." It is there stated, lib. iii. c. 15, of Charlemaigne, upon his return from Italy, when he had been dignified with the title of Patricius: "Revertente eo, Hugonem filium suum puerulum adduci præcepit, quem Beato Viro Frodoino commendans, rogavit, ut in sancta et Monastica professione nutriret." The Abbot Frodoim here referred to, it is stated on the same authority,

as a perpetual alms-gift upon God and St. Benedict, the land of Ackley, of which, as he suggested, they should retain the enjoyment for their joint and several lives.

We annex a translation of the deed * made for this pur-

was also, when a boy, dedicated to a monastic life : “ Siquidem cum esset *parvulus puerulus*, tradidit eum * * pater Abbati. *

* * * Dedit ergo pater multa terrarum prædia etiam filio suo, quem tradidit Monastico Ordini erudiendum.” (Lib. iii. c. 2.) The great value, however, to be attached to “ the Chronicle of La Novalese,” is that we find in it an authentic copy of the charter or deed, in which we have recorded the Form in which a father delivered over his son to a monastery, and divested himself of his paternal rights. It is as follows :—

“ Dum legaliter sancitum antiquitus teneatur, et cautum, cum oblationibus, Domino parentes suos tradere filios, in Templo feliciter servituros, procul dubio hoc de nostris filiis faciendum nobis salubriter præbatur exemplum. Æquum etenim judico Creatori nostro de nobis reddere fructum. Idcirco ego Widilo hunc filium nostrum Amblulfum, cum oblatione in manu, atque petitione. Altaris palla manu mea involuta, ad nomen Sancti Petri, et Sancti Andreae, ceterorumve Sanctorum ; quorum Reliquiæ hic continentur, et tibi Warnari, præsentî Decano, ad vicem Domini Witgari Episcopi, seu et Richarii Præpositi, trado coram testibus regulariter permansurum, ita ut ab hac die non liceat illi collum de sub jugo Regulæ excutere, sed magis ejusdem Regulæ fideliter se cognoscat instituta servare et Domino gratanti animo militare. Et ut hæc nostra traditio inconvulsa permaneat, promitto cum jurejurando coram Deo, et Angelis ejus, quia nunquam per me ; nunquam per submissam personam, nec quolibet modo per rerum mearum facultates, aliquando egrediendi de Monasterio tribuam occasionem : et ut hæc petitio firma permaneat, manu mea eam subtus firmavi.” *Chronicon. Monasterii Novalisciensis*, lib. iii. c. 25, in *MURATORI, Rer. Ital. Script.* vol. ii. par. 2. p. 725, see also pp. 715, 720, same vol. and vol. ii. p. 354 of this work.

By referring to *Hist. Rames.* c. 114, 115, 116. the reader will find that we are justified in placing the circumstances stated in the text about the year 1050-51.

* “ Hoc igitur chirographum de Anglico Latinum fecimus.” *Hist. Rames.* c. 117.

pose between the Abbot Alfwin, and Ædnoth, in which are set forth the conditions on which the grant was made.

“ Be it known to all who read this Instrument, that I, Ædnoth, and my wife, give and concede to God and St. Benedict at Ramsey, our land of Ackley in perpetual gift, for our own soul’s sake, as well as for those of our fathers and mothers and our children. The conditions on which we make this donation to the Abbot Alfwin and the community are herein specified, viz: we shall, during our lives, hold the said land in the name of the monastery; but neither of us shall have the power, nor seek the means whereby we may give away, alienate, or diminish, the said land from the dominion of Ramsey monastery; but the same shall, after the deaths of both, that is of myself and my wife, pass whole, entire, undisturbed, and unchallenged, into the hands of the abbot and monks. And when the said land shall pass into their possession, they shall give every year to the monk Æthelric, our son, two pounds for clothing, provided that by reason of the benefit so bestowed, the said Æthelric be humble and devout in the service of God, and obedient to the abbot and his brother monks. But if it should so happen, that he abandon his habit and the monastery, and should refuse to return, then he is, in that case, no longer to receive the donation. Be it observed that we grant to Lefwin, our man, the farm * on which is his dwelling-house, to retain undisturbed pos-

* “*Virgatam terræ.*” *Hist. Rames.* “*Virgata terræ continet 24 acras, et 4 virgatæ constituunt unam hidam.*” *Vetus Codex*, as quoted in DUCANOE, in verb. *Virgata terræ.*

“ session of it during his life ;* but after his decease, it shall with the other, and the greater part of Ackley, become the property of the monastery. *Besides this, we make free the half of the individuals who are now living in a state of slavery on the said lands.*† We, therefore, pray and beseech, in the awful name of God, that no one buy, sell, or in any other way alienate this land from the Church of Ramsey. And should any one do so, then let him stand accursed, alienated from every blessing in this world, and in the life to come, and be his abode for ever with the devils in hell, where the fire is never extinguished, and the serpent dieth not.”

About the same time, a certain person named Alfsi of Longwathe, and his wife Leva, gave and conceded, for the sake of their salvation, to God and St. Benedict, at Ramsey, a certain land at Borewelle, which after their deaths was to become the property of the monastery. Upon the deaths of both these individuals, the Abbot Alfwin, having obtained free and quiet possession of the land conveyed by this donation, he, with the approbation and assent of the monks, gave it to a man named Godwin, a relation of the before-mentioned Alfsi, to hold it for his life as a farmer of the monastery. And this Godwin, by way of that which may be called a fine or consideration,* be-

* “ Concessimus autem Lefwino homini nostro virgatam terræ, in quo mansum suum habet in vita sua quietam.” *Hist. Rames.*

† “ Dimidiam vero partem hominum, qui in memorata terra sub servitute degunt libertate donavimus.” *Hist. Rames.*

‡ “ Quod *Gersume* dicunt.” *Hist. Rames.* “ The word ‘*Gersuma*,’” observes Sir Henry Spelman, “ is Saxon, from *garsuma*, and signifieth a price or reward ; but we find it very rarely in any deed after Henry III., but in Domesday-booke it is common.” *Of Ancient Deeds and Charters*, c. 3. “ The fyne which they

stowed what was suitable for one of his dignity, namely, hospitable entertainment each year, and all things requisite for a host to give and a tenant to receive. Such was the arrangement made by mutual compact; but, at a subsequent period, when this country fell under the dominion of foreigners, the Earl Ralph de Water forcibly and violently ejected Godwin from the same land; and, despite the protest of the abbot against such a proceeding—a protest that was of no avail, for wrong and injustice each day became more powerful—the result was, that Ralph de Water retained the land, and afterwards bequeathed it as a rightful possession to his posterity.

There was also one of the lords of King Edward, named Tosti, whose brother Yri falling sick, and feeling the pains of death fast coming upon him, requested that his remains should be interred at Ramsey, and at the same time gave four hides of land in Saltretha to God and St. Benedict, as a pledge of his salvation, as well as to pay for his sepulture. And yet, though Yri had so done, Eustace seized by violence these same hides of land, appropriated them to his own use, and this spoliated property he bequeathed to Walter de Belmeys, his knight. William de Warenne the Elder likewise took away from God, St. Benedict, and the monks of Ramsey, sixty-seven men of theirs who were husbandmen* at Winebodesham. All these he unjustly seized, and held them by violence against

called *Gersuma*." Ibid. c. 8. SPELMAN'S *English Works*, pp. 243, 249 (b). See DUCANGE. in verb. *Gersuma*.

* "Homines socamannos." *Hist. Rames*. See, as to Socage and Socmen, Spelman's "Feuds and Tenures by Knight Service," c. 3, in SPELMAN'S *English Works*, pp. 9, 10 (b); and in same vol. pp. 3, 7, 15, 33, 57 (b). DUCANGE. in verb. *socomannus*, *socamannus*, *socmannus*, *sokemannus*.

God and the Abbot of Ramsey ; and these socage men of the abbot were afterwards called " the new men " of William de Warenne.*

There was also a matron named Thirgnut, who, upon being seized with illness, and feeling that she was at the point of death, bequeathed, with the permission of her husband, Thurkill of Haringwich, and for her soul's salvation, to God and St. Benedict, the land of Saltretha, with its regular and accustomed services from the men dwelling on it, as well as all other rights which she herself was invested upon the day of Holy Easter, when she was first attacked by sickness. Upon her death, the husband had the lifeless body of his spouse conveyed to

* The condition of those who were thus by violence changed from the " socmen " or husbandmen of Anglo-Saxon monks, into the serfs of a foreign lord—a Norman—it may easily be surmised was greatly deteriorated, even if we had not the proof in contemporary history, how much the servitude of monasteries was preferred by the poor to that of laymen. At the period that the illustrious individual, Hugh, Abbot of Fleury, presided over that monastery—from the year 1060 to 1070,—he gave away a slave to laymen. The slave's son, a youth named Rotbert, fled from his master Isembard, claiming protection at Fleury, as being by birth a slave to the monks established there. This allegation was denied as false, and the matter was left to be decided by single combat—the champions being Rotbert the slave, and a soldier named Airic, who represented Isembard. When the two champions were about to fight, Rotbert said, " It is not I who am about to do battle with thee, but my lord, St. Benedict, whose slave I profess myself to be. *Non ego tecum decerto, sed dominus meus, cujus me servum profiteor, Benedictus.*" Rotbert won the victory, not to become free, but to enjoy what he considered the advantage of being a slave to the monks of the Benedictine order. See *Mirac. S. Benedict. Abbat.* as quoted in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 484, 485. Serfdom, as an amelioration of slavery, was a monkish invention. For a clear exposition of the distinction between a Christian *serf* and a Pagan slave, see *Univers*, 22 Fevrier, 1854.

Ramsey to be interred; and he then, and upon the high altar, made the offering of the above-specified land in presence of the Abbot Alfwin, and the whole community of the monks, and having as testifying witnesses to the gift, Ulfi of Glatton, Lefric the son of Dod, and Leofrid of Fotheringay, and many other persons, clerks as well as laymen.

This last-named piece of land, as well as all the others mentioned in this chapter (c. 118), were in the disturbed state of the kingdom, consequent upon the arrival of the Normans, taken away from the monks of Ramsey, and passed into the possession of others.*

In the year 1050, Macbeth, King of Scotland, bestowed in contributions money at Rome.†

* *Hist. Rames.* c. 117, 118. pp. 459, 460. The words with which this extract closes are remarkable: "Hæc terra similiter ut cæteræ, quas supra in hoc capitulo commemoravimus, regni statu in Normannorum adventu turbato, in alienam nobis ablata transiit possessionem." In portraying the spoliations perpetrated upon Ramsey monastery, they describe the robberies committed upon other monasteries at the same period of time, and serve to shew that where bad men desire to rob the altar, any pretext will serve their purpose—"a change of dynasty" in the eleventh; a "religious reform" in the sixteenth; or, "freedom," "liberty," "constitutionalism," or "democratic institutions" in the nineteenth century! What is sought for—the spoliation of the church—is seldom avowed, and what never was intended to be accomplished is constantly proclaimed. The *purpose* is always adhered to, whilst the *pretext* is upheld as long as there are writers or classes interested in maintaining that, in effecting sacrilegious confiscations, no delusion has been practised upon the public.

† "Rex Scotiæ Macbethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit." F. WIGORN. a. 1050. vol. i. p. 204. See S. DUNELM. p. 184. Hoveden. p. 441. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 157. The manner

" This year (1051) came Archbishop Robert hither over
" the sea, with his pall from Rome, one day before St.

in which this money was distributed is stated by MARIANUS SCORUS—it was to the poor. " Rex Scotiæ Machetad Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit." a. 1051 in PISTORIUS. *Veter. Script. Germ.* vol. i. p. 451. The play of Shakspeare attaches an interest to the historical character of Macbeth, of which it would otherwise be undeserving. That the Macbeth of real life did, as described by the poet, obtain the crown by the murder of his predecessor, is admitted by a modern and able author, Mr. George Chalmers, in his valuable work " Caledonia" (vol. i. pp. 405, 406). Mr. Chalmers makes these observations respecting the reign of Macbeth :—

" Whatever defect there may have been in his title to the sullied sceptre of his unhappy predecessor, he seems to have been studious to supply by a vigorous and beneficent administration. He even practised the hospitality which gives shelter to the fugitive. During his reign plenty is said to have abounded ; justice was administered ; the chieftains, who would have raised disturbances, were either overawed by his power, or repressed by his valour * * * * Yet, the odious crime by which Macbeth acquired his authority, seems to have haunted his most prosperous moments. He tried, by distributing money at Rome, by largesses to the clergy, and by charity to the poor, to obtain relief from

' The affliction of these terrible dreams
That shake us nightly.'

Macbeth, and the Lady Gruoch his wife, gave the lands of Kirkness, and also the Manor of Bolgy, to the Culdees of Lochleven.

* * * The name of Macbeth was long popular in Scotland. The Scottish people saw, with indignant eyes, foreign mercenaries interpose in their domestic affairs." CHALMERS' *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 408, 409, 412. Macbeth, whatever were his crimes, had at least the merit of fighting against foreign invaders—he was unsuccessful, and he had the misfortune of being described by his conquerors, and so committed to the condemnation of posterity. " History," says Mr. Chalmers, " knows nothing of Banquo, the Thane of Lochaber, nor of Fleance his son." (vol. i. p. 411.) As to Ecclesiastical Laws of Macbeth (*Leges Ecclesiasticæ Maccabei Regis Scotorum*), see ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 547. § 2. SPELMAN. p. 491. WILKINS' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 316. LABRÆUS. vol. ix. p. 1003.

" Peter's eve; and he took his archiepiscopal seat at Christ-church on St. Peter's day, and soon after this " went to the King.* Then came Abbot Spearhafoc to him with the King's writ and seal, to the intent that he should consecrate him Bishop of London; but the " archbishop refused, saying that the Pope had forbidden him. Then went the abbot to the archbishop again for " the same purpose, and there demanded episcopal consecration; but the archbishop obstinately refused, repeating that the Pope had forbidden him.† Then went the " abbot to London, and sat at the bishopric which the " King had before given him, with his full leave, all the " summer and the autumn."‡

In the course of the same year, William, the King's Chaplain, obtained the Bishopric of London, previously bestowed upon Spearhafoc.§

In the month of September in the year 1051, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, accompanied by a few ships, arrived in the port of Dover.|| This Eustace, Count of Boulogne,

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1051.

† " And cwaeth thet se papa hit him forboden haefde." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ *Saxon Chronicle*, INGRAM'S translation, p. 225.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 207. The cause of the rejection of Spearhafoc cannot now be known, although there have been conjectures made respecting it; see ALFORD, vol. iii. pp. 539, 540. § 1. a. 1051. That there were valid grounds for it may be believed, when we find that at the period when other Norman bishops were driven out of the kingdom, his successor, William, was retained. See ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 545. § 7, 8. a. 1052.

|| F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 204.

was the father of Godfrey and Baldwin, who were afterwards Kings of Jerusalem.* He was then united in marriage to the King's sister, the Lady Goda, who was the mother (by her first husband, Walter of Mantes) of Ralph, at that time Earl of Hereford, a worthless and timid man, who subsequently ran away in a battle which he had with the Welsh, and left his county, city, and bishop to be destroyed by the fires of their aggressors—a disgrace which the energy and valour of Harold shortly afterwards repaired.† Eustace, however, crossed the sea from Witsand to Dover, and then proceeded to King Edward's court; but what was the object of his visit is now unknown. When Eustace had spoken with the King, and obtained an assent to the request that he made, he returned towards his home, and in so doing travelled through Canterbury.‡ At Canterbury Eustace and his men partook of some repast, and then proceeded on their way to Dover.§

* "*Qui nostro tempore reges apud Jerosolymam fuerunt.*" W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. "Eustace II., sur-named Aux Grenons. He succeeded his father, Eustace I., in 1049, and married, in 1050, Godo, daughter of King Æthelberht, and widow of Gauthier, Comte de Mantes, by whom he had no issue; but by his wife Ida he left three sons: Eustace, who succeeded him; Godefroi, created in 1076 Marquis d'Anvers by the Emperor Henry IV., and afterwards Duc de Bouillon, was elected King of Jerusalem in 1099 (23rd July), and, dying 18th July 1100, was succeeded by his brother Baudoin, Comte d'Edesse." HARDY, note to W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 336. (E. H. S.)

† The events here alluded to will be found fully detailed amongst the events of the year 1055.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. pp. 336, 337.

§ *Sax Chron.* a. 1051.

“ When Eustace was about a mile or more on this side
 “ of Dover, Eustace put on his breast-plate, and so did all
 “ his companions, and they proceeded to Dover.* When
 “ they came thither, they resolved to quarter themselves
 “ wherever they liked. Then came one of Eustace’s men,
 “ and would lodge at the house of a master of a family
 “ against his will; but having wounded the master of the
 “ house, he was slain by another householder.† Then
 “ mounted Eustace quickly upon his horse, and his com-
 “ panions upon theirs, and having gone to the householder,
 “ they put him to death upon his own hearth.”‡ In the
 fury of their rage, they slew a great many of the inhabit-
 ants, women as well as men, and the boys and infant
 children they trampled to death under the hoofs of their
 horses.§ But when they saw the citizens mustering to-
 gether to resist them, they, coward-like, retreated, and

* *Sax. Chron.* The conflict which took place between Eustace’s men and the English, is described by Malmsbury as occurring in Canterbury and not in Dover. We follow the Saxon chronicle in placing the event in Dover; but may not there have been some squabble in Canterbury that manifested the ill-will with which these foreigners were regarded by the populace, and thus induced Eustace before entering Dover to adopt the precaution of arraying himself and his followers with their defensive armour?

† *Sax. Chron.* “ Unus antecursorum ejus ferocius cum cive agens et vulnere magis quam prece hospitium exigens, illum in sui excidium invitavit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. “ Milites ejus, cum stolidè et insipienter sibi hospitium quærerent, unum e civibus peremerunt; quod videns ejus concivis, ulciscitur illum, occiso milite uno.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 250. See R. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 488. This incident is an important one in English history; for it was attended with many calamitous consequences, and arose from the brutal and overbearing conduct of the military followers of Eustace towards a free, brave, and high-spirited people.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM’s translation, p. 226. Slightly altered.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1051. p. 205. See R. DE WEND. vol. i. p.

with some difficulty effected their escape with the loss of seven men; and so having got out of the town, they fled with all speed to King Edward, who was at that time holding his court at Gloucester.*

Eustace, arrived at the King's court, obtained a secret audience of the Sovereign, and by his manner of narrating the events that had occurred, made the King his friend and protector, and excited the royal indignation against the English.† Godwin was then summoned by messengers to come to the King's court. Upon his arrival, and the cause of this tumult being expounded to him, and the King laying great stress upon the insolent demeanour of the men of Dover,‡ Godwin, who was a man of astute intellect, at once comprehended the merits of the affair, and observed that sentence ought not to be pronounced

488. "Then going up the boroughward, they (Eustace's followers) slew both within and without more than twenty men." *Sax. Chron.*

* F. WIGORN. a. 1051. p. 205. A different account of this transaction, and of the loss sustained by Eustace, is given by other writers. The *Saxon Chronicle* says, "the townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side, and wounded more, but they knew not how many. Eustace escaped with a few men." INGRAM. pp. 226, 227. William Malmshbury: "sed, civibus ad arma convolantibus, viginti ex suis amisit. innumeris vulneratis; ipse vix cum altero in ipse tumultu subterfugit." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. Roger de Wendover: "Sed in fugiendo octodecim ex eis peremptis, cæteri ad regem * * * fugerunt." vol. i. p. 488.

† "Inde ad curiam pedem referens, nactusque secretum suæ partis patronus assistens, iram regis in Anglos exacuit." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. "Eustace * * * went again to the King, telling him partially how he had fared, the King was very wroth with the townsmen." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ "Insolentiam Dorobernensium." W. MALMSB. This mistake of Canterbury for Dover runs through the entire statement of Malmshbury. See preceeding note.

against the one party, on the mere hearing of the allegations of the other ; and hence it was, that when the King commanded him on the instant to march with his army into Kent, and to inflict a measure of severe vengeance upon the Count's aggressors, he absolutely refused to yield obedience to any such order ; first, because he felt jealous of the growing favour with which all foreigners were regarded by the King ; and next because he wished to gain for himself the love and affection of his own countrymen. Besides this, it must be admitted, that what he suggested to the King and council was far more in accordance with the rules of justice, than the command imposed upon him ; for he proposed that the principal men of the castellated town (of Dover) should with all fitting mildness be summoned to appear before the King in council on the charge of sedition—that there, if they could repel the allegation preferred against them, they should, unscathed, have full permission to depart ; but if they could not satisfactorily reply to the charge, they should make satisfaction, by corporal punishment or pecuniary mulct, to the King, whose peace they had broken, and to the Count, to whom wrong had been done. This was his proposition, and in submitting it for adoption, he said, “ that it would appear “ to be an iniquitous proceeding, that those whom you “ were especially bound to protect, should be those beyond “ all others that you consented to condemn unheard.”

With these words the parties separated from each other, Godwin not deeming the King's anger worthy of a moment's consideration—as a thing that would as rapidly subside, as it had been suddenly excited.*

* W. MALMEB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. pp. 337,

Then sent the King after all his council, and bade them come to Gloucester, the night after the mass of St. Mary,* in order that the affair might be determined in a Witenagemot.†

Godwin was indignant that such a proceeding as this should be adopted with regard to a district under his especial command, and giving way to the furious passion that excited him, he collected together a military array out of all the places confided to his charge, that is from Kent, Sussex, and Wessex.‡

At the same time his eldest son, Sweyne, mustered together armed men from his district, that is from Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berkshire; whilst his second son, Harold, did the same with the provinces under his command, comprising Essex, East Anglia, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. An innumerable army was thus collected together by Godwin and his sons—a fact which did not escape the attention of King Edward, who immediately despatched messengers to Leofric and Siward,

338. Thus far, and admitting that all the events previously described are accurately represented, impartial history must admit that in this affair St. Edward acted hastily and wrongly, and Godwin like an honest, wise, and faithful Rædesman. Such wisdom and sagacity were, however, afterwards dishonoured by flagrant treason.

* *Sax. Chron.* "The *after-mass* which is here mentioned, is the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8); so called, because it comes *after* the other two festivals." INGRAM. *Sax. Chron.* p. 227, note 1. The other two festivals of the Blessed Virgin, as Mr. Ingram explains in the same note, are "the Purification and the Annunciation."

† "Ut ibi magno conventu res ventilaretur." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 205.

the respective earls of the Mercians and the Northumbrians, praying of them, that they would with all speed come to him, with all the forces they could muster, as he found himself placed in a situation of great difficulty and imminent peril.

At first Leofric and Siward came to the King with no more than a few followers; but when they were made to comprehend the precise position of affairs, they sent through their several provinces rapid couriers,* and by this means collected together a great army. The Earl Ralph, the son of Goda, King Edward's sister, did the same, by mustering together from his district as large a military array as it was possible for him to do in the time.

Meanwhile, Godwin and his sons, with their three armies, a few days after the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, marched into Gloucestershire, encamped at a place called Langtree, and from thence sent ambassadors to the King, to demand, under a threat of war, that the Earl Eustace and his companions, along with the Normans, and those men of Boulogne who held possession of the castle in Dover, should be delivered up to them.†

* "*Celeres veredarios.*" F. WIGORN. "*Veredarii dicuntur a vehendo, qui festinanter in equis currunt, non descendunt de equo antequam liberant responsa sua: habent in capite pinnas, ut inde intelligatur festinatio itineris: datur semper iis equus paratus, nec manducant nisi super equo antequam perfecerunt.*" DUCANGE. in verb. *veredarius*..

† F. WIGORN. "They assembled all in Gloucestershire at Langtree, a large and innumerable army, all ready for battle against the King; unless Eustace and his men were delivered to them handcuffed, and also the Frenchmen (*Frencyscan*) that were in the castle." *Sax. Chron.*

For the moment the King was awed by such a message as this. He was placed in a state of great agony, for he was utterly unaware how it became him to act; but upon being informed that the army of the Earls Leofric, Siward, and Ralph, were fast advancing to his support, he boldly replied, that he would never deliver up Eustace and the others, who had been so claimed from him. And with this negative reply, the disappointed ambassadors returned to the camp of Godwin.

Scarcely had the ambassadors of Godwin departed from the presence of the King, than the army that had come to his aid marched into Gloucester, and so fired with zeal were they in the King's service, and so unanimous in their desire to do battle against his foes, that they would on the instant, if Edward would but give his permission, have fought with the army of Godwin.

There were at that time to be found in the armies thus in hostile array against each other, the best, noblest, and the bravest men in all England. Such was the consideration with Earl Leofric and some others, who deemed that it would be great madness for them to fight with their own countrymen,* and therefore they suggested that hostages from both sides should be mutually delivered, and that the King and Godwin should both meet together to arrange this dispute upon an appointed day, on which a Witenagemot should be held in London.

* F. WIGORN. "So unanimous were they all in defence of the King, that they would seek Godwin's army if the King desired it. But some prevented that, because it was very unwise that they should come together; for in the two armies was there almost all that was noblest in England. They therefore prevented this, that they might not leave the land at the mercy of our foes, whilst engaged in a destructive conflict between ourselves." *Sax. Chron.*

This suggestion was approved of—ambassadors were sent from both sides—hostages were given and received—Godwin returned to Wessex; whilst the King collected together a larger army from all Mercia and Northumbria than he had previously with him, and with that force under his command he proceeded to London.*

“And they (the King and his friends) issued proclamations throughout to London, whither all the people were summoned over all this north end in Siward’s earldom, and in Leofric’s, and also elsewhere; and Earl Godwin was to come thither with his sons to a conference.† They (Godwin and his sons) came as far as Southwark, and very many with them from Wessex;‡ but Godwin’s army continually diminished more and more; for they (the King’s council) bound over to the King all the thanes that belonged to Earl Harold, Godwin’s son, and outlawed Earl Sweyne, his other son.

“When therefore it could not serve Godwin to come to a conference against the King and against the army that was with him, he went in the night away.§

* F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. pp. 205, 206.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, INGRAM’s translation. Adopting as we do the arrangement made by Mr. Ingram of the transactions of this year, we also copy his words as closely as possible. Mr. Ingram’s arrangement is not free from confusion—it repeats facts—but still it is preferable to any other, as it includes circumstances not mentioned elsewhere.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* “Godwinus autem et filii ejus ad Suthweorce venere cum magna West-Saxonum multitudine.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 206.

§ *Sax. Chron.* “Placitum inire cum rege non audebat, verum nocte superveniente fugam iniit.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 206. “Godwinus vero, sicut cum rege prælium conserere non audebat,

“ In the morning the King held a Witenagemot, and
 “ proclaimed Godwin an outlaw* with his whole army ;
 “ himself and his wife, and all his three sons, Sweyne, and
 “ Tosty, and Grith.†

“ Godwin then went south to Thorney with his wife and
 “ Sweyne his son, and Tosty and his wife, a cousin of
 “ Baldwin of Bruges,‡ and his son Grith. Earl Harold,
 “ with Leofwine, went to Bristol, in the ship that Earl
 “ Sweyne had before prepared and provisioned for him-
 “ self; and the King sent Bishop Aldred from London
 “ with his retinue, with orders to overtake Harold ere he
 “ came to ship. But Aldred and his friends either could
 “ not or would not do this; and Harold then went out
 “ from the mouth of the Avon; but he encountered such
 “ adverse weather, that he got off with difficulty, and suf-
 “ fered great loss. He then went forth to Ireland as
 “ soon as the weather permitted. ’

“ In the meantime the Welsh had erected a castle in
 “ Herefordshire, in the territory of Earl Sweyne, and
 “ brought as much injury and disgrace on the King’s men
 “ thereabout as they could. Upon this, Earl Godwin,
 “ Earl Sweyne, and Earl Harold came together at Be-
 “ verstone, and many men with them, with the intention
 “ that they might go to their natural lord (Edward), and
 “ to all the peers, that were assembled with him, to have

ita ad curiam ejus venire formidabat.” *ROG. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 489.

* “ And cwaeth hine utlage.” *Sax. Chron.*

† *Sax. Chron.* “ Illum et quinque filios ejus exules fore decreverunt.” *F. WIGORN.* vol. i. p. 206.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* “ Et Tosti cum uxore sua Juthitta, filia videlicet Baldwini Flandrensium comitis.” *F. WIGORN.* vol. i. p. 206.

“ the King’s counsel and assistance, and that of all the
“ peers, how they might avenge the insult offered to the
“ King and to all the nation. But the Welshmen were
“ before with the King, and calumniated the earls, so that
“ they were not permitted to come within the sight of his
“ eyes ; for they (the Welsh) had declared that Godwin
“ intended to come thither to betray the King.

“ There were now assembled before the King, Earl
“ Siward and Earl Leofric, and much people with them
“ from the north ; and it was told Earl Godwin and his
“ sons, that the King and the men who were with him
“ would take counsel against Godwin and his sons ; but
“ they (Godwin and his sons) prepared themselves firmly
“ to resist, though they were both to proceed against their
“ natural lord. Then advised the peers on either side, that
“ they should abstain from all hostility ; and the King
“ gave God’s peace and his full friendship to each party.

“ Then advised the King and his council, that there
“ should be a second time a Witenagemot of all the nobles
“ in London, at the autumnal equinox ; and the King or-
“ dered out an army, the best that ever was, both south
“ and north of the Thames. Then was Earl Sweyne pro-
“ claimed an outlaw ; and Earl Godwin and Earl Harold
“ were summoned to the council as early as they could
“ come.* When they came thither and were cited to the

* *Sax. Chron.* The following is the account given of this transaction by William of Malmesbury :—

“ Godwin and his sons, who knew that they were suspected, not deeming it prudent to be present unarmed (at the Witenagemot), halted with a strong force at Beverstone, giving out that they had assembled an army to restrain the Welsh, who, meditating independence of the King, had fortified a town in the county of Hereford, where Sweyne, one of the sons of Godwin,

“ council, then required they security and hostages, that
 “ they might come into the council, and go out without
 “ treachery. The King then demanded all the thanes
 “ that the earls had, and they put them all into his hands.
 “ Then sent the King again to them, and commanded
 “ them to come with twelve men to the King’s council.
 “ Then desired the earl (Godwin) again security and hos-
 “ tages, that he might answer singly to each of the things
 “ that were laid to his charge. But the hostages were
 “ refused, and a truce of five nights was allowed him to
 “ depart from the land.*

was at that time in command. The Welsh, however, who had come beforehand to the conference, had accused Godwin and his sons of a conspiracy, and rendered them odious to the whole court; so that a rumour prevailed, that the King’s army would attack them in that very place. Godwin, hearing this, sounded the alarm to his party; told them that they should not purposely withstand their sovereign lord; but if it came to hostilities, they should not retreat without avenging themselves. And, if better counsels had not intervened, a dreadful scene of misery, and a worse than civil war, would have ensued. Some small share of tranquillity, however, being restored, it was ordered that the council should be again assembled at London, and that Sweyne, the son of Godwin, should appease the King’s anger by withdrawing himself: that Godwin and Harold should come as speedily as possible to the council, with this condition,” &c. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. pp. 338, 339. The REV. J. SHARPE’S translation, as revised by GILES, pp. 219, 220.

* *Sax. Chron.* “Godwin and Harlod were directed, under these conditions, to appear before the Witenagemot: that they should be unarmed, that they should not bring more than twelve men with them, and that they should deliver up to their sovereign the military followers that they had in England. They, on the other hand, declared it was impossible for them to comply with such conditions: that they could not without pledges for their safety, and hostages for their security, march into the midst of a conclave influenced by factious feelings against themselves; but that they were prepared to yield into the hands of their lords,

"Then went Earl Godwin and Earl Sweyne to Bosham, and drew out their ships.* Earl Harold went westward to Ireland, and was there all the winter on the King's security.†

"It was from Thorney‡ that Godwin and those that were with him,§ went to Bruges, to Baldwin's land, in

whatever military command they held, as well as to obey him in all other things that were not injurious to their reputation, and perilous to their existence. That if they went unarmed to the Witenagemot, they should fear for their lives; and that if they appeared there with but two or three armed adherents, they would do that, which would be a slur upon their fame, and a dishonour to their dignity. No prayers of suppliants on their behalf could then move the mind of the King, whose heart was turned with a species of obduracy against them; and therefore there was issued forth a proclamation, that in five days they should depart from England." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. p. 339.

* *Sax. Chron.* Two lines are here omitted, as they are inconsistent with what follows.

† *Sax. Chron.* "Is Eadward, or an Irish potentate, the King here intended? The latter seems the more probable, it being unlikely that the outlawed and persecuted Harold would have enjoyed the protection of Eadward in a country from which he was contracting a war against him." LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 250, note 3.

‡ "The ancient name of Westminster, which came into disuse because there was another Thorney in Cambridgeshire." INGRAM'S *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 229.

"Thorney Island, Hants." COXE, note to Roger of Wendover, vol. i. p. 489. (E. H. S.)

"This Thorney is in the channel, and not to be confounded with the isle on which the Abbey of Westminster was built." LAPPENBERG. vol. ii. p. 250, note 2.

§ These persons, were his wife Gytha, his son Tosti, his daughter-in-law, Tosti's wife, and Sweyn and Grith. See F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 206. S. DUNELM. p. 185.

"one ship, with as much treasure as they could lodge therein for each man.*

"Wonderful would it have been thought by every man that was then in England, if any person had said before this, that it would end thus! for Godwin was before raised to such a height, that he ruled the King and all England; his sons, they were earls, and the King's darlings; and his daughter, she had been wedded and united to the King!

"Soon after this took place, the King dismissed the lady who had been consecrated his queen, and ordered to be taken from her all that she had in land, and in gold, and in silver, and in all things, and committed her to the care of his sister at Wherwell.†

* *Sax. Chron.* "In quam (navem) tantum auri et argenti, aliarumque rerum pretiosarum, quantum illa portare potuit." F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 206.

† *Sax. Chron.* "She was sent with only one female attendant to Wherwell, and confided to the custody of the abbess." F. WIGORN. a. 1051. vol. i. p. 207. "Ne scilicet omnibus suis parentibus patriam suspirantibus sola sterteret in pluma." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. p. 339. See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 490. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1059. p. 49 (Giles). S. DUNELM. p. 185. R. DICKET. p. 476. BROMTON. p. 943. KNYGHTON. p. 2332. "During the rebellion of Godwin," observes the Rev. Alban Butler, "it was judged necessary that the queen, his daughter, should be confined in the nunnery of Warewell, lest her dignity might be made use of to encourage or give countenance to the vassals and friends of the earl. Notwithstanding this precaution of state prudence, from the regard which St. Edward shewed to his queen, even after the death of Earl Godwin, and when the King lay at the point of death, it is evident, that they had for each other the most affectionate and sincere esteem, and tender, chaste love." *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ix. p. 617. See note same page.

“Algar, the son of Leofric, was promoted to the earldom which Harold before possessed.”*

It was in the year (1051) that the truly illustrious and most glorious Duke of the Normans, William, arrived in England, with a large retinue of knights, and paid a visit to King Edward.† The duke was received with every mark of honour by the King, was for a brief period of time entertained by him as a guest, conducted by him to visit various cities and royal castles, in all matters treated with an urbanity that was worthy of such a visitor and such a host, and then parted from, on his return to his home, with the bestowal upon him of many rich gifts.‡

As to the succession to the kingdom, no hope was then held out to the duke, nor was any mention made of such a circumstance by the one or the other at that time.§

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, pp. 228, 229, 230, 231, 232.

† *INGULPH. Hist.* p. 65.

‡ *INGULPH.*

“Mult li dona chiens è visels
Et altres aveirs boens è bels,
E kanke il trover poeit
Ki à pant home cunveneit.”

Le Roman de Rou, v. 10549—10552.

See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1051. *F. WIGORN.* a. 1051. vol. i. p. 207. *R. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 487. *R. DICET.* p. 476. *BROMTON.* p. 943. *KNYGHTON.* p. 2332. *R. HIGDEN.* p. 279.

§ *INGULPH. Hist.* p. 65. These are the words used by a contemporary with respect to the events he describes :—“De

On the 6th of March, and in the year 1052, died the

successione autem Regni spes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit." Sufficient importance is not, we think, attached to these words by Herr Lappenberg, when he says that "Ingulf can hardly have known more than, that between the two princes no actual agreement was entered into relative to the succession in favour of William." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 251. Ingulph says, however, that he stood in the highest favour with William "astrectissime adamatus" (p. 73), and was possessed of unbounded power at his court, "quosque volui, humiliabam, et quos volui, exaltabam." A person so situated must have had full opportunity of knowing the truth, and his statement is entitled to be regarded, upon a disputed point in history, as of the highest authority. See as to the question, whether it was then, or at a subsequent period, William entertained the design of succeeding St. Edward, MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* note on W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Norman.* pp. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78. WALTER DE HEMINGBURN. *Chron.* vol. i. pp. 3, 4, 5. (E. H. S.) MICHEL notes on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 163, 164, 165 (Documents Inédits sur L'Hist. de France).

Far more interesting, however, than this disputed point in history, is the brief and candid biography which Ingulph—the monk author, whose work has been so often quoted by us—gives of himself, coincident with the period of English history at which we have arrived; and as illustrative of the manners, habits, feelings, and mode of thinking at the time it describes, we consider it worthy of being inserted.

"I, Ingulph, a humble minister of St. Guthlac, in Croyland monastery, was born in England, and of English parents, in the beauteous city of London. At a very tender age, I was, for the purpose of receiving a literary education, first sent to Westminster, and afterwards to Oxford. And when I had surpassed my class-fellows in my quick apprehension of Aristotle, I was also deemed to be, by my studies, an accomplished rhetorician by my thorough acquaintance with Tully. At that time, I had become a youth, and feeling a contempt for the scanty means with which my parents were contented, I determined upon abandoning my home. Then seeking for what I most desired, that is, to be clothed in soft garments, and decorated with gaudy ornaments, I frequented the palaces of kings and princes.

"Such was my situation, when he who is now our illustrious King of England, but then the Duke of Normandy, William, came

aged lady * Elgiva Emma, the mother of King Edward,

with a grand retinue of attendants to London, to have a conference with Edward, at that time King of England.

"I was speedily enrolled among the duke's attendants, and in every place that he went, there was confided to me the discharge of various matters of importance, many of which, having been successfully executed by me, I was not only recognised by the illustrious duke as a useful servant, but he conceived so great an attachment for me, that I sailed with him when he quitted this country for Normandy.

"Arrived in Normandy, the duke there made me his secretary, and I, to the great envy of a few, ruled as I pleased, the entire of the duke's court; humbling, if I so desired, some, and exalting, if I so wished, others. Impelled then by the ardour of youth, I was not satisfied with being raised to so high a position, and one which was so far beyond what my birth entitled me, but with that fickleness and prurient ambition which was inherent to my nature, and at the thoughts of which I now blush, I was eagerly longing to be elevated to a higher rank than I had then attained. These were my aspirations, when it was announced through the entire of Normandy, that several archbishops of the empire, and some others, princes of the German land, were, for the benefit of their souls, and in the manner of pilgrims, about to undertake, with all due devotion, a journey to Jerusalem.

"Several persons of the household of our lord the duke, knights as well as clerks, of which I was the first and principal, with the permission and benevolent aid of our lord the duke, prepared to make the same journey. We therefore proceeded to Germany, constituting a body of thirty horsemen, and as such united together under the lord of Mayence. All made ready for the road, and, with our lords the bishops, we numbered altogether a force of seven thousand men. So passed we happily and well over wide spaces of various countries, until we reached Constantinople. There we tendered our most dutiful respects to the Emperor Alexis—there we saw St. Sophia's—and there we kissed the numberless sanctuaries of saints. Passing from Constantinople, through Lycia, we fell into the hands of Arabian robbers, who stripped a vast number of us of our money, and who slew many of our companions. It was by the merest chance that I and my friends escaped with our lives, and that we were able to effect an

* "Seo calde hlalfdige." *Sax. Chron.*

and of King Hardicanute, and the widow of the two Kings

entrance—to us a joyful entrance—into the long sought-for, long wished-for, city of Jerusalem.

“Sophronius, who was then the patriarch of Jerusalem, a man worthy of all veneration for his honourable and most sanctified old age, received us, as we entered the city, with the loudly-clamorous joyful sounds of the cymbals, and the dazzling refulgence of lighted tapers; and so conducted us in solemn procession to the Church of the most Holy Sepulchre, that which is marked with the presence of the Divinity in the estimation alike of the Syrian, as of the Latin Christians. And there, what prayers we offered up, what tears we shed, and what sighs we breathed, our Lord Jesus Christ, its sole occupant, alone knoweth, and alone can tell! From the most glorious sepulchre of Christ, we were conducted around the other holy places of the city. We there beheld with weeping eyes the infinite number of Holy churches, and the oratory that the Soldan Achym had destroyed. It was with deep sorrow, and with abundant tears, that we regarded the numerous ruins as they lay both within and outside the walls of the sanctified city; and having given no small sum of money for the restoration of some of them, we longed to go abroad into the land, to be laved in the most sacred waters of the Jordan, and to kiss, with a most ardent devotion, every place that had been impressed by the footsteps of Christ; but the Arabian thieves, who had watched us on our journey, and whose main body wandered at no great distance from the city, in numerous bands of merciless miscreants, rendered it impossible for us to gratify our wishes in this respect.

“With the spring season, there arrived in the port of Jaffa a fleet” (*stolus στολος*) “of Genoese vessels. It is the practice for Christian merchants to carry on their traffic along those coasts, whilst they pay their veneration to the holy places in the land. We embarked on board their vessels, and committed ourselves to the ocean. We suffered from heavy seas and numerous storms, but at length were landed at Brindisi; and then proceeding without any impediment through the ancient Apulia, we arrived at Rome—we kissed the threshold of the Apostles, and the abundant monuments there to be found of saints and martyrs. From thence, the archbishops, and other princes of the empire, taking the road to the right for Germany, and we turning away by the left for France, we separated from each other with inexpressible marks of mutual respect, and with numberless kisses.

“At last we got back to Normandy; but in place of being what we were, thirty men, fat, and in good condition, and well mounted

of England, Ethelred and Canute. Her remains were

when we left, we returned, barely twenty in number, all poor pilgrims, all on foot, and all wasted away and attenuated by hunger, sorrow, and hardships.

"And when all my companions dispersed and betook themselves quickly as they possibly could, each to his several home and place of refuge, I resolved (lest I should again be involved in the vanities of this world) to keep the habitation of my soul well swept and cleaned, and in order that I might close it up for ever against the possibility of being broken into anew by seven evil spirits, I shut myself up in the monastery of Fontanelle. There I received the monastic habit from the venerable father, Abbot Gerbert, and there (as the grace of the Holy Ghost inspired me) I endeavoured unceasingly to cleanse myself of all the crimes of my youth and my ignorance, and to amend them. Finally, and after the lapse of many years, upon the death of the venerable prior Witon, the venerable father, my lord, the Abbot Gerbert, looked down upon my littleness, and desiring to make me a sharer in his solitude, he compelled me, although unworthy and reluctant to be so, and only accepting the office, as being bound to do so, by the bonds of obedience, I became the prior of his monastery.

"At that period, when my lord, the renowned William, Duke of Normandy, had been apprised by the constant communications forwarded to him of the death and burial of his relative, the most pious English king, Edward, and when, in consequence of that event, he lay for a very long time at the port of St. Valery, waiting for a favourable wind to cross the sea, and win for himself his rights, I was permitted to approach him with a present from my lord, the abbot. I seized upon the most favourable opportunity I could find for doing this, and then tendered to him on the part of my abbot, and to aid him in his expedition, twelve picked men, in the bloom of youth, all horsemen, and all well-armed, and with these a hundred marks towards the expenses of his undertaking. The duke expressed his great thanks for so timely and useful a present as I had brought him—but he did more—he with a generosity that was truly munificent, bestowed by a charter under his own hand, and in perpetuity upon our monastery, the entire vineyard of that dear place. With a mouth filled with praises for the duke, and a heart filled with joy for the monastery, I returned to the abbot. As for the duke, he happily passed over to England, rendered it subject to his sway, and ever afterwards manifested the warmest regard for the monastery of Fontanelle, bestowed upon it many honours, and whenever the opportunity oc-

interred in the old minster at Winchester, and by the side of the body of King Canute.*

It was in the course of the same year (1052), that Griffin,† the King of the Welsh, devastated a great part of the county of Hereford.‡ The people of the country,

curred, exhibited his veneration for my lord the abbot, as well as for all the monks in the same monastery.

"A few years now elapsed, when my predecessor, the venerable father, Wulketul, the lord abbot of Croyland, was removed from that office, and then my lord, the renowned King William, forwarded a messenger to the venerable father, my lord, the Abbot Gerbert, making the request, and obtaining what he asked, that so poor a person as myself should be sent to him—and thus it was, that I, most deeply grieved at the prospect of the high office that was to be bestowed upon me, but still most joyful, because I was about to be restored to my native land, was finally elevated to the candlestick of the church of Croyland, and so placed as abbot in the most sacred temple of Christ." *INGULPHUS. Hist.* pp. 73, 74, 75. Here we must leave for a time, and probably for evermore, the biography of Ingulph unfinished. If the reader have perused it with any of the feelings of the translator, we are certain he will agree with us in thinking, that it is more interesting than the mooted point, whether William of Normandy did, or did not, project in the year 1051, becoming at a future period the sovereign of England.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052. See F. WIGORN. a. 1052. *INGULPHUS.* p. 65. *ROG. DE WENDOV.* vol. i. p. 490. *RUDRORN. Hist. Maj. lib.* iv. c. 4. *Annal. Winton.* a. 1052. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 239, 293.

† "He was the son of Ratherch ap Justin; Tyrrell. i. p. 85. In the account of the lands belonging to the see of Chester, Eadward is said to have given all beyond the Dee to Griffin; but upon his rebellion, being forfeited, they were restored to that see. *Introduct. to Domesday*, i. p. 306." *Coxe*, note to *Roger de Wendover*, vol. i. p. 490. (E. H. S.)

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1052, vol. i. p. 207. "Plundered in Herefordshire till he came very nigh to Leominster." *Sax. Chron.*

aided by several Normans from the castle,* marched against the invaders; but the victory was won by Griffin, who slew a great number, and then carried off with him an immense spoil.

This battle took place on the anniversary of the same day on which, thirteen years previously, the Welsh had treacherously slain Edwin, the brother of the Earl Leofric.†

A short time after this event had occurred, the Earl Harold and his brother Leofwine returned from Ireland, entered the mouth of the Severn, and then landing on the confines of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, they plundered numerous vills and lands in those districts of the country.‡ Vast numbers of men were congregated together from Devonshire and Somersetshire to oppose these invaders; but they were conquered by Harold, who slew in battle more than thirty of the King's thanes, and a great many persons along with them. Upon obtaining this victory, Harold repaired with his spoil to his ships, in which he afterwards sailed round the Land's End.

No sooner did this intelligence reach King Edward, than he had fitted out in all haste forty ships, which, fully manned and provisioned, were despatched to Sandwich, with strict orders to wait there, and watch the arrival of

* F. WIGORN. "They gathered against him both the landmen, and the Frenchmen from the castle." *Sax. Chron.* This appears to be a castle of which the Normans had possessed themselves in Herefordshire, and of which Godwin in the preceding year, (according to the interpretation of Herr Lappenberg) had wished them to be deprived. See *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 249, and note 1 in the same page.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. p. 207. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052. H. HUNT. p. 366.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1052 vol. i. p. 208.

Earl Godwin.* The leaders appointed to this naval expedition were the Earls Ralph and Odda.†

At this particular time, "Earl Godwin went out with his ships from Bruges to Ysendyck;‡ and sailed forth one day before Midsummer-eve, till he came to the Ness, that is to the south of Romney.§

"When this fact came to the knowledge of the Earls Ralph and Odda, stationed at Sandwich, they put out to sea in pursuit of Godwin's ships, and a land force was also ordered out against the men of the hostile fleet.

"The Earl Godwin had warning of the King's ships being in pursuit, and he therefore betook himself (for concealment) to Pevensey.|| The weather at this time was so boisterous, that the King's Earls could not learn what had become of Earl Godwin. The latter from Pevensey effected his escape back to Bruges, and then the King's ships returned again to Sandwich.

"It was then deemed to be advisable that the King's ships, up to this time mustered at Sandwich, should be brought back to London, and that other Earls than

* F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. p. 208.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052. The Odda here mentioned had been appointed in the preceding year Earl over Devonshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Wales. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1051. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 251. note 2.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* "Godwine proceeded from Bruges to his ships which were lying in the Yser, below Nieupoort." LAPPENBERG. vol. ii. p. 251.

§ *Sax. Chron.* Ingram's translation, p. 233. In copying from Mr. Ingram, we have ventured upon making some alterations. It is necessary to state this, lest he should be made responsible for our errors.

|| *Sax. Chron.* "Verum ipse fugiens evasit, et, quo in loco potuit, se occultavit." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 208.

“ Ralph and Odda, and with them other pilots should
“ be appointed to take charge of them. Instead of
“ this counsel being at once put into execution, it was de-
“ layed for so long a time, that the crews and fighting
“ men in the King’s ships all deserted, and betook them-
“ selves to their several homes.

“ No sooner did this intelligence reach Earl Godwin,
“ than he sailed westward with his ships to the Isle of
“ Wight. His men landing there, plundered so long, that
“ the people purchased peace from them, by giving what-
“ ever was required for the use of their ships. Godwin
“ and his ships sailed then westward to Portland, where
“ they landed, and did as much harm as they possibly
“ could do.

“ Meanwhile, Harold had sailed round the Land’s
“ End,* and wherever he went there was much people
“ gathered against him; but he spared not to provide
“ himself with meat, and went up, and slew on the spot
“ a great number of the people—seizing in cattle, in men,
“ and in money, whatever he could. Then went he east-
“ ward to his father, and both sailed together to the Isle
“ of Wight, where they seized whatever had been left
“ previously unplundered. Godwin next went to Perenssey,
“ and as many of the King’s ships as had gone in there, he
“ induced them to come out with him; and so he pro-
“ ceeded on to Dungeness, getting from Hithe, and Rom-
“ ney, and Folkeston, all the vessels lying there.†

* We omit here an account of the doings of Harold, as they are already stated in our extract from Florence of Worcester. vol. i. p. 208.

† There is here omitted a repetition of circumstances previously stated in the *Saxon Chronicle*. See Ingram. p. 233.

“ Whilst Godwin remained in that part of the country he enticed to his aid all the Kentish men, and all the boatmen from Hastings,* and everywhere thereabout by the sea-coast, and all the men of Essex, and Sussex, and Surrey, and many others besides, who all declared that with him they would live or with him they would die.†

“ From the time that Godwin and Harold came together, they did not much harm to the people or the country, save that they took meat, and enticed to them all the land-folk by the sea-coast, and also upward in the land. Thus went they onward toward Sandwich, ever alluring forth with them all the boatmen that they met; and at Sandwich they at last arrived with an ever-increasing army.

“ Godwin and Harold next steered eastward round to Dover, where they landed, took as many ships and hostages as they chose, and so again returned to Sandwich, where they did the same; and it is to be remarked, that men everywhere gave them hostages and provisions, wherever they required them.

“ Godwin and Harold next proceeded to the Nore, and so on towards London. Some of their ships stopped at Sheppy Island, and did much harm there, and from thence steered to Milton Regis,‡ and burned it all, and

* *Sax. Chron.* “ Omnes butsecarlas de Heastinga.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 208.

† *Sax. Chron.* “ Hi omnes uno ore, aut vivere aut mori cum eo se paratos fore, sibi promiserunt.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 208.

‡ “ Middeltune thaes cynges.” *Sax. Chron.* “ Because it was one of the royal villis from the time of King Alfred.” INGRAM. note to *Saxon Chronicle*. p. 236.

“ then these ships sailed after the Earls, their commanders, to London.

“ When Godwin and Harold arrived at London, they found that the King and all his Earls, with fifty ships, lay there to meet them. Ambassadors were then sent by the Earls Godwin and Harold to the King, praying that they might be restored to the possession of all those things which they declared had been unjustly taken from them. But the King resisted some while; so long, that the people who were with the Earl (Godwin) were very much stirred against the King, and against his adherents, so that the Earl with difficulty appeased them.”*

King Edward then sent messengers in haste over the land, requiring all who wished to aid him on this occasion to come as quickly as they could to his assistance.† The messengers sped forth—but his people tarried in their preparations; so that when they arrived the matter had already been disposed of.

Meanwhile, Godwin and his fleet stemmed the current of the river Thames, and upon a Monday, the festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th of September), they arrived at Southwark, and waited there until the tide should come to help them onward.

Whilst Godwin was so waiting for the tide, his messengers were busily engaged in conferences with the citizens of London, who were at length so won upon by his professions and his promises, that they declared their per-

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation. pp. 233—237, slightly altered.

† F. WIGORN. A. 1052. vol. i. p. 219.

fect readiness to do whatever he desired in this juncture of affairs.

All Godwin's plans being so arranged and so completed, the moment that the tide began to flow upward, his ships quickly raised their anchors, and carried onward by the waters, and no resistance being offered to him at London bridge, all sailed by the southern bend of the river up the stream; and whilst this manœuvre was executed by the fleet, there advanced to the bank of the river an army on foot, who there arranging themselves in line, presented to their opponent an array of well-disciplined ranks of men, whose very aspect was sufficient to terrify the beholder. No sooner, however, had the fleet cleared the bridge, than they steered towards the northern bank, as if it were their desire to surround the royal fleet; for we must bear in mind, that the King had not only a fleet, but also a pedestrian army under his command.

There then were at that moment, and in such a position, very few persons of any mark, distinction, or of tried courage, but Englishmen. The supporters of Godwin, and the adherents of the King, were alike Englishmen, and all were animated with the same feelings of abhorrence of fighting against those who had been their friends, who might be their relatives, and certainly were their countrymen. The leading sages in both hostile forces then interfered, with the determination of establishing peace between the King and Godwin, and so firmly uniting together, they commanded the armies on both sides—and that command was obeyed—to lay down their arms.*

* F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. p. 209. It may interest the reader to compare this with the following account given of the same transactions by the *Saxon Chronicle*:—

In accordance with the determination of the wise men, hostages were delivered on both sides.* No sooner had Archbishop Robert and the Normans heard that this had occurred than they took horse, and went, some west to Pentecost's castle,† and some north to Robert's castle.‡

The following morning the King held a council,§ and at that council were all the Earls and the best men in the land.|| There, then, did Earl Godwin defend himself against the imputations that had been cast upon him, and so doing he cleared himself before his lord the King

"Godwin stationed himself continually before London with his fleet till he came to Southwark, where he abode some time till the tide came up. On this occasion he also contrived with the burghesses that they should do almost all that he would. When he had arranged his whole expedition, then came the tide, and they soon weighed anchor, and steered through the bridge by the south-side. The land-force meanwhile came above, and arranged themselves by the strand, and they formed an angle with the ships against the north-side, as if they wished to surround the King's ships. The King had also a great land-force on his side to add to his shipmen; but they were most of them loth to fight with their kinsmen—for there was little else of any great importance but Englishmen on either side; and they were also unwilling that this land should be the more exposed to outlandish people, because they destroyed each other. Then it was determined that wise men should be sent between them, who should settle peace on either side." *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, p. 237.

* *Sax. Chron.*

† "Pentecostes castele." *Sax. Chron.* "That is to the castle of the Norman Osbern, surnamed Pentecost: Osbernus cognomento Pentecost." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 210. The point is of some importance, as establishing, beyond a doubt, that the Normans possessed castles in England long prior to the conquest.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052.

§ "Mane autem facto, concilium rex habuit." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 210.

|| *Sax. Chron.*

Edward, and before all the nation; and proving that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, and to the charge of his son Harold, and of all his children.* The King then bestowed upon the Earl and his children, and all the men that were with him, his full friendship, and complete Earldom, and all that he had before possessed.†

As to the Earl Godwin's daughter, the Queen Edgitha, the King received her with every mark of respect, and restored her to all the dignity which she had previously enjoyed.‡

Thus was concord established, and thus was peace secured. To all the people the promise was made of an upright law, whilst all the Normans, who had propounded iniquitous statutes, who had decreed false dooms, and who had been the suggesters to the King of foolish councils adverse to the interests of Englishmen, were alike involved in the one common and general sentence of outlawry.§ From this general sentence a few persons, however, were ex-

* *Sax. Chron.* Malmsbury pays the following compliment to the eloquence of Godwin on this occasion:—"Senex ille, et lingua potens ad flectendos animos audientium, probe se de omnibus quæ objectabantur expurgavit." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii § 199, vol. i. p. 340.

† *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. p. 210. "Earl Godwin, and Harold, and the Queen, sat in their stations." *Sax. Chron.*

§ F. WIGORN. "Archbishop Robert was fully proclaimed an outlaw, with all the Frenchmen; because they chiefly made the discord between the Earl Godwin and the King * * * They outlawed all Frenchmen who before instituted bad laws, and judged unrighteous judgment, and brought bad councils into this land." *Sax. Chron.* pp. 238, 239. INGRAM'S translation.

cepted—for instance, Robert, the deacon, and his son-in-law,* Richard, the son of Scrob,† Alfred, the King's groom of the chamber, Anfred, surnamed Ceocesfot, and some others for whom the King had an especial love and regard, and who ever had been loyal to him, and faithful to the people of England.

As to Robert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William, the Bishop of London, and Ulf, the Bishop of Lincoln, they and their Norman attendants escaped with some difficulty and crossed the sea.‡ One of these, how-

* "Robertum diaconem, et generum ejus." F. WIGORN. This Robert must have been married, and his wife have died, or become a nun, before he became a deacon. It is not to be supposed that because he had a daughter married, he was himself a married man, and a deacon living in the court of the Sainted King Edward.

† "Both this Richard fil. Scrob., and his son Osbern, are mentioned in Domesday as holding land T. R. E. (Tempore Regis Edwardi). Osbern appears also among the tenants in the capite, as a great landholder in no less than six counties, at the time of the Survey, also as an under-tenant. His chief seat was at Richard's castle in Herefordshire, so called from his father, the builder of it. See Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday*, i. pp. 460, 485, and ii. pp. 193, 206." THORPE, note to *Florence of Worcester*, vol. i. p. 210. (E. H. S.)

‡ F. WIGORN. Two accounts are given by the *Saxon Chronicle*, of the escape of Archbishop Robert :

"Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf went out at east-gate, slaying or else maiming many young men, and betook themselves at once to Eadulf's-ness; where he (the archbishop) put himself on board a crazy ship, and went at once over sea," &c. INGRAM. p. 238.

"It was with difficulty that Bishop Robert, and Bishop William, and Bishop Ulf, escaped with the Frenchmen that were with them, and so went over sea," &c. INGRAM. p. 239.

"A decree," says *Malmsbury*, "was promulgated against Archbishop Robert and his accomplices, as disturbers of the government of the kingdom, and as having excited the mind of the

ever, the Bishop William, was, on account of his thorough goodness, shortly afterwards recalled, and replaced in his see.

Two others, Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, delivered up their castles, and then, with the permission of the Earl Leofric, they passed through his district to Scotland, where they were received by Macbeth, the King of the Scotch.*

All the members of the family of Godwin, with a single exception, were upon this occasion fully restored to their pristine honours—that exception was his son Sweyne, who induced by a penitential spirit for the crime of which he

King against his countrymen. But Robert waited not for any violence to be offered to him, but voluntarily fled at the moment that terms of peace between Godwin and the King were talked of. He proceeded then to Rome, where he appealed in his own cause to the Apostolic See, and upon his return from Rome died at Jumieges, and was there buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary—a church that he had, principally at his own expense, and in a most sumptuous style, constructed." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. p. 340. See *Gest. Pont. Ang.* p. 240. H. HUNT. p. 366.

The name of Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, does not here cease to be connected with the events of English history. Ingulphus states, that Robert was commissioned, on the part of Edward, to state to William of Normandy, that he intended to make William his successor to the throne, "illumque designatum sui regni successorem" (*Hist.* p. 68). A similar statement is made by William of Jumieges—that is, by a monk in the monastery in which Robert died: "Edwardus Anglorum rex disponente Deo successione carens, olim miserat Willelmo Duci Rodbertum Cantuariorum archipræsulem ex regno a Deo sibi attributo illum statuens hæredem." *De Duc. Norman.* lib. vi. c. 31. p. 664 (Camden).

See MASERE'S *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 77, 78. MICHEL. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 165.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. p. 210.

had been guilty, by assassinating his relative Beorn, travelled barefooted from Flanders all the way to Jerusalem, and who, in returning from thence, was seized with a mortal sickness, induced by the intense cold to which he was exposed, died in Lycia.*

“It was on the Monday after the festival of St. Mary,

* F. WIGORN. a. 1052. vol. i. pp. 209, 210. “Sweyne had before gone to Jerusalem from Bruges, and died on his way home at Constantinople, at Michaelmas.” *Sax. Chron.* “Rediens a Saracenis circumventus, et ad mortem cæsus est.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200. vol. i. p. 343.

The pilgrimage in this case, performed by the homicide Sweyne, had doubtless been imposed upon him as a penance by his father-confessor. Malsbury intimates so much, when he says of it, “pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti,” and mentions a somewhat similar case in *De. Pontif.* lib. v. p. 174. Such a pilgrimage was the penance imposed by the Bishops of France upon the violators of “the truce of God.” This was the Decree issued by them in the year 1042 :—

“Si quis in ipsis diebus *Treuve Dei*, homicidium fecerit, exul factus, atque a propria patria ejectus, Jerusalem tendens, longinquum illic patiatur exilium.” Prænesis Episcoporum Galliæ ad Treugam Dei, as quoted in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 516. In Baronius, a full account is given of the great pilgrimage made from Germany to Jerusalem, in the year 1064, of which our historian Ingulf was a participator. See vol. xvii. pp. 266, 267, 268, 269, 270. a. 1064. § 43—46. References to that and such like pilgrimages will also be found in Herman. Chron. a. 1065. Hist. Andagin. Mon. Gest. Consul. Andegar; Chron. de Normandie; Vit. B. Richard. Abb. S. Viton; Addit. Sigebert. a. 1067, 1068. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 22, 150, 267, 268, 328, 459, and 638. In the same volume a curious account will be found given of the pilgrimages undertaken to the shrine of St. Hubert, by persons bitten by rabid animals, and of the means adopted for effecting their cure, *Hist. Andagin. Mon.* p. 150, and note (b). In the year 1084, it was remarked by Pope Gregory VII., to be a practice with many of the faithful women, as well as men, to make an annual pilgrimage to Rome: “studeant annue tam mulieres, quam viri ad eam venire.” BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 530. § 27.

“ that Godwin came with his ships to Southwark ; and on
 “ the morning afterwards, on the Tuesday, they (he and
 “ the King) were reconciled—as it stands here before re-
 “ corded.”*

The moment that Robert fled from England, Stigand, who was Bishop of Winchester, intruded himself upon the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury—and this he did whilst the Archbishop Robert was still living!† This bishop Stigand has rendered himself for ever infamous in the estimation of mankind, by his insatiable ambition and by his constant craving after enormous wealth—motives that led him, for the attainment of a higher dignity, first to abandon the bishopric of the East Angles for that of Winchester, and then, when he had gained Winchester, to retain the latter see in his hands, along with the archiepiscopacy of Canterbury.‡ It was because he was guilty of such conduct

* *Sax. Chron.* See also, with reference to the transactions of this year, in which Godwin and Harold were involved, R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 490, 491. S. DUNELM. p. 184. R. DICET. p. 476. BROMTON. pp. 943, 944. KNYGHTON. p. 2332. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1051, 1052. *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1051, 1052. p. 157. HIGDEN. lib. vi. p. 279.

† “ Invasit continuo, illo vivente, Stigandus, qui erat episcopus Wintoniæ, archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. p. 340. He did this, it is stated by Rog. de Wendover, by taking advantage of the simplicity of the King. “ regis Edwardi simplicitatem circumveniens,” vol. i. p. 492. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052.

‡ W. MALMSB. Stigand was a gigantic pluralist. The historian of Ely, to whom we are indebted for many particulars respecting the rapacity of the Normans, states with regard to Stigand, these particulars to shew his ambition and covetousness: “ Post decessum vero abbatis Wlfricci, Stigardus Doroberniæ archiepis-

as this, that he was regarded by the Apostolical See, as not worthy to receive the pall, unless, indeed, it may be admitted, that he received one, because such a thing was sent to him by a certain intruder upon the apostleship named "Benedict;" * and who must have been led to do

copus, abbatiam de Ely, sed et episcopatus atque abbatias sibi assumpsit plurimas, * * * * * eas pastoribus viduatas, quamdiu voluit in sua manu tenuit et quibus voluit personis conferbat. Nam Wintoniensem, Clastoniensem, S. Albani et S. Augustini et Elyensem, ante Turstanum abbatem, abbatias in manu sua receperat et velut proprias possidebat." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 98. vol. i. p. 219. Other facts, shewing his unjust conduct towards the church, in appropriating its wealth to himself, will be found in the same chapter; but in it also are mentioned facts, which, in justice to the memory of Stigand, ought not to be passed by in silence. They show that there was some generosity in his disposition—that he returned, in the form of rich gifts, some portion back to the church, of the wealth that he had taken from it: that he was, at least, in this respect, superior to the Norman church-spoliators and their successors, the *Church-reformers* of the sixteenth century. The following are the words of the Ely historian, which reflect credit on the character of Stigand:—

"Deditque tamen dona cœnobiis affluenter, præsertim his quæ in manu sua cognoscitur tenuisse. In Ely quippe vasa majora et minora de auro et argento in ministerium sacri altaris contulit, quæ in deditionem Willelmi regis magni comminuta sunt et destructa; fecerat quoque illic crucem magnam deargentatam desuper totam cum imagine Domine nostri Jesu Christi ad magnitudinem formæ illius, atque similis operis imagines juxta Sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ et S. Johannis Evangelistæ ex ære fabrefactas, quas Nigellus episcopus, ac plurima alia, postmodum abstulit atque comminuit. Insuper albam fecit et cappam cantoris, atque inestimabilis facturæ et pretii casulam, qua nulla in regno ditior aut pretiosior destinatur, quæ postea a prædicto rege sublata hactenus recuperari non valuit." Lib. ii. c. 98. vol. i. p. 220. (Ang. Christ).

* This Benedict is not to be confounded with another pretender to the popedom, an account of whom, and his awful doom, will be found in *BARONVS*, vol. xvii. a. 1047. § 16. p. 10; a. 1048. § 1. p. 14; and a. 1054. § 54, 55. pp. 104, 105. For the parti-

that, either because he was purchaseable by a pecuniary and corrupt bribe, or because bad men are gratified when they can testify their sympathy for the malignant. The assumed name and title, however, of the papal intruder were speedily abandoned, when he was driven from his elevation by the zeal of the faithful, and Nicholas, who had been Bishop of Florence, was duly and legally raised to the popedom.

Of this Stigand, we may here remark, that in the reign of William (the Conqueror), he was degraded from his dignities by Roman cardinals, that he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and that even death might be said not to have extinguished that insatiable avarice which characterised his life; for, when he lay dead, a key was discovered in one of the hiding places he had used, and that key being applied to the lock of a drawer in his bed-chamber, there was found in the drawer an explanation of documents, in which were noted the number and value of the immense treasures amassed by him—the species and the weight of the various rich metals that he—the avaricious spoliator—had gathered together from the various properties of which he had, at one time, been the possessor.*

In this year, 1052, “ Arnwy, Abbot of Peterborough,

culars respecting the usurper, Benedict, see same vol. of Baronius, a. 1058. § 10—16. pp. 142, 143, 144.

* W. MALMSB *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 199. vol. i. p. 340. 341. See *Act. Pont. Cantuar.* pp. 1651, 1652. W. THORN. p. 1787. KNYGHTON. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 2345. *Annal. Eccles. Winton.* a. 1070. Canon. Lichfield. Success. Arch. Cantuar. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

“resigned his abbacy, when he was in full health ; and, “with the King’s leave, and that of the monks, gave it “to Leofric. And the Abbot Arnwy lived afterwards “eight winters. The Abbot Leofric gilded the minster, “so that it was called Gildenborough : and it then waxed “very much in land, and in gold, and in silver.”*

In the year 1053, King Edward was holding the festival of Easter at Winchester, and with him there were at the time Earl Godwin, and his sons Earl Harold and Tosty.†

And here we may be permitted to state, in reference to these persons, a circumstance that proves how God is sometimes pleased to bestow upon mankind the faculty of knowing events previous to their occurrence—thereby disclosing to us mortals the secrets of heaven.‡

Upon one occasion this blessed King Edward was seated at table, and by his side was sitting Earl Godwin, the father of his Queen. At that moment two of the sons of Godwin, Harold and Tosty, who were then young boys, were playing before them, when one of them treating the other somewhat more roughly than the license of sport permitted, a quarrel arose, and they who had played in jest now fought in earnest. Harold, making a rush at his brother, fastened both his hands in the hair of Tosty, and having flung him on the earth, would, as he was superior to his brother in strength, have certainly choked him on

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. pp. 239, 240.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1052.

‡ AILRED. Vit. Edward. Confess. p. 394. “Sed jam aliqua de hiis que ei sunt de futuris vel secretis cœlestibus revelata, Deo nobis facultatem tribuente ponamus.”

the spot, had he not been prevented from doing so by those who were present.

The King, on seeing this, turned to the Earl and said—
“ Do you behold nothing else in what is now passing before your eyes than the mad pranks, or the foolish quarrels of two boys?”

“ Nought else, my lord and King,” answered Godwin.

“ My mind speaks out far other things,” continued the King, “ and it, through this event, reveals to me what will be the war in time to come between those two who now stand but as boys before us. When the years of youth have passed away, and when both have become men, envy and hatred will inflame the heart of each against the other, and by wiles and snares, by plots and contrivances, as now they have done in sport, they will mutually try to circumvent one another, until at last the stronger shall first outlaw the weaker, then as a rebel destroy him, and finally the destruction of the second shall follow speedily on the death of the first, and so the calamitous end of the conqueror shall expiate the massacre of the conquered.”

How literally this prophecy was afterwards fulfilled all England itself is a witness; for Tosty was first banished by Harold, and then, when Harold succeeded to the English throne on the death of Edward, and that Tosty aided by Harold Hardrada, with an immense Norwegian fleet and army, landed in England, to fight with his brother, and that in the battle that then ensued, and in which Tosty was slain, and Hardrada with difficulty saved his life, and made his escape with a few retainers, the prophecy became realized; because in the self-same year, Harold, despoiled of his crown and kingdom, was either miserably

slain in battle, or, as it is supposed by some, escaped with life but to pass his days in penitence.*

And now that we have had occasion so frequently to refer to Godwin, we deem it but right to shew in what manner the avenging wrath of the Divine judgment destroyed him—how he, who had been guilty of great crimes towards the King and the King's brother, was doomed, in the presence even of the public, to pay a fitting and terrible penalty for his many misdeeds.

Godwin had greatly abused the King's power, by taking advantage of the King's simplicity of heart. Many things had he perpetrated in this land that were in violation of law and equity, and often had he attempted to incline the mind of Edward so far, as to sanction his own iniquity by the approval of the sovereign. At last (in the year 1053), so successful had been his cunning policy, that he by fraud, by treachery, by trickery, and by various devices, had driven out of England nearly all those relations and friends whom Edward had brought with him from Normandy. Whether they were bishops,† or dignified clergy-

* AILRED. Reference to this strange allusion will be made in describing the death of Harold.

† One of the foreign bishops, it may be supposed, to whom reference is here made was Osmund, who left the King's court to become a monk of Ely. "This Osmund," says the historian of Ely, "upon his arrival in England, stopped for some time with King Edward, and, regarded with great favour by the Sovereign, he attended his majesty's court on all occasions. He was a man advanced in years, possessed of much dignity of manners, and equally loved and revered by all the great men of the kingdom. Whilst he was in the King's court, he was delighted with the reports that reached him of the great piety that prevailed in Ely monastery, and therefore determined to visit the place, wishing, as he said, to pass the remainder of his life within its walls, if the kindness of the monks should be found to correspond with his

men or laymen, Godwin drove them away ; and this he did under the conviction that all things would be conducted in accordance with his own desires, if the King, once deprived of his intimate friends, should be under the necessity of being guided by no other councils than those that he himself should suggest. But Edward, whose conduct was always guided by what he considered it was his duty to do, considering the situation in which he was placed, and the period at which he ought to act or to remain quiescent, took no notice openly of all those proceedings ; but giving himself up wholly and solely to his religious duties, he predicted that the justice of God would yet punish the excessive wickedness of Godwin, and sometimes, breaking through the silence he had imposed upon himself, he even foretold to Godwin the doom that was reserved for him. And so it came to pass ; for upon a certain day—a day celebrated as a great festival by the people,* when the King was seated at the royal banquet, and Godwin was also there and near to him, it happened that one of

wishes. He arrived in Ely, and pleased with the beauty of the locality, and attracted by the devotion of the monks, he was received as a brother in their community. performing, at their request, all episcopal functions amongst them—for this was the sole privilege retained by bishops who became monks at Ely, that abandoning their episcopal cares, they merely discharged their episcopal offices. This most pious man lived in the monastery of Ely, from the abbotship of Wulfric, by whom he had been received, to that of Thurston in whose time he died, bequeathing to the monastery those episcopal ornaments he had used whilst living at Ely. His body was afterwards removed from the old burial ground to that spot in which it now rests in peace." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. c. 199. vol. i. pp. 220, 221. (Ang. Christ.)

* AILRED. "On the day after Easter." *Sax. Chron.* "Eodem anno. dum secunda Paschalis festivitatis celebratur feria (12 Apr.)" F. WIGORN. a. 1053. vol. i. p. 211.

the King's servants, striking with his foot against something that lay in his way, stumbled for an instant, but instantly recovered his balance with his other foot, and so without injury stood steady and erect before the Sovereign. The accident was remarked by many, and became the subject of conversation, whilst some congratulated the King's servant that one foot should have thus repaired the fault of the other. Amongst these was the Earl Godwin, who jokingly said, "Thus brother helps brother, and "aids him in time of need."*

The King, upon hearing these words, turned upon the Earl, and said:—"My brother might have so aided me, "had Earl Godwin but permitted it."

"I know," replied Godwin, "well now do I know, O "King! that still thy mind is filled with the thought of "the accusation formerly preferred against me respecting "the murder of thy brother. Even now thou dost not "discredit those who once charged me with being a traitor "to him and to thee. God, however, knoweth all things "—in His eyes no man has secrets, and to His judgment "I now appeal. Behold this morsel which I now hold in "my hand, may He grant me the power to swallow it and "to leave me uninjured, if I be, as I am, and as I declare "myself to be, innocent of treachery to thee, or to thy "brother, of which I have been accused."

Upon giving utterance to these words, he placed the morsel in his mouth, and tried to swallow it, but it stopped in his throat, and he was deprived of the power of gulping down, or of ejecting it. All his efforts seemed but to make

* See vol. ii. p. 389 of this work, where the same expression is said to have been used in the presence of King Ethelstan.

it adhere more firmly to the passage in which it stopped.* All the organs of respiration were impeded—his eyes turned in his head, and his arms stiffened as if he were already a corpse.

King Edward beheld the dying wretch prostrate before him, and conscious that in what he saw he merely beheld the execution of that which was a sentence from heaven, he said to the by-standers, "Take away that dog!"†

Godwin was pulled from beneath the table,‡ and he was borne by his sons, Harold, Tosti, and Gurth, into the King's bed-chamber.§ They hoped that the illness with

* In this case Godwin had unintentionally imposed upon himself the ordeal of *corsnaed*, that being, to use the words of Mr. Thorpe, in his Glossary—"A species of ordeal, in which the accused had to place in his mouth a slice of bread or cheese; if he ate it freely and without hurt, he was considered innocent: but guilty if it stuck in his throat and had to be extracted." According to the Laws of Ethelred (c. ix. § 19), if a mass-priest, living according to rule, were the accused, it is said, "Let him celebrate mass, *if he dare*, and clear himself on *the housel* (the Blessed Sacrament) himself alone;" but for his inferior this was the regulation: "If a *friendless servant* of the altar be charged with an accusation who has no supporters to his oath, let him go to the *corsnaed*, and thence fare as God will." (c. ix. § 22. See also § 24, and Laws of Canute, § 5. Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, pp. 147, 155.) See also GRIMM, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthum*, in verb. *Geweihter bissen*, pp. 931, 932. WILKINS' *Leges Anglo-Saxon.* in verb. *Corsned*, et *Lex Sacramentalis*, pp. 395, 412. MURATORI, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane*, (Di-sert. xxviii. de i Giudizi di Dio) vol. ii. p. 485. (Milan, 1751.)

† AILRED. Vit. Edward Confess. pp. 394, 395.

‡ "Sub mensa extractus." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 197. vol. i. p. 336.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1053. vol. i. p. 211. In the *Saxon Chronicle*, no reference is made to the marvellous circumstances connected with the death of Godwin. It merely says: "On the day after Easter sat he with the King at table; when he suddenly

which he had been so suddenly attacked, would be of brief duration. The contrary, however, occurred; for he from that moment lay utterly deprived of strength until the Thursday following (the 15th of April), when, amid horrible tortures, he departed this life, and his body was buried in the old minster at Winchester.*

Godwin was very young when he was united in marriage with the sister of King Canute, by whom he became the father of a son, who had scarcely emerged from boyhood, when he was, with boy-like pride, prancing about upon a horse, that had been presented to him by his grandsire, and in so doing, the horse ran away with him, and plunged into the river Thames, where the youthful rider was carried away by the furious stream, and drowned.† The mother of this boy was struck dead by lightning; and by that sudden death, suffered a punishment that was suited to her barbarous cruelty; for it is said of her, that she was in the habit of purchasing bands of slaves in England, and then shipping them off to Denmark to be sold—and it is alleged, that those she preferred so disposing of, were maidens, whose beauty and whose youth obtained

sunk beneath against the foot-rail, deprived of speech and of all his strength. He was brought into the King's bower, and they supposed it would pass over; but it was not so. He continued thus speechless and helpless till the Thursday, when he resigned his life, on the 17th before the calends of May; and he is buried at Winchester, in the old minster." See *INGULPH. Hist.* p. 66. *R. DE WEND.* vol. i. pp. 492, 493. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1053. *Roman de Rou.* v. 10598—10600, and note (7) by *PLUQUET.* vol. ii. p. 102 (Rouen, 1827). "He made," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "too little restitutions of God's property, which he acquired from many places." *INGRAM'S* translation, p. 239.

* *F. WIGORN.* a. 1053. vol. i. p. 211.

† *W. MALMSB. Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200.

in such a market a higher price, and that by this horrible traffic she collected together piles of treasure.*

Soon after the death of this woman, Godwin was united in marriage to another (Gytha), of whose lineage we have not been able to discover any thing certain. She became the mother of Harold, Sweyne, Tosty, Wulnoth, Gurth, and Leofwin. Harold reigned as King a few months after the death of Edward; but, conquered by William at Hastings, he lost in the same conflict his two youngest brothers, his kingdom, and his life. Wulnoth, who had been sent to Normandy by King Edward as a hostage given to him by Godwin, remained in Normandy in inextricable captivity, during the entire reign of Edward; but upon William's ascending the throne, he was transferred to England, and confined at Salisbury. Old age there came upon him, and found him, as in his youth and his prime, still in chains!†

* "Quod dicebatur agmina mancipiorum, in Anglia coempta, Danemarchiam solere mittere, puellas præsertim quas decus et ætas prætiosiores facerent, ut earum deformi commercio cumulos opum aggeraret." W. MALMSB.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200. vol. i. p. 342. We omit the account here given by Malmsbury of Sweyne and Tosty, the sons of Godwin, because we have already stated the incidents in the life of the first, and it will be necessary to give in detail hereafter the conduct of the second. As to Wulnoth, the son of Godwin, he was, probably, sent to Normandy in the year 1052, when peace was about to be established between Edward and Godwin, and that it was, according to the expression of the *Saxon Chronicle*, "determined that hostages should be given on either side." The Norman writers maintain, that Wulnoth, and Hacon, the son of Sweyne, were hostages for the acquiescence of Harold's family to William's accession to the throne—"frater et fratuelis obsides fuerant accepti de successione eadem." W. PICR. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Norm.* p. 78. See MANERE's note (A), same page. *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* See also, *Roman de Rou.* v. 10575, 10594, and 10729—10748. "Wlnotus filius ipsius God-

Upon the death of Godwin, his earldom and all he possessed were bestowed by the King on Harold, and to Algar was transferred the earldom of Harold.*

In the year 1053, Rhys, the brother of Griffin, was, on account of the frequent robberies perpetrated by him, slain by order of King Edward, at a place called Bulendunz, and his head carried to the King at Gloucester, and there laid before him on the vigil of the Epiphany (the 5th of January).†

In the course of this year, the Welshmen slew a great many of the warders of the English at Westbury.‡

In the month of October, of the year 1053, died Wulsy, Bishop of Lichfield, Godwin, the Abbot of Winchelcombe,§ and Edward, the Abbot of Glastonbury.|| Leofwine,

wini, et Hacun filius Swani filii ejus, obsides dantur, ac in Normanniam Willelmo Bastardo custodiendi destinantur." R. Hoved. p. 449. See EADMER. *Hist. Nov.* p. 4. These authorities agree, that Wulnoth was a hostage for Godwin to Edward, not for Harold to William.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1053. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 211.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1053. vol. i. p. 211. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1053. CARADOC. pp. 90, 91. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 492.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1053.

§ See vol. i. pp. 719, 720 of this work, as to the foundation of Winchelcombe.

|| This Edward presided for twenty-six years over the monastery of Glastonbury. He was presented by King Hardicanute with a shrine, which, in the days of Malmesbury, was used as a

Abbot of Coventry, succeeded Wulsy in the see of Lichfield, and Ægelnoth, a monk in the monastery of Glastonbury, succeeded Edward as its abbot.* As to the abbacy of Winchelcombe, it was retained by Aldred, the Bishop of Worcester, in his hands; but at length parted with, when he constituted Godric, the son of Godman, and one of the King's chaplains, as abbot †

“ This year there was no archbishop in this land; but
 “ Bishop Stigand held the see of Canterbury at Christ-
 “ church, and Kinsey that of York. Leofwine and Wulfwy
 “ went over sea, and had themselves consecrated bishops
 “ there. The latter, Wulfwy, took the bishopric that Ulf
 “ had whilst he was living and in exile.” ‡

On the 22nd of December, in the year 1053, died Ælfric, the brother of Earl Odda, at Deerhurst, but his body was buried in the monastery of Pershore.§

receptacle for the relics of St. Benignus, “ *scrinium, in quo nunc beati Benigni corpus requiescit.*” W. MALMS. *Antiq. Glaston. Eccles.* p. 323. See as to Edward, vol. ii. pp. 620, 621 of this work. F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 211. “ All these,” observes the Saxon Chronicle, “ died within one month.”

* See W. MALMSB. *Antiq. Glaston. Eccles.* p. 324.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1053. vol. i. p. 211.

‡ *Sax. Chron.*

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1053. Amongst the events of this year, we find specified by this author (F. Wigorn), the following fact:—
 “ Æd clericus barbosus in Hibernia, vir famosissimus et miræ religionis fuit, qui clericorum, puellarum, et laicorum magnam

In the year 1054, died Leo, the holy Pope, at Rome; and Victor was chosen Pope in his stead.*

— —

In this year (1054), Siward, the valiant Earl of the Northumbrians, proceeded, in accordance with the orders of King Edward, with a large army, composed of cavalry, and with a strong fleet to Scotland.† Siward was in stature almost a giant, but he was dexterous in feats of war, and

scholam habebat, puellasque more clericorum tondebat, propter quod etiam de Hibernia projectus est." vol. i. pp. 211, 212. In Baronius, the same statement is made in the following terms:—

"In Ireland, a man named Arderic, who had obtained a reputation for great sanctity, was discovered to have introduced rites and customs different from those received and adopted by the church; and upon that discovery, he was immediately driven out of an island that has ever adhered with the strongest tenacity to the Catholic faith (*insula tenacissima Catholicæ fidei*). When the faithful saw that he imposed the clerical tonsure not only upon boys, but upon girls (*pueros et puellas clericorum more tondere in modum coronæ*), and that he even maintained, in direct opposition to the words of the Apostle (1 Cor. ii.), that women should not have their heads covered, then the Irish judged that he was guilty of folly and levity, or (what is worse than either) of great pride, because he refused to comply with the ancient usages and traditions of the church." *Annal. Ecclesiast.* a. 1053. § 48. vol. xvii. p. 88. As to the monastery of Pershore, see DUODALE. *Monasticon*, vol. ii. pp. 410—425.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1054. The last prayer of this holy pope, "se halga papa," was for the conversion of clergymen who had rendered themselves accursed by the sin of simony. See PAGI. *critic.* a. 1054. § 4; and as to miracles testifying his sanctity, BARONIUS. a. 1054. § 47, 48, 49, 50. vol. xvii. pp. 102, 103, 104. Eleven months and twenty-four days elapsed between the death of Leo and the election of Victor. See same vol. of Baronius. p. 104. § 52.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1054. vol. i. p. 212.

gifted with wisdom in council.* He marched upon this occasion in hostile array against Macbeth, the King of Scotland—fought a battle with him, in which were slain many thousand Scotchmen, and all the Normans to whom we have before referred;† compelled Macbeth to save himself by flight;‡ and then, as his sovereign had so directed him to do, he appointed as King over the Scotch, Malcolm, son of the King of the Cumbrians.§

In that battle, however, there were slain many men, both Englishmen and Danes,|| on the side of Siward; and amongst them, were his own son Osbern, and his sister's son Sihward.¶

When it was told to Siward that his son had been killed, he merely enquired: "Did he receive his death-wound in the front or the back?" And when he heard in reply, "All his wounds were in front," "Then," exclaimed Siward, "I rejoice in the news you bear me; as neither for myself, nor for my son, have I ever

* H. HUNT. p. 366.

† F. WIGORN. p. 212. Such as Osbern Pentecost, and his companion Hugh.

‡ Malmsbury says by mistake (Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. §. 196. vol. i. p. 330), that Macbeth was slain by Siward. The battle referred to in the text was fought in 1054, and Macbeth was "slain at Lumphanan, on the 5th of December, 1056, by the injured hand of Macduff." CHALMERS' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 410.

§ Malcolm was afterwards married to Margaret, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. See CHALMERS' *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 417, 418, and HARDY'S notes to W. Malmsbury, vol. i. pp. 303, 330. (E. H. S.)

|| F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 212.

¶ *Sax. Chron.*

“desired a better, braver, more fitting, or more honour-
“able death.”*

It was on the festival of the martyr and saint, King Kenelm (17th July),† that Aldred, the Bishop of Worcester, appointed Godric as Abbot of Winchelcomb, and then proceeded to discharge the duties of the King's ambassador at the court of the German Emperor, and for which purpose large and rich presents were confided to his care by Edward.‡ Aldred was received by the Emperor, and by the Archbishop of the city of Cologne (in which place he remained for an entire year), with the highest marks of distinction. The object of the King in sending him upon this embassy to the Emperor, was to suggest to the latter, that ambassadors should be sent to Hungary, in order that from thence might come to England the King's nephew, Edward, who was the son of the King, Edmund Ironside.§ King Edward himself was now inclining towards old age—he was not to have any children of his own; and seeing that the influence of Godwin's sons was constantly on the increase, he sent to the King of the Hungarians, in order that Edward, the son of his brother Edmund, might with all his family come to England; and this he did with the intention, that his nephew Edward, or his children, should succeed to the hereditary crown of England; as well as that he, whilst

* H. HUNT. p. 316.

† See as to St. Kenelm, vol. i. pp. 721, 722, 723, of this work.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1054. vol. i. p. 212.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1054. vol. i. p. 212.

living, might find himself as an individual sustained by the support of his own kindred.*

Whilst Aldred was absent from England on this embassy, he "commissioned Bishop Leofwine to consecrate the minister of Eversham; and it was consecrated in the same year, on the sixth before the ides of October."†

In this year (1054), died suddenly in his bed, and as he lay at rest, Osgod Clapa.‡

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. §. 228. vol. i. p. 382. The fact of Aldred's visit to the Emperor is confirmed by the Saxon Chronicle: "This same year Bishop Aldred went south over sea into Saxony, to Cologne, on the King's errand, where he was entertained with great respect by the Emperor, abode there well nigh a year, and received presents, not only from the court, but from the Bishop of Cologne, and the Emperor." See as to the manner in which the Emperor was employed this year—his consecration of his youthful son Henry as King, at Aix-la-Chapelle. LAMBERT SCHAFFNABERG. a. 1054. SIGEBERT. *Chron.* a. 1054. PISTORIUS. vol. i. pp. 162, 599, and *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 61, 164.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. p. 243.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* As to Osgod Clapa, reference has been already made to him in this volume. He was like to Godwin in his sudden death, as he had been in his life a spoliator of monasteries, and he too "made altogether too little restitution of God's property." The fate of both should be a warning to all generations of mankind: "qui templum sanctum everterant ruina majori ceciderunt," are the words of Lactantius. (*De Mortibus Persecutorum*, § 1.) And what says Sir Henry Spelman, in his "Larger Work on Tythes," § vii.?

"Oh! how lamentable is the case of a poor Proprietary, that dying thinketh of no other account, but of that touching his Lay-vocation! and then coming before the Judgment Seat of Almighty God, must answer also for this spiritual function; first, why he meddled with it, not being called unto it; then, why (meddling with it,) he did not the duty that belongeth unto it, in seeing the church carefully served, the ministry thereof sufficiently maintained, and the poor of the parish faithfully relieved." SPELMAN'S *English Works*, p. 145. (a.)

In the year 1055, the Earl Siward died at York.* When he felt himself dying of diarrhœa, he exclaimed, "Shame upon me! that I could not die in the many battles in which I have been engaged, but that I should pine out my life here as basely and as tamely as the beast that browses in the field. Buckle on my armour, gird me with my sword, place my shield on my left arm, and in my right hand fix my golden-hilted battle-axe, that I may at least die as beseemeth a valiant knight."

And as he had ordered, so was Siward armed, and in this manner poured forth the last breath of a life, that had been a life of honour.†

The body of Siward was buried within the minster at Galmanho, which he had himself ordered to be built, and then consecrated in the name of God, and St. Olave to the honour of God, and to all his saints.‡

Upon the death of Siward, his earldom was bestowed upon Tosty, the brother of Harold.§

* *Sax Chron.*

† R. DICET. *Abbrev. Chron.* p. 477. See H. HUNT. p. 366. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1055. *INGULPH.* p. 66.

‡ *Sax Chron.* See F. WIGORN. a. 1055. vol. i. p. 212:—"The church dedicated to St. Olave was given by Alan, Earl of Richmond, about thirty-three years afterwards, to the first abbot of St. Mary's, in York, to assist him in the construction of the new abbey. It appears from a manuscript quoted by Leland, that Bootham-bar was formerly called Galmanna-hythe, not Galmanlith, as printed by Tanner and others; who seem to be very much in the dark on the subject of Galmanho." INGRAM. note on *Saxon Chronicle.* p. 243.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1355. vol. i. p. 212. See as to the attempt

In this year (1055), Kinsey, the Archbishop of York, returned to England with his pall, obtained by him from Pope Victor.*

This Archbishop, who had been a chaplain to King Edward, was the twenty-third in succession to the See of York.† He consecrated, as Bishop of Glasgow, Mac Sue, as well as John, the successor of Mac Sue, and received from both the charter of their profession—a document that at the time of the burning of York Church by the Normans, was lost, along with several other books, documents, ornaments, and charters, belonging to the same church ‡

Kinsey added a lofty stone tower to the Church of St. John of Beverly, and he placed in it two remarkably fine bells,§ in addition to his decoration of it with rich ornaments and books.|| The same generosity exhibited towards Beverly was manifested by him towards other

made by the wife of Tosty—the princess Judith of Flanders—to break through the prohibition against females entering the church of St. Cuthbert. See S. DUNELM, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. xi. pp. 35, 36.

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1055.

† *Stubbs. Act. Pont. Ebor.* p. 1700.

‡ This incidental allusion to the misdeeds of the Normans will serve to shew how much mischief was perpetrated by them in the destruction of Anglo Saxon MSS.

§ “Præcipua signa.” *Stubbs.* See *Ducange*, in verb. *sonum*.

|| “Et ipsam ecclesiam libris et ornamentis ornavit.” *Stubbs.* The manner in which such books were decorated often rendered them amongst the richest ornaments of a church; and on that account frequently the most sought after by the despoilers of churches. Thus we find it stated as to the monastery of Malmesbury, in the reign of William Rufus—“denique die uno 12 *textus Evangeliorum*, 8 *crucis*, 8 *scrinia argente et auro nudata et excrustata sunt*.” *W. MALMESB. de Pont.* lib. v. p. 377.

churches, in his archdiocese on the other side of the Humber; for instance, to the churches of Southwelham and Seton, upon which he also bestowed fine-sounding bells of great size.

As to Kinsey, a very general opinion prevails that he was brought into life at the cost of his mother's existence.

Kinsey died in the ninth year of his bishopric, and was interred at Peterborough.*

A short time after the death of Siward, a Witenagemot was convened at London by King Edward, and there the Earl Algar, the son of the Earl Leofric, was, though free from guilt, doomed to banishment.†

Algar at once proceeded to Ireland,‡ where he obtained

* STUBBS. *Act. Pont. Ebor.* p. 1700. See S. DUNELM. p. 79. R. DICT. p. 478. BROMTON. p. 952. RUDBORNE. lib. iv. c. 4. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 240.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1055. vol. i. p. 212. "Sine culpa exlegavit," are the words used by this author. "King Edward, seduced by evil counsellors, banished Algar, though free from crime." INGULPH. p. 66. No opinion as to Algar's innocence or guilt is pronounced by Roger de Wendover (vol. i. p. 494), whilst Henry of Huntingdon declares that he had been guilty of high treason (p. 366). The following is the statement of the Saxon Chronicle, and though seemingly more particular in its details than others, is still not very clear as to the actual facts:—

"A general council was summoned in London seven nights before Mid-Lent; at which Earl Algar, son of Earl Leofric, was outlawed *almost without any guilt*; because it was said against him that he was the betrayer of the King, and of all the people of the land. And he was arraigned thereof before all that were there assembled, though *the crime laid to his charge was unintentional.*" INGRAM. pp. 243, 244.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 212. This differs from the statement in the Saxon Chronicle, which says: "Whereupon Earl Algar sought Griffin's territory in North Wales, whence he went to Ireland."

eighteen piratical vessels,* with which he returned, and then proceeded to Griffin, the King of the Welsh, and besought his assistance in making war against King Edward. Griffin responded to this call upon him by embodying an immense army, levied out of all parts of his kingdom, and directing Algar, with such forces as he could collect, to meet him at a certain place, which he then specified.

As soon as their forces were united together,† they crossed the English borders, and entered the shire of Hereford, for the purpose of laying waste all that lay in their way.

The timid Earl Ralph, the son of King Edward's sister, had collected an army, and on the 24th day of October encountered the enemy at a place which is about two miles distance from the city of Hereford. The English had, upon this occasion, been ordered to do that which was contrary to their customary mode of fighting—that is, mounted on horseback. At the moment that both parties were about to engage in conflict, the first to take to flight was the Earl, and with him his Frenchmen and Normans. The English seeing this, followed the example that was given to them, by running away after their fugitive leader. Nearly all the forces of the enemy pressed vigorously upon the retreating English army, vast numbers of them were wounded, and from four to five hundred slain on the spot.‡

* F. WIGORN. "A fleet of eighteen ships besides his own." *Sax. Chron.*

† F. WIGORN. "They gathered a great force with the Irishmen and Welsh." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. "Earl Ralph collected a great army against
q q 2

King Griffin and Earl Algar having thus gained a complete victory over their opponents, entered the city of Hereford, where seven canons, as they were engaged in defending the gates of the principal church, were slain. Then was the monastery which that true servant of God, Bishop Athelstan, had constructed, as well as all its ornaments, and the relics of the holy King and Martyr Ethelbert,* as well as the relics of other saints, destroyed—all destroyed by fire! Upon this occasion some, too, of the citizens were murdered; many of them led away as prisoners, the city first plundered, and then delivered to the flames—whilst the victors returned to Wales, laden with a rich and immense booty.†

No sooner was intelligence of this outrage received by

them at the town of Hereford, where they met; but ere there was a spear thrown the English people fled, because they were on horses. The enemy then made a great slaughter there—about 400 or 500 men." *Sax. Chron.*

"Advancing into the country, within two miles of the city of Hereford, they were opposed by Randulph, Earl of that country, who boldly gave them battle. The fight continued very dreadful and dubious for some hours, till at last Gryffydd so encouraged his soldiers with the remembrance of their former victories over the English, that they fell on amain, and easily discomfited Randulph, and slew the best part of his army." *CARADOC*. p. 93.

* As to St. Ethelbert, King and Martyr, see vol. i. pp. 683, 696 of this work. The author has, in another publication, the *Legend of St. Ethelbert, King of the East Angles*, in the "*Sainted Kings, Queens, and Princes of England*," attempted to attract the attention of the young to the merits of St. Ethelbert.

† F. WIGORN. See S. DUNELM. pp. 187, 188. KNYGHTON. p. 2533. *Chron. Mailros.* a. 1055. p. 158. HIGDEN. p. 281. M. WEST. pp. 215, 216. *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1055. DUNCUMB'S *History and Antiquities of Hereford*, vol. i. pp. 225, 226, 295, 296.

King Edward, than he at once ordered an army to be collected from all parts of England ; and upon its being concentrated at Gloucester, he appointed, as its commander, the valiant Harold, who, eager and zealous in the discharge of the directions that had been given to him, boldly and at once set out in pursuit of Griffin and Algar ; courageously dashed across the borders of Wales, and established his encampment on the other side of Straddele.* Griffin and Algar, who well knew that Harold was alike brave as a soldier and skilful as a general, so far from venturing to encounter him in the battle-field, fled from before him into South Wales. Harold, upon hearing of their precipitate retreat, disbanded the greater part of his army on the spot, bidding the soldiers at the same time to remember " that, whenever the occasion presented itself, " it was their duty manfully to resist their foes." He then returned with the remaining portion of the army to Hereford, which he surrounded with a broad and deep ditch, and protected with gates and bulwarks.

Meanwhile, negotiators were busily occupied in passing and repassing between Griffin, Algar, and Harold, and those who were their supporters and assistants ; and the result of all their labours was a mutual agreement, that the leaders should meet in a place called Billingsley, and there the pledges of peace being given and received on both sides, a firm and lasting friendship should be established between them. The terms so agreed upon were fulfilled ; and then the fleet of Earl Algar was depatched,

* F. WIGORN. "Snaudunam," ROG. DE WEND. or "Streetdale," TYRRELL. See note by COXE to R. de Wendov. vol. i. p. 494. (E.H.S.)

there, to await the amount of pay which the earl had promised them.*

Algar then went to the King, and received from him the earldom of which he had been previously deprived.†

About this time died a very religious man, Tremerin, a Welsh bishop, who had for a long period acted as the Vicar of Athelstan—Bishop of Hereford. For a period of thirteen years, Athelstan, being deprived of his sight, was incapable of discharging his episcopal functions.‡ The death of Tremerin occurred soon after the plundering of the city of Hereford.§

Upon the tenth day of February, in the year 1056, Athelstan, the Bishop of Hereford, and a man of extraordinary sanctity, departed this life, at his episcopal vill, called Bosanbyrig. From thence his body was carried to Hereford, and there interred, in the church which he himself had built from its very foundation.||

* F. WIGORN. "Et patre suo largissime præmiata recessit." INGULPH. p. 66.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1055. vol. i. pp. 213, 214. "The sentence of outlawry against Earl Algar was reversed, and they gave to him all that was taken from him before." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1055. vol. i. p. 214. See HOVEDEN, p. 444.

§ Florence of Worcester places in this year the voluntary resignation of his diocese of Wilton by Bishop Heriman, and his becoming a monk at St. Bertin, St. Omers, vol. i. p. 214. See HARPSFIELD. xi. Sæc. c. 19. pp. 250, 251. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 551. § 6. R. DE WENDOV. vol. i. p. 495.

As to the gifts of St. Edward to Canterbury this year, see ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 549. a. 1055. § 5.

|| F. WIGORN. a. 1056. vol. i. p. 214. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1056. GODWIN, in his *Catalogue of English Bishops*, p. 451, falls into a

Athelstan was succeeded in the diocese of Hereford by Leofgar, "who was Earl Harold's mass-priest. He wore his knapsack in his priesthood till he was a bishop. He abandoned his chrism and his rood—his ghostly weapons — and took to his spear and his sword after his bishophood; and so marched to the field against Griffin, the Welsh King."* Upon the 16th of June, in this year (1056), he was encountered at Cleobury by the Welsh King, Griffin, who there slew him, and his clergymen, and the Sheriff Agelnoth, and a vast many others.† Leofgar, who had ever been a lover of churches, a helper of the poor, a defender of widows and orphans, a foe to oppression, and ever-watchful guardian of his own virginal purity,‡—was not permitted to live as a bishop but for the brief space of eleven weeks and four days.§

mistake in placing the death of this bishop in the preceding year. It may reasonably be supposed that the deaths of Athelstan and his coadjutor had been hastened by grief, occasioned through the sacrilegious desecration perpetrated by the Welsh during the preceding year upon their favourite church. See, as to the Church of Athelstan in Hereford, DUNCUMB'S *History and Antiquities of Hereford*, vol. i. pp. 521, 523.

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. p. 246.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 214, 215. We adopt the suggestion of Mr. Thorpe in his note to Florence of Worcester (vol. i. p. 215), in naming the place of Leofgar's martyrdom, Cleobury. See note (4) in INGRAM, p. 246, as to the various names given to the same place by different authors.

‡ M. WESTMINST. a. 1056. p. 216.

§ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 215. See *Sax. Chron.*, and for an eulogy upon Leofgar for his great sanctity, ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 550. § 2.

Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, became the temporary occupant of the See of Hereford, until a successor to Leofgar was appointed. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1056. F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 215.

“ Difficult is it to describe all the vexation and the journeying, the marching and the fatigue, the fall of men and of horses also, which the whole army of the English suffered, until Earl Leofric, and Earl Harold, and Bishop Aldred came together and made peace between them; so that Griffin swore oaths, that he would be a firm and faithful under-king to King Edward.”*

The Earl Agelwin Odda, a man who during his life had distinguished himself by his purity, his piety, his charity, his care of the widow, the orphan, and the oppressed, did, in the course of this year (1056), receive the habit of a monk, from the hands of Aldred, Bishop of Worcester. Agelwin Odda made his vows as a monk a short period before his death; an event that took place at Deerhurst on the 31st of August; and from Deerhurst his remains were removed to Pershore, where they were interred with all the honour that was due to the memory of so good a man.†

It was in this year (1056), that Elgeric, Bishop of Durham, voluntarily resigned his see, and retired to the monastery of Peterborough, in which he had been first made a monk, and where he afterwards lived for twelve years. His brother, Agelwin, a monk in the same monastery of Peterborough, succeeded him as Bishop of Durham.‡ Egelric had, whilst in his diocese, amassed together immense sums of money, which he afterwards, as a monk, expended in having made a road through a

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. pp. 246, 247.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1056. vol. i. p. 215. “ Earl Odda was admitted a monk before his end; a good man, and virtuous, and truly noble.” *Sax. Chron.*

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1056. vol. i. p. 215.

vast forest, and heavy marshy land, from Depping to Spalding; the road so made by him was solid, and well suited for travellers, being constructed of wood and gravel; it was a great and expensive undertaking, and one of prime necessity; and which now, and for evermore, as long as it lasts, will bear the name of its constructor, i.e. *Elricherode*. For this work the inhabitants of the Fens, the Girvii, and the Midland Anglo-Saxons will ever bless the name of Egelric, no matter how much he may be condemned by the Durham people.*

* *INGULPH*. p. 64. Such is the favourable character given of Egelric by Florence of Worcester, and Ingulph, and we might add, though not quoted in the text, Roger de Wendover, who says of his life, as a monk, "*Laudabiliter vixit*," (vol. i. p. 496). With these we must contrast the historian of Durham Church, who having mentioned that Egelric, as a stranger to the diocese, was forced upon the monks of Durham as a bishop, proceeds thus:—

"This Egelric brought with him to Durham a brother of his own, named Agelwin, a monk, who managed the entire affairs of the diocese, and who, with other foreign monks, aided Egelric in abstracting and sending away the money and ornaments belonging to the Church.

"Upon one occasion Bishop Egelric thought proper to take down, at Cunecester, that which is now commonly called Cestre (Chester-le-Street), a wooden church, in which the body of the blessed Cuthbert had for some time rested, and to replace the church of wood with a church of stone. In digging deeply into the earth for the purpose of laying the foundations of the new church, an immense treasure was found, which it was supposed had been hidden there to escape the avaricious cravings of the tyrannical Sephelm, to whom allusion has been already made. The Bishop Egelric took up this treasure, and sent it off to the monastery to which he had formerly belonged, with the intention of speedily following it. Gold and silver, and other things of value taken from Durham, were so sent away by him; and he then resolved upon resigning his bishopric, and having his brother Agelwin appointed as his successor. This intention he carried into effect in the fifteenth year of the reign of the most pious King Edward,

In the year 1057, the Etheling Edward, son of King Edmund Ironside, and who had long before been sent away, as we have already stated, an exile, arrived now in England, from Hungary, at the request of King Edward, his uncle, who had determined the Etheling should succeed him on the throne.* “This Etheling, King Canute “had sent into Hungary to betray him; but he there grew “in favour with good men, as God granted him, and it “well became him, so that he obtained the Emperor’s “cousin—her name was Agatha—in marriage, and by “her had a fair offspring.

“We know not for what reason it was done, that he

when, with the aid and favour of the Earl Tosty, the successor of Siward, Agelwin was appointed Bishop of Durham.

“Egelric had been fifteen years a bishop when he vacated the mitre. He then returned to his monastery, and with the money he had so taken away from Durham, he constructed in the marshy places adjoining his monastery roads of stone and wood, built churches, and so employed his wealth on similar purposes.

“Afterwards, when King William reigned in England, he was accused before that Sovereign of having taken away from Durham Church moneys, of which he would render no account. Upon this accusation he was from his monastery taken as a prisoner to London, there placed in custody, and from the custody of the King he never escaped with his life.” S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 9. p. 34. See *Episcopi Dunelmenses*, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 702. ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 550, 551. § 4.

Baronius places under the date of this year (1056), the observation of St. Peter Damian, that it had then become an universal practice in the Western Church to appropriate the Monday masses in each week for the benefit of the souls in purgatory, as each Friday was devoted to the remembrance of the Passion of our Lord, and every Saturday to the honour of the Blessed Virgin. “Nempe ut feria secunda animabus defunctorum liberandis a pœnis, sacrosancto Missarum sacrificio sit adscripta.” BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 121. § 9.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1057. vol. i. p. 215.

“ should not (from the time of his arrival) see his relation
“ King Edward.

“ Alas! it was a rueful time, and injurious to all this
“ nation, that he ended his life so soon after he came to
“ England, to the misfortune of this miserable people.”*

He died in London, at Saint Paul's, almost immediately upon his arrival in this country, leaving at the time three surviving children.† As a man, Edward had never been distinguished by his promptness in action, nor his prudence in judgment. Of his children, it may be stated, that his son Edgar, who, after the death of Harold, had been elected by a few persons as King, was exposed during the whole course of his life to the various caprices of fortune, and finally passed the declining years of life in all the ignoble security of a rustic. Christina, the daughter, became a nun at Romsey, and at an old age died in that holy habit which she had chosen in her youth. The next daughter, Margaret, was united in marriage with Malcolm, King of Scotland. She was blessed with a numerous offspring.‡ Her sons, Edgar and Alexander, reigned in due succession after their father, Malcolm, who, with the eldest son, Edward, was slain in battle.§ The youngest son, David, alike celebrated for his meekness and his

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1057. INGRAM. pp. 247, 248. See *Leges Reges Edwardi Con.* § 35, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 198.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 382.

‡ See as to the Saints, in the family of Edgar, ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 551, 552. § 2, 3.

§ Malcolm was slain by Morel of Bamborough in a battle that took place in the year 1093, when Malcolm was “harrowing” the English borders, see *Sax. Chron.* a. 1093. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 158.

wisdom, also reigned as a king.* As to the daughters of Margaret, one, Matilda, was married to King Henry, and the other, Mary, to the younger Eustace, Count of Boulogne.†

From the moment, however, of the death of the Etheling Edward, the hope hitherto entertained that the royal race of England would ascend the throne, began to decline.‡

The man, worthy of everlasting renown, the earl entitled to the highest praise and glory, Leofric, the son of Leofwine, died when well-stricken in years, on the 31st of August, in the year 1057, at his own vill at Bromley (Staffordshire), and was interred with due honour at Coventry § The remains of Leofric were buried in the mo-

* "Junior David, mansuetudine et sapientia celebris, rex Scotiæ modo habetur." W. MALMSB.

† "Filiæ, Matildem quam nostro seculo rex Henricus, &c." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 382.

‡ "Edwardus * * * ubi Angliam attigit, infirmatus obiit, spesque regii sanguinis deinceps deficere cœpit." INGULPH. p. 66. The words of Malmsbury are stronger and more positive than those used by Ingulph. "Rex itaque defuncto cognato, quia spes prioris erat soluta suffragii, Willemo comiti Normanniæ successionem Angliæ dedit." § 228. pp. 382, 383. We do not believe such words could be properly introduced here; for though we have no doubt that Edward subsequently desired William should be his heir, yet we do not think that he came hastily to adopt any such opinion. Ingulph, we conclude, truly depicts the state of feeling in all parties that was produced by the sudden death of the Etheling Edward. See as to his death, S. DUNELM. p. 187. ETHELRED. p. 366. R. DICET. p. 477. KNYGHTON. p. 2333. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 496. *Chron. Petriberg.* a. 1057. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 159.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1057. vol. i. p. 215.

nastery of Coventry, which, amongst the other good works performed by him in this life, he and his wife, that pious Christian woman, the noble Countess Godiva, she who ever paid a particular devotion to the Holy and Ever Blessed Virgin Mary, had out of their private estates constructed from its very foundations, abundantly endowed with lands, and so enriched it with ornaments, that at that particular period of time there was not to be found in all England a monastery in which there was stored such an abundance of gold, of silver, of jewels, and of precious stones, as in the monastery of Coventry.* They also enriched with precious ornaments the monasteries of Leominster and of Wenlock, and St. John the Baptist, and of the Virgin St. Werburga at Chester; and the church in Lincoln, which Bishop Ednoth established at that famous place, that in English is called "St. Mary's Ston," and in Latin, "Sanctæ Mariæ locus." In addition, they enriched and endowed with ornaments, houses, and lands, the Worcester and Evesham monasteries.

As long as this earl lived, rulers and people alike profited by his wisdom;† for he was very wise before God, and also before the world.‡

At the time that King Edward was proceeding with the work he had undertaken, in building and enlarging the monastery of St. Peter's (at Westminster), the pious King was, on one occasion, assisting at the most holy mystery of our redemption, which was then celebrating at

* See as to Earl Leofric and the Countess Godiva, a. 1043. in this volume.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1057. vol. i. pp. 215, 216.

‡ "Se wæs swithe wis for Gode and eac for worulde." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1057.

the altar consecrated to the Trinity of the Godhead.* There was with him on that occasion, and aiding too with all due reverence, the Earl Leofric—a man whose name it is sweet to pronounce, and never to be mentioned but with benediction, and with whom should be for ever associated the recollection of his wife Godiva, or *God-giva*—† a name significant of herself—a *Godly-gift*, either because Christ had brought her into existence to be a good gift to the church on which she conferred her wealth, or, because by her unceasing piety, her constant charity, and her ardent devotion, she made a living gift of herself to God. With such an ally in his good intentions, the truly sanctified earl was ever to be found intent upon the works of God, the founder of many monasteries, just and pious in all things whilst he lived, and when dying, having Christianity as the inheritor of his possessions and his treasures. This Leofric was then with the King, not close beside, but a short distance away from His Majesty: a truly worthy and good man, indeed, must he have been, who was permitted to be cognizant of, and a witness to, the mighty miracle that was about to take place.‡

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward Confess.* p. 389.

† “Cum uxore *Godgiva* interpretationem sui nominis magnifice rerum executione complecte, interpretatur enim *bonum donum*, vel quod,” &c. AILRED.

‡ “Dignus per omnia qui tanti talisque miraculi *consci*us et *testis* existeret.” AILRED. These words have much significancy when a miracle was about to take place with the Blessed Eucharist, and testify to the great sanctity of Leofric. In the sixth century, when a miracle respecting the Eucharist (*sanctum corpus ejus et sanguinem*) occurred, and which is described by St. Gregory of Tours, at the moment that the deacon was bearing the ciborium in his hands, “*accepta turre diaconus in qua ministerium Dominici Corporis habebatur.*” St. Gregory adds, that he was

The heavenly mystery was completed on the altar—the words of consecration had been spoken, and the divine sacramental elements were in the hands of the priest,* when lo! He, the Most Beautiful of the sons of men, Jesus Christ, appeared to the bodily eyes of Edward and Leofric! He, standing upon the altar, extending His most sanctified right hand over the King, forming in the air the sign of the Holy Cross, and so bestowing upon the monarch His benediction.†

The King, with downcast head, adored the Presence of the Divine Majesty, and with his entire body humbled to the very earth, he manifested the reverential awe with which he received so august and so mighty a benediction.

The Earl Leofric, ignorant of what was passing in the King's mind, and wishing to have him a participator in that great and glorious vision of which he was a spectator, made a movement for the purpose of advancing towards him. The King, however, at once comprehended what

himself present when this miracle took place, but was *not worthy* of beholding it: “uni tantum Presbytero et tribus mulieribus, ex quibus una *mater mea* erat. *Aderam* fateor, *et ego tunc temporibus* huic festivati, sed *hæc videre non merui.*” *Miraculorum*, lib. i. c. 86.

* The expressions here are amplified for the purpose of making the passage more intelligible to those unacquainted with the Sacrifice of the Mass. The words of the original are: “Agitur in altari cœleste misterium, manibus sacerdotes divina sacramenta tractantur.”

† In the Salisbury Breviary there is a prayer in which reference is made to this miracle:

“Deus, qui unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, glorioso Regi Eduardo in forma visibili demonstrasti; tribue, quæsumus, ut ejus meritis et precibus ad æternam ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi visionem pertingere mereamur. Qui tecum,” &c. *Salisbury. Breviar.* as quoted in *Act. Sanct.* (Januar), vol. i. p. 302. De Translatione S. Eduardi. c. i. § 2.

was the intention of the earl, and said :—" Stop, Leofric, " stop, for what thou seest, that also do I see." Both then dissolved in tears, and both poured forth their devotion in prayers, and both were saturated with the richness of the house of God, and inebriated in the torrent of joy with which their hearts were suffused.

No sooner was the holy office at an end, than they conferred together respecting the celestial vision ; then banquetting themselves upon the food of heaven, their conversation was constantly interrupted with the expression, "*This is, in sooth, the day of days.*"

In the course of their conversation, the King said to the earl, " My beloved Leofric, I beseech of thee, through " the Majesty of Him, whom we have both seen, that as " long as both of us live, one word respecting this even " shall never be uttered in public, lest it should lead to the " perdition of both, by filling us with pride, through the " respect and favour it might gain for us with the multi- " tude ; or lest the envy it might occasion, should tend, " by the words of infidels, to diminish that faith which " now prevails."

In so speaking King Edward followed the example of our Lord, who, upon His Transfiguration in presence of His disciples, said to them, as they descended from the mountain, " Tell the vision to no man, till the Son of man " shall be risen from the dead."

The Earl departed from the King's court, and then, it is believed, that he was instructed by a Divine inspiration how he might both obey the command of his lord and King, and yet not conceal from posterity the knowledge of the sublime miracle of which he had been a witness. With this intention he went to the monastery at Worcester,

and he there disclosed, in the strict confidence of confession, to a certain religious man, the circumstances that had occurred and the adjuration that had been made to him, and he at the same time made the request of the monk that he would commit to writing a full account of this great vision, and then having done so, hide it in such a place as that it would be sure to escape the knowledge of all who were then living, and yet not remain unknown to future ages.

The holy man, to whom this loving petition was made, agreed to its fulfilment. The narrative of the vision was written out by him, and the roll on which it was transcribed deposited in a chest with the relics of saints. A considerable period had elapsed from the time of the King's death, when, as we believe, by the Divine will, and not by the mere act of man, the chest came to be opened. When the monks were searching through the relics of saints they found the manuscript of the monk, they opened and perused it, and then being unwilling that so great a treasure should any longer lie concealed, they read it openly to the people.

And so it came to pass that what the King wished to be concealed, was by the providence of God published, so that at the same time there was afforded the proof of the King's humility, and in the disclosure of a miracle, a new fact promulgated to strengthen and confirm the faith of Christians.*

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Confess.* pp. 389, 390. At this period of time the Berengarian heresy respecting the Eucharist was disturbing the church, and it was not only refuted by arguments but by miracles. Two of these are stated in a letter by St. Peter Damian, who mentions the case of a woman who had ob-

The Earldom that Leofric had held was bestowed upon his son Algar.*

tained the Blessed Sacrament, for the purpose of making a profane use of it, and then this miracle happened : "Hæc enim particula Dominici Corporis inventa est usque ad medietatem in carnem conversa, altera vero medietas panis speciem non mutavit." The other miracle occurred in the case of a priest, whose mind was assailed by a doubt, whilst he was celebrating Mass, and then : "in ipsa confractione salutaris hostiæ rubra prorsus ac perfecta caro inter ejus manus apparuit, ita ut digitos illius cruentaret ; sicque sacerdoti scrupulum dubietatis auferret." See BARONIUS. a. 1059. § 21, 22. vol. xvii. pp. 155, 156.

The duty that the church in the eleventh century performed by its Councils in denouncing the Berengarian heresy, and in which it was aided by the pious Lanfranc, by St. Peter Damian, and St. Wulphelm, had already been discharged in the ninth century by St. Paschasius Radbertus, who, in dedicating his work, "*De Corpore et Sanguine Dei Domini*," describes its contents in these words :

"Non terrenum aliquid, sed cœli mystica promit,
Nam Corpus Christi, roseam seu sanguinis undam,
In lucem reteggit, quæ sunt mysteria monstrans,
Legerit ut quisquis devota mente fidelis,
Visibili specie cœlorum arcana pavescit."

These lines are quoted from the "*Acta SS. Bened.*" Part. 2. Sæc. iv. p. 1341. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. vii. p. 312. See also respecting the pious literary labours of Radbertus, *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. iii. p. 463. Vit. § 3. Of St. Wulphelm, his imitator in the eleventh century in defence of the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, it is stated by his biographer that he was an indefatigable reader of the Bible :—

"—singulis annis vir Domini novi ac veteris Testamenti paginas ex integro faciebat legendo revolvī : quatuor vero Evangeliorum libros ; quonian non ex loco vel ordine, quo reliquos competeat expleri, statuit quatuor temporibus recurrenibus anni, in quatuor plagis claustrī, singulos a singulis Diaconibus recitari."

In the times of persecution in the early ages of the church, it would seem that it was permitted to Christians to bear the Blessed

* F. WIGORN. a. 1057. vol. i. p. 216.

The Earl Ralph, to whom reference has more than once been made in this work, died on the 21st of December in the year 1057, and was interred in the Abbey of Peter-

Sacrament with them when their martyrdom was imminent. Such a fact is stated in the life of Eudocia, in the reign of Trajan :—

“ Accurrit in sacram ædem, resuscitaque illic arcula in qua divinum donum reliquiarum sancti corporis Christi servabatur, inde particulam acceptam sinu recondit et sic statim cum militibus abiit.” Vit. § 44. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.) vol. i. pp. 19, 20. In that case a miracle also occurred, for upon this particle of the Blessed Sacrament being cast into the fire by an infidel, he was himself burned alive on the spot. Vit. c. 13. § 49. p. 21. See also as to the practice when Christians were about to make a long voyage, Vit. S. Porphyrii. c. 8. § 57, and note a, *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 655. Upon the various heavenly manifestations to St. Catherine of Sienna in the Blessed Sacrament, see *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. iii. pp. 935, 936. St. Ulric, the English hermit, saw the wine in the chalice changed into blood, Vit. c. 3. § 24. *Act. Sanct.* (Feb.) vol. iii. p. 230; and St. Walthen, the holy Abbot of Melrose, whilst celebrating Mass on a Christmas Day, beheld the Infant Saviour in the Sacrament: “ Invenit in manibus infantulum speciosum præ filiis hominum, coronam quasi auream in capite gestantem, stelliferis radiantem.” Vit. c. 2. § 22. *Act. Sanct.* (August), vol. i. p. 255. In the account of the miracles of St. Gregory Martyr, an incident somewhat similar is mentioned—for a Saracen chancing to be present at Mass, beheld the Saviour, in the form of a child sacrificed; and upon being convinced that what he beheld had in the eyes of others only the appearance of bread and wine, he became a Christian. Mirac. S. Gregor. Martyr. c. i. § 45, *Act. Sanct.* (April), vol. iii. p. 144. See also, in reference to such miracles, and how they came to be converted into accusations of infanticide against Christians, even in the early ages of the church, HENSCHENIUS. *Act. Sanct.* (Jun.) vol. i. p. 163. note f.

In the year 1227, the Moorish King of Valencia, Caracaba, was converted by being present at Mass, and seeing at the elevation “ Inter manus Clerici puerum candidum et formosum.” PAPERBROCHE. Respons. ad Exhib. Error. *Act. Sanct. Bolland. Supplement.* art. xv. § 375. p. 534.

To these instances, we shall but subjoin two others, taken from the lives of two female saints :—

“ Frequenter autem, dum Sacerdos levaret Hostiam, inter manus

borough; and in this year also died Heca, Bishop of the South Saxons, whose successor in the See was Ægelric, a monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury.*

In this year also died Pope Victor; and Stephen, Abbot of Mount Casino, was chosen as Pope.†

Sacerdotis vidit pueri pulchri speciem, et celestium spirituum cum lumine non modico exercitum descendentem. Quando vero post confectionem Hostiam sacerdos reciperet, ipse videbat in Spiritu Dominum in anima Sacerdotis remanere, et cum mirabili claritate illustrantem; vel, si indigne sumeret, videbat quod, Domino cum indignatione recedente, anima miseri vacua et tenebrosa remaneret." Vita. B. Mariæ Oigniacensis. Lib. ii. c. 7. § 72. *Act. Sanct. (Junii)*, vol. iv. p. 655.

"Statimque in elevatione sacræ Hostiæ vidit puerum Jesum in manibus Sacerdotis, qui dixit ei; Ego sum Jesus Christus Sponsus tuus, verus Deus et homo." Acta B. Christinæ Stumbelen. V. lib. vi. c. i. § 7. *Act. Sanct. (Junii)*, vol. iv. p. 432.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 216.

† *Sax. Chron.* "Victor Papa, multis in Germania bene dispositis, rediit Romam, et eodem anno obiit." MARIANUS SCOTUS. a. 1057, in PISTORIUS. vol. i. p. 451. Victor II., who died in the lent of the year, was succeeded shortly afterwards by Stephen IX., the brother of Duke Godfrey, see *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* pp. 421, 523, 643.

In this year (1057), there occurred in Germany one of those crimes which is very rare in the church—a person who was married, forsaking his wife, taking the vows of a monk, and then sacrilegiously violating them to resume the life and habits of a layman. The fact is thus told, and in very peculiar language, by an ancient annalist:

"Henricus Palatinus comes Luthariorum, *instinctu demonis* monasticam vitam professus est in Gorzia. Sed per paucos dies, vulgante se dæmonio quo illusus fuerat, sanctæ conversationis habitum, quo se angelus Satanae in angelum lucis transfiguraverat, abiecit, uxoremque suam et possessiones desertor Dei, et transfuga recepit." LAMBERT. SCHANABURG. *Reb. Ger.* a. 1057.

In the year 1058, Algar, the Earl of the Mercians, was a second time declared an outlaw by King Edward; but aided by Griffin, King of the Welsh, and by a fleet of the Norwegians, that had unexpectedly come to his assistance, he speedily, and by main force, recovered back again his earldom.*

Algar had ever been friendly, and at all times generous, to the monastery of Croyland, and at this particular period he not only kindly and graciously confirmed all the donations that his progenitors had bestowed upon it; but for the sustentation of the general community, and the especial benefit of those stationed at Spalding, he made, on his own behalf, a particular grant.† It was at this very time, by the counsel and the consent of the Earl Algar, that the venerable father, Abbot Wulketul, assigned with the full rights of possession to the Chapel of St. Mary, of Spalding, all the rents, produce and profits arising out of the lands, the property of Croyland, and lying on the eastern bank of the Welland, to the monks at Spalding, in order that they might hospitably receive, as is the custom with monasteries, all coming thither, be they rich or be they poor; and this was done because at

The miserable sinner who is thus described, completed his criminal life by the murder of the wife whose society he had previously abjured.

"Henricus Palatinus comes Luthariorum uxorem suam manu propria interfecit." Ibid. a. 1061. PISTORIUS. vol. i. pp. 164, 166.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1058. vol. i. p. 217. Ingulph says that he placed himself in command of the foreign fleet; "Et classem Noricam conducens." The *Sax. Chron.* quaintly remarks as to this mysterious transaction;—"It is tedious to tell how it all occurred." (Hit is langsum to atellane calle nu hit gefaren waes.)

† INGULPH. p. 66.

that time there was to be found a great concourse of both classes in Spalding.*

In this year (1058), Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated with all due honour to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, a monastery in the town of Gloucester, which he himself had built from the foundations.† He afterwards, and with the King's permission, appointed Wulstan,‡ a monk at Worcester, and ordained by himself, as the abbot of the new monastery.

Aldred then resigned the see of Wilton, which had been committed to his care, to Heriman (to whom we have before alluded), and who now returned to England. Aldred then crossed the sea, and travelling through Hungary, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,—that which no archbishop or bishop of the English nation was ever before known to have done.§ “He went to Jerusalem “with such dignity as no other man did before him, and “betook himself there to God. A worthy gift he also “offered to our Lord's sepulchre: which was a gold “chalice, of the value of five marks, of very wonderful “workmanship.”||

* “— prædictis monachis suis ad exhibendum hospitalitatem ibidem supervenientibus, *more monesteriali, tam pauperibus quam divitibus, quorum creber illuc concursus erat.*” *INGULPH.* p. 66.

† *F. WIGORN.* a. 1058. vol. i. p. 217. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1058.

‡ This is the great St. Wulstan, to whom more particular reference will be found made hereafter.

§ *F. WIGORN.* a. 1058. vol. i. p. 217.

|| *Sax. Chron.* *INGRAM.* p. 249. It was in this year that the monk historian of Germany, Lambert, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His account of himself, and of the constant care and anxiety that oppressed his mind during his pilgrimage, will appear

Upon the 30th of March, in the year 1058, died Pope Stephen, who was succeeded by Benedict, the individual who sent the pall to Stigand as Archbishop of Canterbury.*

strange to those who know nothing of monastic life, but by the slanders that have for centuries been promulgated and repeated respecting it :—

"I. N. was ordained a priest at Aschaffenburg, in the autumnal fast of this year (1058), and I instantly proceeded on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I did so with great zeal for God; but I wish I could also add with sufficient knowledge." (*Sed utinam secundum scientiam.*) These words find their explanation in the following sentences :—

"I completed my pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and returned to my monastery on the 17th of September (1059), and found that, which I had most anxiously prayed for to God during my entire pilgrimage, the Abbot Meginher still living. I had been under great fear, that having set out on my pilgrimage without his benediction, that he might have departed this life justly offended against, and not reconciled with me, and that I, therefore, should be held guilty before the Lord of a great crime. The Divine Mercy which had so often and so graciously protected me, even in the utmost necessity during my pilgrimage, did not fail me on my return. I found him safe and well, and he not only pardoned me my sin, but, as if I had, by some miracle, emerged again into life from the lower regions of death, he received and welcomed me with open arms. And marvellous, indeed, might this circumstance be deemed; for he appeared but to have lived to grant me absolution: as on the self-same day that he freed me from my crime, he was attacked by a fever, and in eight days afterwards, *i. e.* on the 26th of September, he happily finished his course in this life, and rested in the Lord." *De Reb. Ger.* a. 1058. 1059. PISTORIUS. vol. i. pp. 164, 165.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1058. vol. i. p. 217. *Sax. Chron.* a. 1058. See, as to the pious death of Pope Stephen, BARONIUS, a. 1058. § 6. and the election of the usurper Benedict, a. 1058. § 10—14. vol. xvii. pp. 140—144.

In receiving the pall from the schismatical Benedict, or, as Ingulph terms him, "*Benedictus, Sedis Apostolicæ invasor*" (p. 66), Stigand has condemned his memory to the disgrace of being the first of English bishops that ever favoured schism. See *Annal. Eccl. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 553. § 1.

Stigand then, as Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Ægelric Bishop of Sussex, and Abbot Siward Bishop of Rochester."*

"In the year 1059, Nicholas was chosen Pope, who had been bishop in Florence, and Benedict was expelled, who had been Pope before."†

"This year was also consecrated the steeple,‡ at Peterborough, on the sixteenth before the calends of "November."§

In the year 1059 the following charter was written;|| by which King Edward gave the vill of Teinton, in the county of Oxford, to the monastery of St. Denis:—¶

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1058.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1059. The apostolical predecessor of Nicholas II. was Stephen. The latter died at Florence, the former at the time of his election was bishop of Florence. It was with reference to these circumstances the annexed lines were written by St. Peter Damian:—

"Parva virum viduæ debet Florentia Romæ
Quæ tenet extinctum cogatur reddere vivum.
Sic nova Bethlæis lux mundo fluxit ab oris."

See BARONIUS. a. 1059. § 2. vol. xvii. p. 148; and as to the deposition of Benedict, p. 149. § 3.

‡ "This must not be confounded with a spire-steeple. The expression was used to denote a *Tower* long before spires were invented." INGRAM. note to *Sax. Chron.*

§ *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. p. 250.

|| "Anno Dominicæ incarnationis millesimo quinquagesimo scripta est hæc cartula." Diploma S. Eduardi Regis Ang. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 656.

¶ "Quo S. Dionysia dat Villam, quæ Teintuna vocatur, sitam in Comitatu Oxoniensi," *Ibid.* p. 656.

“ In the name of the Most High, Living and All-Seeing
 “ God, the Essence of the Trinity which is the True
 “ God, Unchangeable from all Eternity, Immutable in
 “ Truth and in Will, the True Beginning to which there
 “ has been no commencement ; the End to which there is
 “ no termination ; and Who is without doubt, ambiguity,
 “ or hesitation, to be believed ; in Whom there is, indeed,
 “ a Trinity of Persons, the Father, and the Son, and the
 “ Holy Ghost, but in Substance, Unity, ineffable, incom-
 “ prehensible, indescribable to every human understand-
 “ ing ; and even to the Angels themselves, inscrutable,
 “ unsearchable, and impenetrable : ever to be renowned,
 “ ever to be praised, and ever—and by all creatures to
 “ the widest limits of immensity—to be glorified.*

“ Wherefore, I, Edward, King of the English, being
 “ in the enjoyment of perfect peace, and in all the glory
 “ of my sovereignty, do, for the salvation of my own soul,
 “ and for the souls’ sake of my progenitors, who having
 “ reigned before me,† with the advice and desire of my
 “ nobles, and of my faithful people, give to St. Denis,
 “ (whose memory is ever mentioned with respect by us,
 “ but to whom particular and peculiar devotion is paid
 “ by the French), a certain vill, named Teinton, in the
 “ territory and county in which lies the city called Oxford,
 “ with all that appertains thereto, viz., lands, pasturages,
 “ waters, fields, tilled or untilled ; and all such are to be

* May not the praises of the Holy Trinity, thus set forth in the charter of St. Edward, have especial reference to the Miracle on the altar of the Trinity in Westminster Abbey, which has been already described ?

† “ Pro salute animæ meæ, Patrumque meorum, qui ante me regnaverunt.” *Diploma S. Eduardi Regis.*

“ held free from all charges, with the exception of those
 “ for road, bridge, and burgh.

“ And if any one shall hereafter violate this grant, be
 “ his portion, by God’s decree and mine, and of all my
 “ bishops, whose names are hereunto annexed, with Judas
 “ the traitor, and Dathan, and Abiron, in everlasting fire,
 “ where the worm is undying, and the flames inextinguish-
 “ able, unless such sinner shall repent him of his sin be-
 “ fore God, and make amends for it to St. Denis.”*

In the year 1059,† Harold visited the land of Bose-

* Diploma S. Eduardi Reges Angli in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. xi. p. 655. This charter is, we conceive, worthy of being set forth, as being one of the rare, but not unprecedented instances of lands in England being assigned in perpetuity for the benefit of foreign monasteries. See *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. x. p. 397. Amongst the names affixed to Edward’s charter are those of Harold, who signs after the King, Queen and bishops; his name is followed by Algar, and then come Tosty, Leofwine, and Gurth. The manner in which the good Queen Edgitha signs, is interesting: “Ego Eadgyth conlaterana ejus Regis hoc mihi placere cum benevolentia professum sum.” p. 656. See also p. 657.

* “Anno Gratiae MLIX.” R. DE WEND. vol. i. The event about to be described in the text is Harold’s visit to Duke William of Normandy. Mr. Coxe, the editor of Roger de Wendover, remarks: “The time and cause of Harold’s visit to Normandy are variously related. Tyrrell thinks that the date of this visit should be placed in 1064.” (vol. i. p. 501, note 1.) Connected with the visit of Harold to William, is the accession of the latter to the throne of England; and Mr. Hardy, the greatest living authority on all such questions, says: “The succession of William to the throne of England is a point more involved in obscurity than any other of our history.” (*Note to William of Malmesbury*, vol. i. p. 383, E. H. S.)

Looking at all the authorities, we may say that nothing can be more certain than that during the reign of St. Edward, Harold was a guest in the court of William of Normandy; and yet few things can be more uncertain than the time, and none so uncertain as the object of his visit—the latter is so obscured by contra-

ham,* which he held in his own right.† Whilst there, for

dictions, *if he paid but one visit*. Roger de Wendover, in copying the narrative of William of Malmesbury, fixes the date of the visit in 1059. Bromton, in copying Eadmer, places it some time in the year 1060. "Anno regis Edwardi xiiii. cum jam Henrico primo rege Franciæ defuncto Philippus ejus pro eo regnaret." (p. 947.) William of Poitiers places the visit in or near the year 1065, introduces the incidents of the shipwreck, states that Harold was going to announce to William his being chosen as heir, and then agrees in the main incidents with William of Jumieges, with the exception that the latter mentions that Harold left Wulnoth as a hostage for his fidelity; whereas, William of Poitiers mentions Wulnoth and Hacon as being already hostages, and Eadmer states that Harold took Wulnoth home with him; whereas Bromton affirms, and in this he agrees with William of Poitiers, it was Hacon that came back with Harold to England.

There is but one way, we conceive, of reconciling these different circumstances and contradictory statements, and that is, by supposing that Harold was *on two occasions* at the court of William in Normandy. First, and most probably by accident, as stated by William of Malmesbury; the second time as the ambassador of Edward, to announce that Edward intended William should be his heir. In the first case, we have William taking advantage of the misfortune of Harold, and extorting from his rival the promise to aid him in ascending the throne. This might have happened about the year 1059 or 1060; and would be reconcileable with the statements of Eadmer, Bromton, and the Roman de Rou; and the second visit paid about 1064-5, when, as it is stated by Ingulph (p. 68), Harold was sent by Edward, and when, considering what had previously occurred, Harold might not unwillingly have discharged this duty for the purpose of lulling William into a false security, and when William, suspecting his sincerity, might have then made him take the oath of fidelity upon the relics of saints.

If this suggestion be correct (and we humbly offer it as a mere suggestion), then we are justified in placing the first visit about

* "The church of Boseham is represented in the Baieux tapestry as a structure of considerable consequence. *Introd. to Domesday*, 1, p. 295." COXE, note to Rog. de Wend. vol. i. p. 501 (E. H. S.)

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 383.

the purpose of recreation, he went on board a vessel to enjoy the sport of fishing, and then, in order that he might continue his amusement, he pushed out into the deep sea,

1059 or 1060, and the second visit in 1064—having the authorities whose words are quoted in the text for fixing these two different dates. That, we admit, which influences us most in adopting two dates—one for the visit, and the other for the embassy of Harold—is, that one of the stipulations by which Harold was bound to be faithful to William was, that he was to be married to a daughter of William, that daughter being at the time the stipulation was entered into “*adhuc impubis*” (W. Malsb. vol. ii. § 228); and Harold’s allegation in the year 1066, that he was freed from that obligation by the death of that daughter “*quod filia ejus quam desponderat citra nubiles annos obierat*” (lib. iii. § 238). These expressions mark the cessation of some years, and with these is to be coupled the fact, that none of the *English* authorities that allude to the proposal of this marriage by William, state that William *then* took Harold with him to Brittany. See *ROG. DE WEND.* vol. i. p. 515. *WALTER DE HEMINBURGH, Chron.* vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 8. See also *Harald Hardradas Saga*, c. 78, to which a more distinct reference will be made hereafter.

In the endeavour—and the reader may, perchance, regard it as a vain endeavour—to clear up an obscure point in English history, it is but right to append the doubt cast upon it by William of Malsbury, whose narrative will be found quoted in the text:—

“Some affirm that Harold himself was sent into Normandy by the King for the purpose (of announcing that he gave the succession of England to William—*Willelmo Comiti Normanniæ successionem dedit*): others, who knew Harold’s more secret intentions, say, that being driven thither against his will, by the violence of the wind, he imagined this device in order to extricate himself.” This latter suggestion, because it appears more like the truth than the other, I shall now relate. *SHARP’S* translation. (“*Quod quia propius vero videtur.*” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228.) He prefaces alike the embassy and the misadventure of Harold in Normandy, with a doubt, “*ferunt quidam,*” a phrase that is copied into “the Brief Chronicle of Tours,” in narrating the misfortune of Harold. See *Brev. Chron. S. Martin. Turon.* in *Rev. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 212; and for a collection of authorities on this subject, *MICHEL. Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 166, 167.

when a sudden tempest arising, he was, with his companions, driven upon the coast of the Ponthieu district. The men of that place, as is their natural custom, ran from all sides to surround him and his followers—the unarmed were assailed by those who had arms in their hands—the few by the many, and thus they were easily overwhelmed, their hands bound by manacles, and their feet with fetters.*

Harold, whose mind was ever astute, considered what might be an adequate remedy for such a mischance as this, and the result was, that he enticed, by large promises, a man to bring this message for him to William;† “that he Harold had been sent by King Edward to Normandy mainly for this purpose, that he might confirm personally, that which others could but indistinctly intimate to William.‡ However, the commission that

* W. MALMSB. The barbarity and want of Christianity in the rude inhabitants of Picardy is denounced in indignant terms by William of Poitiers, who says of them, that they thus treated rich persons who had been shipwrecked on their coast: “*Illoqueant potentes aut locupletes: trusos in ergastula afficiunt contumeliis, tormentis.*” W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* in MASERES. p. 79. M. Michel observes, that the place in which Harold was imprisoned is still to be seen, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 169, note 1. As to the distinction between the treatment of shipwrecked persons on the coast of England, and other places, see observation of Selden, as quoted by Bouquet, in note upon Malmsbury, *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 176. See also Greg. Turon. lib. vi. c. 2, shewing with what impunity the inhabitants of Agde were permitted to retain the presents of the Greek Emperor for King Chilperic, when his ambassadors were wrecked on their coast.

† W. MALMSB. “*Quemlibet ex vulgo promissa mercede illectum, clam ad Comitum Normanniæ dirigit.*” EADMER. p. 5.

‡ “*Missum se Normanniam a rege, ut quod minores nuncii balbutierant ipse potissimum sua confirmaret præsentia.*” W. MALMSB. If any such message as this were sent, then it is fully

" it had been confided to him to discharge, it was impossible for him then to execute, as he was held in chains by Guy, Count of Ponthieu; for it was the barbarous and brutal custom of the country, to make those who had escaped the perils of the sea, feel that there awaited them equal, if not greater dangers, if they reached the land; and therefore addressed he his appeal to William, that it was not befitting in one of his illustrious name and rank, that any one should be able with impunity to place chains upon an individual who resorted to him in full reliance upon his honour, his power, and his dignity." And to this he added; "that if his captivity could be terminated solely by the payment of money, then he would willingly pay his ransom to Duke William; but never to the half-vassal Guy."

In accordance with the directions of William, Harold was liberated and conducted by Guy to Normandy.* By

confirmatory of the words of William of Jumieges, viz., "that Edward had already conveyed to William, through Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, the announcement that he appointed him heir to his kingdom." lib. vi. c. 31. p. 664 (Camden).

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. pp. 383, 384. According to William of Poitiers, Harold was presented to William at the Castle of Eu, and then, in consideration of his having voluntarily, and without a ransom, given up Harold, whom he could have tortured, killed, or sold as a slave! "Quem torquere, necare, vendere potuisset pro libitu." William bestowed upon Guy large donations in lands, in addition to a considerable sum of money. W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 79. According to Eadmer, Guy was so unwilling to release his prisoner, that William had to send twice to demand Harold being delivered up to him, and did not succeed until he had threatened to march an army against Guy. Upon this, Eadmer says, Guy released Harold and his companions, and sent them to William, but not, however, until he had deprived them of whatever valuable property they had

William, Harold was received and welcomed with every mark of honour into Rheims, the principal city of his Duchy; and there the eager and anxious labours of a zealous hospitality, which manifested itself in many ways, speedily tended to refresh the guest, and, in the restoration of his health, to repay him for the afflictions he had suffered, and the dangers to which he had been exposed.* William did, in sooth, congratulate himself upon having so great and so influential a guest—the ambassador too from his dearest relative and friend—and a man, moreover, who being next to the King himself in power amongst the

about them. “Primo tamen eis quæ meliora detulerant ablatis.” p. 5.

Here, however, we must part for a few lines from William of Malmesbury, and adopt the statement in the text of William of Poitiers. We do so for the reason—that Malmesbury describes William taking Harold at *this period* to the war he waged against the Bretons, and this William did, as it is said by Malmesbury in one passage, “in order that he might render more conspicuous his regard for Harold, as well as to test the valour of the latter.” (Lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 384.) Or, as it is alleged in another passage, “in order that he might clearly demonstrate how much better in battle was the Norman sword than the English battle-axe.” Lib. iii. § 236, vol. ii. p. 404.

The note of M. Frederic Pluquet, the learned Editor of *Le Roman de Rou*, determines us in favour of William of Poitiers. These are the remarks of M. Pluquet, upon Wace fixing Baieux as the place where the oath was taken:—

“Notre auteur ne paraît pas bien sûr de lieu où Guillaume reçut le serment de Harold. Orderic Vital dit que ce fut à Rouen; Guillaume de Poitiers, qui était à portée d’être bien informé, indique le château de Bonneville-sur-Touques, et place cet événement avant l’expédition de Bretagne, qui fut unique, et non pas renouvelée trois ou quatre fois, comme Wace prétend.” *Le Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 113. note 2. See also MICHEL. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 169, 170.

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 79. (Maseres.)

English, would, he also hoped, be his mediator in facilitating his accession to the throne.*

Harold, by his mental intelligence and corporeal activity, completely won for himself the love of the Norman prince; and in order that he might gain for himself still more the confidence of William, he voluntarily offered to give up to him the castle of Dover, which attached to him, as being within his jurisdiction, and volunteered the declaration, that William should have the kingdom of England, after the death of Edward, he confirmed by oath. It was for these reasons that Harold obtained by betrothal the then infantile daughter of William;† and that he was endowed

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 79.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 384.

“ Et a moillier s' il velt prvendra
Ele une fille ke il a.”

Rome de Rou, v. 10820—1.

“ Adèle. Suivant Orderic Vital, ce ne fut point Adèle, mais Agathe, autre fille de Guillaume, qui fut fiancée avec Harold. Cet auteur ajoute qu' ayante conçu une vive passion pour l' epoux qui lui etait promis, elle mourut de chagrin pendant qu'on la conduisait en chercher un autre en Galice. Voyez Oderic. Vital. liv. v. p. 573.”
PLUQUET. *Roman. de Rou.* vol. ii. pp. 112, 113.

A different account of these transactions is given by Eadmer and Bromton. We translate from the latter :—

“ William detained Harold in his society for some days, and during that time manifested great kindness and friendship for his guest, in order that he might win the good-will of the latter to the plan that he had in contemplation. At length he unfolded to Harold what it was he projected. He said, that at the time that Edward was still young, and living in Normandy, and that he (William) was but a mere youth, Edward had promised, and pledged his faith to the promise, that if he should ever become King of England, he would bequeath that kingdom by hereditary right to him (William). And then the Norman Duke added these words :— ‘ Thou also, if thou wilt promise to give me thy aid, and, moreover, place in my power for this project the castle of

by William with a larger extent of territories than he had previously possessed, and that he was regarded by the Norman Duke as his firmest, surest, and best of friends.

A Parliament was therefore held at Bonneville by William, and there Harold swore fealty to him according to the holy rite of Christians.* And, as most veracious, illustrious, and truly trust-worthy persons who were then present declared, that in addition to the usual words of the

Dover with its well of water, I will bestow thy sister in marriage upon one of the greatest of my nobles, and such as thou thyself shalt select, and thou shalt also have my daughter in marriage. What then I now require from thee is, that thou shalt promise me, that upon the death of Edward thou wilt aid me in my effort to gain the English throne, and thou wilt swear fealty to me. On this condition I will give thee now thy nephew Hacon, and when I arrive in England to reign there as a Sovereign, I will restore thy brother Wulnoth free and safe to thee. And this I now promise to thee, that if through thy favourable and friendly aid I shall reign King in England, whatever thou shalt ask, and that can in reason be granted to thee, it shall be thine upon the asking.'

"Harold felt that he was surrounded on all sides with perils, and finding there was no means of escaping from them, he, although unwilling, assented to the demand thus made on him." BROMTON. p. 947. See EADMER. *Hist. Nov.* p. 5.

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 79. "Prolatis sanctorum reliquiis ad hoc Haraldum perduxit, ut jurejurando testaretur se cuncta quæ inter eos convenerant opere completum." BROMTON. p. 947. EADMER. *Hist. Nov.* p. 5. WACE, in *Le Roman de Rou*, v. 10830—10858, describes Harold as swearing unconsciously upon the relics of saints, which were concealed beneath a tapestry of cloth of gold by William. The description of WACE is confirmed by the Baieux tapestry. The words of Ordericus Vitalis coincide with it:—"Et homo ejus factus omnia quæ ab illo requisita fuerant super sanctissimas reliquias juraverat." *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 117. (See *Hist. Franc.*) See note of M. PREVOST in same page. He places this event in the year 1063, but the date is at variance with the words of the author, who says—"Nam regem Eduardum qui morbo ingravescente, jam morti proximus erat." vol. ii. p. 118. See MICHEL. note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 171, 172.

oath of homage, Harold, of his own accord, made these specific promises: "That he would in the court of his lord
 " and King Edward, as long as that King lived, regard
 " himself as the vicarial officer of Duke William; that he
 " would by acts, advice, and to the utmost of his ability,
 " endeavour that the English monarchy should, after the
 " death of Edward, come into the possession of William,
 " and that meanwhile he would deliver up to the soldiers of
 " William, and to their custody, the castle of Dover, the
 " same being at his expense, and by his care, provided
 " with all things necessary for a fortified place; and that
 " he would, moreover, in various parts of the country have,
 " as the Duke might wish and direct him, other fortresses,
 " well supplied with provisions, and fully protected by
 " armed men."

The Duke upon this regarded Harold as his vassal—and as such, took him by the hand, and bestowed upon him, in anticipation of Harold's swearing to him as a subject to a King, all his lands and principality, which as a subject he should ask for.*

Harold remained for a brief period of time with William, and then laden with gifts worthy of the donor, and of the King he was supposed to represent, he was sent back to England, taking with him, and as a com-

* W. Pict. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* pp. 79, 80 (Maseres). "Dux ei, jam satelliti suo accepto per manus, ante jusjurandum terras ejus cunctumque potentatum dedit petenti." This is the ceremony which, supposing Harold to have paid two visits to William, did not occur until about the year 1064 or 1065, and it is confirmed, though not decided, by the words of the same author:—"non enim in longum sperabatur Edwardi ægrotantis vita."

pliment to himself, William's second hostage, Hacon, the nephew of Harold.*

* "Receptus in sua percharum hospitem Heraldum, apud se post moratum aliquandiu, donis onustum remisit; digne utroque, et cujus jussu, et pro cujus honore ampliando, venerat. Quin etiam fratnelis ejus, alter obses cum ipso redux propter ipsum redditus est." W. Pict. Gest. Guill. Nor. p. 85 (Maseres). This is stated to Harold's having been present with William in his conflict with the Bretons.

And now we have to give an account as to the cause of Harold's visit to William, which differs altogether from that stated in the text. The following is translated from Eadmer. Passages corresponding with those in the text are omitted:—

"Harold succeeded to the earldom of Kent upon the death of his father. A short time afterwards (elapso modico tempore), he obtained permission from the King to visit Normandy, in order that he might obtain the freedom of his brother and his nephew, who were detained there as hostages, and that having so liberated them, he might bring them back to England.

"King Edward, upon this request being made to him, said, 'This is not to be done by or through me. However, lest I should appear as desirous of being an obstacle to thee in thy undertaking, I permit thee to go where thou wishest, and to try what thou canst do. I foresee that nothing thou canst do will tend to aught else than to the detriment of the entire kingdom of England, and thine own disgrace; for well do I know how astute is the mind of the duke, and that he never will make the smallest concession to thee, from which he does not calculate upon obtaining at a future time a greater benefit for himself.'

"Harold then went on board his ship, placing far more confidence in his opinion than in the King's advice, and in this ship he stored gold, and silver, and richly-embroidered garments, whilst his companions consisted of the most illustrious as well as richest men attached to his service.

"A boisterous sea terrified the sailors, and the furious waves threatened the ship with destruction. * * * *

Upon Harold being presented to William, he was received with every mark of honour, and then William having learnt the reason why he had left his country, answered, that if he remained with

In the year 1060, King Henry died in France.* This

him for some time, he would see whether a favourable answer could not be given. He then detained Harold some days, and taking advantage of the delay thus imposed upon his guest, he, like a prudent person, gradually disclosed to Harold the thoughts that were in his own mind.

* * * * *

[Here is inserted the account of William's proposition to Harold—already translated and adopted from Bromton.

"Harold therefore assented. But William, in order that all things might be well and duly ratified, produced the relics of saints, brought Harold to them, in order that upon them he might testify, by an oath, that 'all those things which had been agreed upon between him and William he would fulfil, unless prevented by that which is the common fate of mortals—his own death.'

"Upon these transactions being completed, Harold's nephew was given to him, and he returned to his own country. He there told to Edward, in answer to the King's question, both how he had fared, and what he had done: 'Did I not tell thee,' said Edward, 'that I knew William well, and that by thy journey many evils might befall this kingdom?'" EADMER. Hist. Nov. lib. i. p. 5. BROMTON. pp. 947, 948. R. Hoved. p. 449.

The latter authorities (Bromton and Hoveden) add these words, as being uttered by St. Edward.

"Assuredly, in this thy act, I foresee that great calamities will fall upon our nation, and which I pray that Heaven, in its mercy, may not permit to happen in my time."

Ordericus Vitalis, in the third book of his History, declares that it was as false that William had betrothed his daughter to Harold, as that William had promised to sanction his (Harold's) succession to the throne; but that the falsehood invented as to both circumstances had served to delude St. Edward.

Upon Harold's return to England, he says that Harold gave an account to Edward, who was then sick, and near dying, of what occurred, viz., that he had announced to William that he had, with the general approval of the nation, been selected as the successor to the throne, and then he adds these words:—"Deinde fraudulentis assertionibus adjecit quod Willermus Normanniæ sibi filiam suam in conjugium dederit, et totius Anglici jus, utpote

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1060. F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 218.

king, who was a brave and valiant knight, died from

genero suo concesserit. Quod audiens ægrotus princeps miratus est tamen credidit et concessit quod vafer tyrannus commentatus est." *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 118 (Soc. Hist. France).

We may here observe, that Ordericus Vitalis, in the fifth book of his history, not only admits the betrothal of William's daughter to Harold, but also adds, that she was so much in love with Harold, that she died of grief upon hearing that she was doomed to become the bride of Alfonso, King of Leon and the Asturias. "Porro Agatha regis filia, quæ prius fuerat Heraldo desponsata, postmodum Amfurfio regi Galliciæ * * * missa est desponsanda. * * * Anglum viderat et dilexerat; sed Ibero conjungi nimis metuit, quem nunquam perspexerat." *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. vol. ii. pp. 391, 392 (Soc. Hist. France), see note by PLUQUET, *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. pp. 112, 113, already quoted.

In Harald Hardradas Saga, c. 78, there is a curious and characteristic account given of Harold's appearance in the court of Normandy. We adopt Mr. Laing's translation:—

"One summer it happened that Harold, the son of Godwin, made an expedition to Bretland (Wales) with his ships, but when they got to sea they met a contrary wind, and were driven off into the ocean. They landed west in Normandy, after suffering from a dangerous storm. They brought up at Rouen, where they met Earl William, who received Harold and his company gladly. Harold remained there late in the harvest, and was hospitably entertained, for the stormy weather continued, and there was no getting to sea, and this continued until winter set in; so the earl and Harold agreed that he should remain there all the winter.

"Harold set on the high seat on one side of the earl, and on the other side sat the earl's wife, one of the most beautiful women that could be seen. They often talked together for amusement at the drinking-table, and the earl went generally to bed; but Harold and the earl's wife sat long in the evenings talking together, and so it went on for a great part of the winter. In one of their conversations, she said to Harold, 'The earl has asked me what we have to talk about so much, for he is angry at it.' Harold replies, 'We shall then at once let him know all our conversation.'

"The following day, Harold asked the earl to a conference, and they went together into the conference-chamber, where also the

drinking a potion.* The potion was administered to him by John, the physician of Chartres,† who was from the

Queen was, and some of the councillors. Then Harold began thus:—

“I have to inform you, earl, that there lies more in my visit here than I have let you know. I would ask your daughter in marriage, and have often spoken over this matter with her mother, and she has promised to support my suit with you.”

“As soon as Harold had made known this proposal of his, it was well received by all who were present. They explained the case to the earl; and at last it came so far, that the girl was contracted to Harold, but as she was very young, it was resolved that the wedding should be deferred for some years.

“When spring came, Harold rigged his ships and set off: and he and the earl parted with great friendship. Harold sailed over to England to King Edward, but did not return to Valland to fulfil the marriage agreement.” LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. pp. 75, 76. JOHNSTONE, *Antiq. Celt. Scand. Norm. circ. 1060.* pp. 190, 191. Konung Harald Hardradas Saga. c. 88, 89. SNORRO. vol. ii. pp. 151, 152. See MICHEL. notes to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie.* vol. iii. pp. 171, 172. *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 349—360.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 225. vol. i. p. 380.

† “Johanne Medico Carnotensi.” The quotation we have already given from Richer, in this volume, shews that Chartres was celebrated for the knowledge possessed by its monks in medicine. The “Archiater” or “State Physician” of St. Edward, was, it may be inferred, a monk of St. Denis, who thus describes himself. “Ego Balduinus Sanctii Dionysii monachus, sub regimine Abbatis mei Hugonis constitutus, tunc temporis Anglorum Regis Edwardy Medicus.” See Diploma S. Eduardi Regis, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. xi. p. 656. Of another monk who lived about this period, we are told that with his other accomplishments, there was no one to be discovered his equal in the science of medicine but one, and that one was a *female*! This monk was named “Rodolphus, cognomento Malacirona,” and of him it is said: “Ab infantia litteris affatim studuit, et Galliæ Italiæque scrutando scholas secretarum indaginem rerum insigniter attiget. Nam in grammatica et dialectica, in astronomia quoque nobiliter eruditus est, et musica. Physicæ quoque scientiam tam copiose habuit, ut in urbe Psalernitana, ubi maximæ medicorum scholæ ab antiquo tempore habentur, nemi-

circumstance that then occurred, surnamed "the deaf," and from whom the King received the potion, in the expectation of enjoying better health, and a longer life; but in consequence of His Majesty attending more to his own wishes than the prescriptions of his physician, by asking for, and obtaining from his chamberlain, without the knowledge of his medical attendant, some water to cool the thirst with which he was parched by his poisonous illness, and drinking the water before the medicine had operated, he was, to the great grief of many, carried off by a sudden death upon the day following.*

nem in medicinali arte præter quamdam sapientem matronam sibi parem inveniret." ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. circ. 1059. vol. ii. pp. 69, 70 (Soc. Hist. France).

* ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. circ. 1059. vol. ii. p. 79 (Soc. Hist. France). The reign of Henry I. of France is worthy of being referred to, as it was then that great efforts were made in that land to establish "the Peace" and "the Truce of God"—the *peace* for the protection of *persons* and *things* to be saved from the evils of wars—the *truce* determining the *periods* at which war could not be carried on. See as to this great effort of the church to humanise mankind, *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Scrip.* vol. xi. pp. cxcvii—cc. (Præfat), and pp. 507—517. DUCANGE in verb. *Treva, Treuga, Trevia Dei*. MASERES' *Hist. Ang. Mon.* pp. 87—91. *Leges Regis Edwardi Confessoris*. § 2. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 190. (folio Ed.)

To us not the least interesting of documents referring to the reign of Henry I., are two charters set forth by Bouquet, in which the King, at the request of a clergyman, "*clericus de sancta Maura*," bestows their freedom upon two slaves. See *Diplomata Henrici I.* Franc. Reg. xxii. xxiv. a. 1052, 1057, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 590, 592. In the appendix to *Marculfus* (*Formulæ Veteræ* § viii. Bignon. pp. 120—123), we have a document which shows the formal and precise manner in which freedom was bestowed upon a slave, elevated to the priesthood, in the reign of Louis le Debonnaire. This document will be found equally curious and interesting.

"Whereas, the piety which the most holy Emperor Louis en-

In the same year (1060), and on the 22nd day of December, died Kinsey, archbishop, whose body was

tertain towards Almighty God is, such as to make him incessantly anxious to search for and discover whatever may be most conformable to the will of the Lord, and by means of which, the honour and glory of religion may prosper and increase more and more every day; and that everything appertaining to the divine worship and holy office may be invested with greater solemnity and reverence in his days than was ever before known; and that such be unalterably and undeviatingly reserved for future generations by his successors and the faithful of the holy church of God, ever bearing in mind that it is said:—*Clemency and truth are the body guards of a king, and his throne is based on justice*—Prov. xx. 28; moreover it appears, as if it were most truly and it might be said especially spoken of him:—*Blessed is the earth whose king is a wise man*—Eccles. x. 17; to whom also this saying of the Lord respecting David may be aptly applied:—*I have found David after mine own heart, he doeth my every will*—Acts xxiii. 22. Thus this wise and blessed king, ever indefatigably following up such laudable pursuits, and continually conforming to the will of God, anxious, as has been said, to aggrandize the divine office by every means, and to invest with greater honour and greater reverence, those whose duty it is to offer on the holy altar the sacrifice to Almighty God, and to consecrate, through the mediation of prayers, the body and blood of the Lord, did resolve that bishops, abbots, and all who are legitimately promoted to ecclesiastical possessions, should be empowered, if they desired to promote to the order of priesthood any of their domestics (*si aliquos ex familia ad Presbyteris ordinem promovere velint*), should, having first obtained his permission, give that person his liberty, and so worthily raise him ultimately to the rank of the priesthood. (This had been provided for by the Council of Orleans, under Childebert, *Can. xxv.* See *Life of Louis Puis*, and *Capitulaire* of the year 816. c. 6. Bouquet. vol. vi. p. 456, note a.) Therefore, I, the least servant of the servants of God, Archbishop of the church of Sens, supported by this great authority of the most serene Louis, Emperor, which is preserved in the archives of the cathedral, vote and resolve on the authority of this document of manumission, that you, our brother, whom the servile condition of slavery has hitherto ranked among the church-slaves (*ecclesie famuliam*), be for ever freed from the yoke of human servitude. This I declare and decree, before the horn of the holy

borne to the monastery of Peterborough, and there duly interred. On the anniversary day of the Nativity of our Lord, in the same year, Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, was elected to succeed Kinsey ; and the see of Hereford, which,

altar, and in the presence of the priests, of clerks, and of laymen, because, pursuant to the testimony of our brethren, among whom you have been brought up, you are declared worthy of the honour of priesthood ; and that you be called a ' Roman citizen' (Qui in ecclesiis manumittebantur, cives Romani, non Latini fiebant, maximeque libertatem consequabantur ex constitutione Constantini. lib. i. Cod. Th. de Manumiss. in Eccles. Bignonius, as quoted by Bouquet, vol. vi. p. 447, note a). Therefore, you are not to pay homage, obeisance, nor to owe any species of servile duty to any man, because of your former slavery—neither to me, nor to my successors, nor to my agents who may preside over this church, nor to those endowed with judiciary power ; but you are to have licence and faculties freely to serve God, and to devote to Him your days and your life, that you may advance in His church to your own honour and the benefit of the people redeemed by the precious blood of Christ ; inasmuch as, that you shall instruct them with admonitions, according to your capability, assist them with your prayers, form them by your example, and replenish their hearts by the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord, for whose honour you have obtained this dignity ; as you are cognizant that by this manumission you are free from human slavery, so are you a bondsman of Heaven, to teach the people who shall have been entrusted to your care by your bishops, how they best may escape the yoke of sin, and be freed from the dominion of Satan. It has been my pleasure to add to these conditions, that if you shall, at any time hereafter, acquire farms or slaves, you shall be particularly observant of whatever is decreed respecting them. And should you, perchance, which may God forbid ! depart from that course on which you have now determined, you shall be compelled, by canonical judgment, to lose the rank of priesthood. I have subscribed this form of freedom with my own hand, and those subscribing with me have done so at my request." BIGNON. Marculf. Monach. Aliorum auctorum Formulæ Veteres, pp. 120, 121, 122, 123. See notes, pp. 338, 339, 340 (Paris, 1666). *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. vi. pp. 446, 447. *Leges Henrici Primi*, c. lxviii. § 3, 4, in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 249.

on account of his activity and diligence, had been confided to his care, was bestowed upon Walter of Lorraine, chaplain to Queen Edgitha.*

In the same year also, died Dudoc, Bishop of Somersetshire, and Gisa the priest was appointed as his successor.† Gisa was the King's chaplain, and like his predecessor, a native of Lorraine.‡

Edward, whose whole life was to be found illustrated by the performance of daily miracles, and who was at this period of time in the full enjoyment of peace, was still to be found resting upon the solid rock of humility, ever timid, ever fearful, ever suspectful of the fragility of his nature.§ The fear of the Lord was ever before his eyes, and he at all times desired to anticipate His commands, and hence glory and riches were in the dwelling-place of this good man, and the justice of God will remain with him for all eternity. Long since freed from his vow by the Apostolic authority, he was still solicitous respecting it, and, therefore, he prepared about this time to send a second time ambassadors to the Apostolical See, again to consult the Apostolical majesty, and again to ask if any additional compensation was desired by it to be made for

* F. WIGORN. a. 1060. vol. i. p. 218.

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1060.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1060. We have Gisa's own account of his consecration by the pope.

“ Huic prædicto Duduco episcopo successi ego, G. Hasbaniensis incola ex vico Sancti Trudonis anno Dominicæ Incarnationis mo. lxo quem Rex Edwardus, licet vitæ meritis indignum, Romæ direxit et a Nicholao papâ ordinatum, die Paschali xvij Kalendas Maii; post peractam ibi sinodum, ebdomadâ post albas, privilegium Apostolicæ autaritatis mecum deferentem, honorifice receptum.” *Historiola de Primordiis*, p. 16 (Camden Society).

§ AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* p. 386.

his unfulfilled vow. Other matters, too, had arisen in the English Church, with regard to which a necessity was felt for consulting particularly that See, of which it has been specially said: "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it."

Hence it was that this holy King, bearing in his mind a care for all, wishing that every thing should be regulated according to the rule of Catholic truth, desiring to do good to all men, and whilst he rendered his own salvation more secure, also to afford salvation to others by the teaching of the true Apostolical doctrine, sent to Rome Aldred, Archbishop of York, with the two bishops elect, Walter of Hereford, and Gisa of Wells.* These persons brought with them the following letter from the King to the Pope.†

"To Nicholas, the Supreme Father of the Universal Church, Edward, by the grace of God, King of the English, tenders due subjection and obedience.†

"We glorify God, because He hath care of His elect church, and hath in the place of your good predecessors appointed you, a truly excellent successor. Wherefore, we judge it to be but just to approach to you as to the solid rock whereby our good actions may be tested, and to call your attention to, and have your association in that which is good, that is, as regards those donations

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 386, 387.

† "Talem epistolam Papæ deferentes." AILRED. See BARONIUS. a. 1060. § 9. vol. xvii. p. 178.

‡ "Summo universalis Ecclesiæ patri Nicolao Edwardus Dei Gratia Anglorum Rex debitam et subjectionem et obedientiam." AILRED.

“ and privileges which we have obtained from your predecessor, and that the same may be renewed and augmented by you. For, inasmuch as he enjoined upon us in the name of obedience and penitence, that in place of the fulfilment of the vow I had made of going to Rome, and for the remission of all my sins, I should build a monastery for monks in honour of St. Peter, that you then will be pleased to ratify that command, and that you will renew and decree the privileges of the property, and the dignity of the place set out as a monastery. I also do, according to my ability, augment and confirm the donations and pecuniary tributes which St. Peter has in England.* And these moneys so collected, I now, with royal donations, do send to you, that you may pray for me, and for peace in my kingdom, and that you may institute a constant and solemn memorial of the entire of the English nation before the bodies of the Holy Apostles.”†

The annexed was the answer sent by the Pope to the preceding letter.‡

“ Nicholas, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the most glorious, and the most pious, and most worthy of all honour, our especially beloved son Edward, King of the English, our fervent salutation, with wishes for his most full and sweet salvation, we send our Apostolical benediction.

* “ Ego quoque pro modulo meo augeo et confirmo donationes et consuetudines pecuniarum, quas habet sanctus Petrus in Anglia.” AILRED.

† AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* p. 387.

‡ “ Rescripsit autem illi Papa in hunc modum.” BARONIUS. a. 1060. § 9. vol. xvii. p. 178.

“ We give thanks to Almighty God, Who has endowed
“ and adorned you with surpassing wisdom in all things,
“ who has rendered you so devoted to the blessed Peter,
“ Prince of the Apostles, Who has filled you with such a
“ love for us, and Who has inclined you to yield a ready
“ assent to that which is determined by Apostolical authority. Therefore do we transmit these letters to your majesty,
“ and by them bestow upon you association with ourselves,
“ and the fraternity of the holy Apostles, praying, that through
“ the mercy of Him who is the Lord of all things, and the
“ sole King of the universe, that He may make you a
“ sharer in the merits of all good works that are done in
“ the sight of the Lord, that He may make you our brother
“ and our associate in His love for all time, and that He
“ may assign to you in His kingdom no less a place of
“ glory than what we would wish to gain for ourselves.

“ As for ourselves, we shall hereafter ever constantly pray
“ for you, that God may be pleased to overcome those enemies
“ and opponents who may desire to rise up against you; confirm you in your paternal throne, and your own inheritance; and that the blessed Peter may guard you in
“ every danger, and protect you in every tribulation.

“ We renew, therefore, for you those favours that you
“ seek, and we augment them: viz., that you be absolved
“ from that vow (with regard to which you are still timid)
“ as well as from all other your sins and iniquities; and
“ this absolution we grant by the authority of Him Who
“ hath been pleased to place us, though unworthy, to
“ preside over His church.

“ Moreover, as to that place which you, as the performer of a holy penance, have undertaken to institute
“ and to improve, since it (as the rumour is related) first

“ received, and that in ancient times, its consecration from
“ St. Peter, of whom we are the unworthy vicar, and be-
“ cause it was in days of yore the seat of royalty,* we do

* The legend referred to in the Pope's letter is thus told by Ailred:—

At the time that King Ethelbert reigned in Kent, and when, through the preaching of St. Augustine, he received the faith, and was made a participator in the sacrament of Christ, Sibert, his nephew, who was King over the East Saxons, was also by the same bishop instructed in the Christian doctrine.

Sibert, the capital of whose kingdom was London, built, within the walls, the Church of St. Paul, and then appointed with episcopal dignity Mellitus. Beyond the walls of London, and in a district to the west of the city, Sibert also founded a noble monastery to the honour of St. Peter, which he endowed with large estates.

Upon the night preceding the dedication of the same church, a fisherman was in his boat on the opposite bank of the river Thames, which flows close by the monastery, and to him St. Peter appeared in the habit of a pilgrim, and promised to bestow upon him a sufficient compensation upon being rowed across the river. The fisherman complied with the request, and he perceived St. Peter upon leaving the boat enter into the monastery. The moment that he did so, a celestial light burst forth, changing by its brilliancy night into day, and illuminating all the place with a marvellous splendour. With the Apostle there appeared to be a multitude of angels, a heavenly melody arose, and the circumambient air was filled with a fragrance so exquisite, that its entrancing odour was indescribable.

All the ceremonies that are performed upon the dedication of a church were gone through, and then returned to the fisher of fishes, he who is the illustrious “ fisher of men.” The man, dazzled by the refulgence of the light of heaven, and his senses confounded by what he had witnessed, could not be restored to his complete senses until the bland discourse and gentle consolatory language of the Apostle had been for some time addressed to him.

Both—the fisherman and St. Peter—then entered into the boat, when St. Peter said—“ Have you not as yet caught anything ?” The fisherman replied, “ Confounded by the dazzling light which so unexpectedly shone upon me, and awaiting thy return, I have not made the attempt, but have rested satisfied with the reward,

“ now, by the authority of God and of the holy Apostles
“ and of this Roman See, and of our own, concede, permit

whatever it may be, that thou hast promised me.” “ Let go your nets now,” replied St. Peter, “ and take a good draught of fishes.” The fisherman obeyed, and instantly his net was filled to repletion with a vast number of fishes. All the fishes so caught were of the same species excepting one, which was a salmon of wondrous size. All these being taken out and placed on the river-bank, the Apostle said, “ This fish, which exceeds all the others in size and value, bring you to Bishop Mellitus for me—the remainder, however, and as the price of the service you have performed, retain for yourself ; during your life an abundance of the same kind of fish shall be caught by you, and the same shall be the case with your posterity, on condition that neither you nor they shall ever presume to fish upon the Lord’s day. I am Peter who now speak with you, and I with my associates in heaven have dedicated the church that has been built in my name, and I have by the authority of my sanctification anticipated the episcopal benediction. Tell, therefore, to the bishop what you have seen and what you have heard. The signs marked upon the walls of the church will testify to the truth of your assertions. That which remains to make the dedication complete the bishop can supply—it is the offering up of the most holy mystery of the Body and Blood of Our Lord. There instructing the people by his discourses, let him notify to them, that the place shall be frequently visited by me, that there I shall ever lend a willing ear to the vows and prayers of the faithful ; and joyfully shall I unclothe the gates of heaven to those in this world who have there lived soberly, piously, and justly.”

And the Apostle having said these words, instantly vanished.

The next morning, when Bishop Mellitus was on his way to dedicate the church, he met the fisherman carrying the large fish, and the man told all he had been commanded to say to him. The bishop was astonished at these tidings. He opened the doors of the church. He saw the pavement inscribed with the letters of both alphabets—the walls in thrice six places bedewed with the oil of sanctification ; the remains of twelve wax-lights still adhering to twelve crosses, and every part around him still moist as if from the recent aspersions that had been showered upon them. No sooner did the bishop see this, than he with all the people blessed God, and thanked Him for His great mercy.

This miracle found faith and confirmation from the fact, that the

“and now firmly establish, that it be evermore a place of
 “royal establishment, and the illustrious repository of the
 “regalia, and the perpetual habitation of monks, who are
 “to be subject to none but the King alone, and who are to
 “exercise their power in accordance with the rule of St.
 “Benedict; and who are to elect in due succession amongst
 “themselves fitting persons as abbots, and amongst whom
 “no foreign person is, by violence, to be intruded, and
 “never permitted to remain unless such foreign person
 “should be preferred by the choice of the community.
 “We absolve also that same place from all service and
 “episcopal domination, and we declare that no bishop
 “shall enter into it, for the purpose of ordaining or com-

gift bestowed by St. Peter upon the fisherman remained with his posterity, who in consequence, out of the emoluments thus acquired by them, offered the tithe to St. Peter, and to those serving him at Westminster. Upon one occasion a descendant of the fisherman presumed to act fraudulently with respect to the tithe, by which he was deprived of his gift, and so continued until he had confessed his crime, made restitution for what he had wrongfully abstracted, and promised amendment for the future.” AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 385, 386. See *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. c. 5. § 16, 17, 18. pp. 296, 297. This legend finds confirmation in the custom of the fisherman by whom the offering was made, having acquired the right to sit at the table of the prior. See DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 266. note *b*.

In an ancient work entitled *Philomena*, and which has been translated from the idiom of the Troubadours into Latin by Sebastino Ciampi of Florence, there will be found a legend, as to the miraculous consecration of the monastery church of Le Grasse, in the time of Charlemagne, somewhat similar to that of Westminster Abbey. See *Journal des Savans*, November, 1824. p. 672.

An account of ancient MSS. belonging to the Church Monastery of Westminster, and proving the purity of its Catholicity, discovered in the church of Valencia, will be found in VILLANEVA. *Viage Literario á las Iglesias de Espana*, see vol. i. pp. 88, 89, 97—104. (Madrid, 1803.)

“ manding anything, unless upon the petition and with
“ the consent of the abbot and monks.

“ Let that place also have free precincts, including the
“ cemetery and boundaries around it, without claim or
“ exaction from bishop or any other person, and every-
“ thing else which may serve to its liberty and exaltation,
“ and to the honour of God. And whatever can be added
“ to it by our authority, we do, with a joyful and ready
“ will, concede.

“ As to the possessions which ancient Kings and others,
“ and that your Majesty and your barons may bestow
“ upon the same place, and the charters made respecting
“ them, we do, by the Divine aid, with our authority confirm
“ and declare to be ratified and established; and their vio-
“ lators and invaders, and those who would lessen, disperse,
“ or dispose of them for money, we do condemn with the
“ eternal malediction of the traitor Judas, so that they
“ may not participate in the resurrection of the blessed,
“ but be condemned by the blessed Apostle Peter him-
“ self, when he shall sit with his co-apostles, judging
“ the twelve tribes of Israel.

“ To you, therefore, and to the Kings, your successors,
“ we commit the especial care of that place, and of all
“ the churches in the entire of England, in order that
“ you may, and for us, with the counsel of the Bishops
“ and Abbots, everywhere constitute those things that
“ are just, knowing, that for so doing, you shall receive
“ a fitting reward from Him, Whose kingdom and Whose
“ empire will cease and be diminished never!”

The most blessed King Edward, upon reading the lines
thus addressed to him from one clothed with the apostol-
ical majesty of Pope, rejoiced with an exceedingly great

joy. Feeling himself then perfectly freed from every solicitude with respect to the obligation of the vow he had contracted, he committed all the military and civil affairs of his kingdom to his nobles, and devoted himself totally and absolutely to the discharge of religious duties. And in the same proportion in which he withdrew himself from all affairs that affected the body, so was his soul illuminated with spiritual gifts; and he even merited the revelation of celestial secrets, and was entranced with sweet heavenly visions.*

The Archbishop Aldred had proceeded to Rome, accompanied not only by the Bishops Elect of Hereford, and Wells, Walter, and Gysa, but also by Tosty, the Earl of the Northumbrians.† The earl was most graciously received by Pope Nicholas II., and he was made by the pontiff to take a seat by his side, in a council which the Pope had collected against those who had been guilty of simony.

As to Gysa and Walter, the Pope granted their request.‡ They were both consecrated as bishops by the Pope himself.§ Both were men illustrious for their science, and neither had ever been stained with the slightest imputation of simony.|| It was not so with

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 387, 388, 389. See BARONIUS. a. 1060. § 7—12. vol. xvii. pp. 178, 179.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iii. p. 271. This journey of Aldred to Rome is fixed in the year 1061 by the *Saxon Chronicle*, and *Florence of Worcester*.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.*

§ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 218. He remarks that until John, the successor of Gysa, all the bishops of that diocese resided at Wells, in the church of St. Andrew the Apostle.

|| W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 271.

Aldred, who by his answers admitted his guilt, and which was proved against him by other evidence, and who, therefore, was treated with due severity by the Pope, who deprived him of all his dignities.*

So differently treated were all these persons by the Pope;—but as they were on their return home from Rome together, all became involved in one and the same calamity; for, attacked by robbers, they were despoiled of everything but their garments; nought else of the slightest value was left with them; but still, as their persons were uninjured by the robbers, they were able to hurry back to Rome for refuge.† This calamity afforded to Aldred the opportunity of recovering the dignities of which he had been deprived. Tosty aided him in this, by

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* A different account of this transaction is given by another author. "When Aldred," he says, "sought from Pope Nicholas his pall, as Archbishop of York, two objections were made to him; first, that he was transferred from a minor to a larger see without the consent of the Pope, and, second, that he had not yet resigned the bishopric from which he had been promoted. As a matter of grace, however, the Pope permitted him to retain his first bishopric." *SCRIBBS. Act. Pont. Ebor.* p. 1701. As for the proofs that the charge against Aldred was not simony, see PAGI. *Critic. in Baron.* a. 1059. § 7—10. vol. xvii. pp. 159, 160, 161.

† W. MALMSB. The amount of spoil taken on this occasion from Tosty and his episcopal companions, was calculated at the time to be of "a thousand pounds in Pavian money,"—(usque ad mille Papiensis monetæ libras.) The leader of the robbers was Gerard, Count of Gagliano, a supporter of the false Pope, Benedict, and who, for this spoliation of the English travellers, was, with all the accompanying ceremonies, excommunicated by Pope Nicholas.—"In plenaria Synodo, Papa Nicolao præsidente, excommunicatus est, et extinctis luminibus, perpetuo anathemate condemnatus." See BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 142. § 10. p. 160. § 37, 38. ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 558. § 8. 9.

the severe reproaches to which he gave utterance against the Apostolical See, namely,—“That its excommunication “ was little to be dreaded by foreign nations, when paltry “ petty thieves in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome “ derided it; that it was harsh with the suppliant, and “ inert against the rebellious; that the Pope either should “ have, by his pontifical authority, restored to them the “ property, of which they had been defrauded, or the King “ of England, hearing of what had happened, would “ justly withhold from Nicholas the tribute of Saint “ Peter.*

The Romans, terrified by the furious threats of Tosty, induced the Pope to yield to Aldred the archiepiscopal mitre and pall, by impressing upon the pontiff the consideration that it would appear as a monstrous proceeding, if Aldred should be compelled to return to his home, deprived alike of dignity, and despoiled of his private property. The Pope acted in that manner which reason

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* That some such base sentiments were given utterance to by Tosty, we have little doubt, although we find them differently expressed by Malmsbury in his *Life of St. Wulstan*. In the latter work, Malmsbury states “ that Aldred would not resign the Bishopric of Worcester, and the Pope would not permit him to retain the archiepiscopal See of York along with the diocese of Worcester; that Aldred was so bound up in affection with Worcester, that he preferred the rejection of the higher dignity to its abandonment; that, after long reflection, such was the determination he came to, and, therefore, left Rome, and on his way home travelled as far as Sutri, with Tosty as his companion; the latter giving utterance to very fierce threats, “ because the money which the English yearly paid to the Pope of Rome should not have produced for them better success on such an occasion,”—(*magnas efflante minas, quod nummi, quos Anglia quotannis Romano Papæ pensitat, hac occasione ulterius non inferrentur.*” W. MALMSB. *Vit. S. Wulstan. Episc. Wigorn.* Par. ii. c. 10, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 250.

suggested to him as being right and proper. He bestowed the pall, and permitted Aldred to retain Worcester, only until such time as a bishop should be appointed.* All then returned home. They arrived there in safety, and they did so, indemnified for all they had lost by the great liberality and profuse munificence of the pontiff.†

“ In this same year (1061), died Bishop Godwin, at
 “ St. Martin’s, on the 7th before the ides of March; and
 “ in the self-same year died Wulfrie, Abbot of St. Augustine’s, in the Easter week, on the 14th before the
 “ calends of May. Pope Nicholas also died; and Alexander was chosen Pope, who was Bishop of Lucca.‡

“ When word came to the King that Abbot Wulfrie
 “ was dead, then chose he Ethelsey, a monk of the old
 “ minster, to succeed, who followed Archbishop Stigand,

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* In his Life of St. Wulstan, Malmsbury states that it was compassion *alone* for the misfortunes of Aldred, upon his being despoiled by robbers, that influenced the mind of the Pope. “Quæ res rigorem Apostolicæ sedis hactenus inflexit; ut Aldredus pallium Eboracense mereretur, Wigornensis Ecclesiæ discessionem pactus; meliori duntaxat persona, quæ in ejus Diocesi posset inveniri ab eo in illam subroganda.” Vit. S. Wulstan. par. ii. c. 10. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 250. This agrees with the statement by Stubbs. See *Act. Pont. Ebor.* pp. 1701, 1702.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Pont. Ang.* Lib. iii. p. 271. The Saxon Chronicle confirms the fact of Tosty being at Rome on this occasion with Aldred. “This year went Bishop Aldred to Rome after his pall, which he received at the hands of Pope Nicholas. Earl Tosty and his wife also went to Rome; and the bishop and the Earl met with great difficulty as they returned home.” a. 1061. INGRAM. p. 250.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* “Pope Nicholas II. died on the 19th of July, 1061,” MANSI. “He never permitted a single day to pass in the entire year in which he did not wash the feet of twelve poor men; and if he had not the opportunity of performing this act of charity in the day-time, he discharged it at night.” BARONIUS, vol. xvii. p. 182. § 1.

“ and was consecrated Abbot at Windsor on St. Augustine’s Day.”*

In the year of our Lord 1061, Wulketul, the Lord Abbot of Croyland, commenced the construction of a new church—(that which in succeeding years was happily carried on)—because the old church, that the venerable father Turketul had founded, was then threatening to fall down in ruins.† In this work he was greatly aided by the ardent devotion of the illustrious Earl Walden, who bestowed upon the monastery his vill of Bernak, and assigned it to the particular purpose of the erection of the church. This the earl did, being moved thereto by the remorse of a tender and holy conscience: because the property had formerly belonged to the church;‡ and because there was on the same property a remarkable fine stone-quarry, which was peculiarly suited for, and necessary in the building of the new church.§

It was about this time that there was bestowed upon the monastery of St. Alban’s five farms, with all belonging to them.|| This was done with the consent of

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. pp. 250, 251.

† INGULPH. p. 67.

‡ “*Passus remorsum in conscientia sancta, quod possessio erat aliquando ecclesiastica.*” INGULPH. If all the present holders of property, that had formerly belonged to the church, were influenced by the conscientious feelings of Earl Walthen, and imitated his example, how gloriously might the ancient church of England arise from amidst its ruins, and how bountifully could *out-door relief* be again distributed amidst the poor and impoverished in the land!

§ INGULPH. p. 67.

|| M. PARIS. “*In Leofstano.*”

We follow Alford in placing the events described in the text in this year. See vol. iii. p. 560. a. 1061. § 3.

King Edward, whose familiar friend, confessor and councillor, was the Abbot Leofstan, who was at the same time the suggestor and indefatigable adviser of prudence, chastity, and virtue to the Queen, Edgitha. This was a matter which the Abbot Leofstan urged with the greatest zeal at the time, because he was of opinion that Edward was not destined to remain long in this world. He found great help to its successful accomplishment in the intercession of Queen Edgitha, who was ever to be seen by the side of the King, who clung to him in his mortal sickness, and who was indefatigable in her attendance upon the monarch when the last hours of his mortal life were drawing to a close.

The first of these five farms, that which is called Stodham, Leofstan obtained from Oswulph, and his wife, Adelitha. The remaining four, Redburn, Langele, Greneburg, and Thancton, he received from Egelwin the Black, and Winefleda his wife, with other properties, gifts, and ornaments.

This Abbot Leofstan was surnamed Plumstan. He was a pious and simple man, and one who had an especial compassion for all who were in any wise in peril; such as travellers, and chapmen, and pilgrims, and who, for the expiation of their sins, or for the advantage of their bodies, came to the monastery of St. Alban's. For all such as these he had the ways made safer than they had been ever before. Thus he had cleared the gloomy woods which stretch from the borders of Chiltern up close to the city of London, and that street, the northern side of the royal high-way, known by the name of Watling Street, whilst at the same time rough places were made smooth, bridges were built, and where the roads had been broken

they were put not only in repair, but rendered perfectly secure.

There abounded at that time, through the entire of the Chiltern district, spacious forests, as thickly and densely wooded as they were numerous; and in these were to be found beasts of all kinds,—wolves, boars, wild bulls, and stags. These forests were also the resort and the refuge of those who are worse and more noxious than wild beasts, namely, thieves, robbers, ruffians, men doomed to banishment, and run-away slaves.

It was on account of this district of the country being in the condition we have described, that Abbot Leofstan did that which was for the benefit, and not the disadvantage of the church of St. Alban's; that is, he conceded to a certain very valiant knight, named Thurnoth, and to two of his fellow-knights, Waldef and Thurman, the manor of Flamsted, for which concession the Knight Thurnoth privily gave to Abbot Leofstan five ounces of gold, a most beautiful palfrey, and a very desirable rabbit-warren. The assignment of the manor was made upon this condition, that the Knight Thurnoth, with his two fellow-knights, whose names we have already mentioned, and their followers, should take charge of those western districts in which robbers were most frequently found, and should, by force of arms, preserve and protect them from wild beasts, as well as from thieves; and that, for whatever injuries or losses occurred through their neglect, they should be fully and entirely responsible. Moreover, it was stipulated, that if a general war should arise in the kingdom, they would adhere faithfully to the church of St. Alban, and use all the means within their power for its defence and safety.

These conditions Thurnoth and his companions faithfully fulfilled.*

In the year 1062, the venerable Wulstan was appointed bishop of the diocese of Worcester.† This man, the beloved of God, was born in the Mercian district, and the province of Warwick. His parents were named—the father Eatstan, and the mother Wlfgeova; and both were distinguished for their piety. He was thoroughly instructed in letters, and in the ecclesiastical offices, in the noble monastery of Peterborough.

So much devoted to a religious life were the parents of Wulstan, and to such an extent did they carry that devotion, that they both, long before the close of their lives, made a mutual vow of chastity, and both separated from each other, joyfully resolved to depart from this life, clothed in the monastic habit. Incited by their example, and mainly urged on by the persuasion of his mother, Wulstan abandoned this world, and in the monastery of Worcester, in which his father had already devoted himself to the service of God, he accepted the monastic cowl and order from the venerable Brithegus, bishop of the diocese; and by the same bishop he was afterwards raised to the degree of deacon, and ordained as a priest. The

* M. PARIS. "In Leofstano."

See ALFORD. vol. iii. p. 560. a. 1061. § 3. 4. This paragraph we trust will be considered as giving an interesting insight into "the state of the country" in 1061; and as showing how usefully the monasteries employed their wealth and influence in discharging those duties, which, if now performed by laymen, are also paid for by heavy taxes—in the shape of tolls, highway rates, poors' rates, and police rates.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1062. vol. i. p. 218.

commencement of the life of every religious is arduous, and full of difficulties, but Wulstan so entered upon it, with vigils, with fasting, with prayer, and with such an untiring practice of every virtue, that he speedily became an object of admiration. Hence, as an example of the manners and morals that should be observed, he was first appointed to act as the master and guardian of the children.* This he discharged for some time; and then, on account of his great knowledge and expertness in ecclesiastical offices, he was, in accordance with the command of his superiors, made at the same time chaunter† and treasurer of the church.‡

* “Primo magister et custos infantium constituitur.” F. WIGORN. “That is of the children that were placed in the monastery to be educated under the care of the monks, and instructed by them in letters as well as in piety, as stated in the life of St. Bern (13th January); and Wulstan himself was educated in Peterborough monastery.” There are many documents to be found in proof of this custom. BOLLANDUS. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 240. note i.

† “Cantor.” F. WIGORN. “Chantre, tanto quiere dezir como cantor: y pertenece à su oficio de començar los responsos, y los hymnos, y los otros cantos que se oujere de cantar: tam bien en las processiones que se fieran fueren fuera del coro: y el deve mandar aqui en lea, o cante, las cosas que fueran de leer, o cantar; e la el deven obedecer los Acolitos, y los Lectores, y los Psalmistas.” *Leges. Alfonsinæ.* part. i. tit. 6. l. 5. as quoted in DUCANGE, in verb. *Cantor*.

‡ “Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ.” F. WIGORN. “Tesorero tanto quier dezir como guardador de Tesoro ca à su oficio conviene de guardar las cruces, e los calices, e las vestimentas, e los libros, e todos los otros ornamentos de la santa Eglesia, e el deve componer los altares e tener la Eglesia limpia e apuesta, e à bonda de encenso, e de candelas, e de las otras luminarias que son menester. Otrosi el deve guardar la chrisma, e mandar e ordenar como se faga el Baptismo. E a su oficio pertenece de fazer lañer las campanas.” *Leg. Alfons.* part i. tit. 6. l. 6, as quoted in DUCANGE, in verb. *Thesaurarius*.

By this last office, the care of the church was confided to him, and he availed himself of the opportunity it afforded of more fully serving his God, by devoting himself absolutely and entirely to a contemplative life. By day as well as by night he was unceasingly occupied in prayer or in his pious reading, and frequently for two and three days together, macerating his body by an unbroken fast. As to holy vigils, he abandoned himself so completely to them, that he sometimes passed in them not merely the entire night, but very often the entire day and the night, and sometimes, that which could scarcely be credited by us if we had not the fact from his own lips,* four days and nights were passed without sleep, until at last an attack of the brain was to be apprehended, if he did not anticipate it by yielding to nature's imperative suggestion to him to give way to repose. And then when so compelled to pause in his vigils, and when yielding to the demand made on him by his constitution to sleep, his wearied limbs were not indulged with bed nor bed-gear, but reclining upon some bench in the church, and supporting his head upon the book from which he had been praying, or that he had been studying, he so slumbered for a very short time.

Upon the death of Agelwin, the prior of the monastery, this venerable man, Wulstan, was appointed prior, and father of the community, by Bishop Aldred. The

* "Quod a nobis vix crederetur, si non ab ipsius ore hoc audissemus." F. WIGORN. St. Wulstan died in the year 1095; Florence of Worcester in the year 1118. They were contemporaries, and therefore we have adopted the statements of Florence in preference to those given by later authorities. See BOLLANDUS. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.), vol. ii. p. 238. § 3. D. S. Wulstan.

office was one that was discharged in a most praiseworthy manner by Wulstan; and so far from its tending to diminish in the slightest degree the austerity of his former habits, he rather increased them in many ways, and in all so as to afford to others a complete model of a virtuous life.

So passed many years, until at length Aldred, who was Bishop of Worcester, had been appointed Archbishop of York. There was then one unanimous wish expressed by all persons—by the clergy as well as by the people, and that was for his election as their bishop. The choice made by them met with the full assent and approval of the King.

It so happened, that at that very time, there were present at the election of Wulstan, legates from the Apostolical See, namely, Armenfred, Bishop of Sion, and another, who had been sent from the lord and Pope Alexander,* to Edward, King of the English, upon questions relating to ecclesiastical matters, and who, in accordance with the King's commands, remained during the entire Lent at Worcester, for the purpose of awaiting there the answer which would be delivered by the royal council at the approaching Easter.† These legates, whilst they were so

* F. WIGORN. Pope Alexander II., see BARONIUS, vol. xvii. p. 222. a. 1062. § 72.

† F. WIGORN. The manner in which the Pope's legates were received by King Edward is thus described by Malmsbury, who also states why they were left in Worcester, during the season of Lent, in charge of Aldred :—

“Hujus igitur conditionis (that is, the resignation of Worcester by Aldred) arbitros et quædam alia ecclesiastica negotia in Anglia expedituros, cardinales adductos Archiepiscopus Regi exhibuit. Excepit eos Deo devotissimus princeps more illo suo paucis imi-

remaining at Worcester, being themselves witnesses of the laudable life of Wulstan,* were not only consenting parties to his election, but they did their utmost to urge on both the clergy and the people to carry it into effect, and when it had been accomplished, to ratify it by their authority.

As to Wulstan, he obstinately resisted the election—declared himself to be utterly unworthy of such an office; and even affirmed, with an oath, that he would much more willingly submit to decapitation, than assent to his consecration for a dignity so exalted. Numbers of persons, venerable alike for their years and their virtues, pressed

tabili, quo soleret in omnibus Ecclesiæ Romanæ convenire moribus. Ita summa reverentia, honore summo apud se aliquamdiu habitos iterum ductoris tutelæ delegavit. *Familiarius enim ei conviverunt, cujus mores longo comitatu addidicissent, et commercio linguæ non ignorarent.* W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wlstan, Episc. par. ii. c. 10. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 250.

* “Ejus laudabilem vitam.” F. WIGORN. “He abstained three days in the week from all kinds of food—fasting both night and day, and on these days preserved an absolute and unbroken silence, not giving utterance even to a single word. The three other days of the week he lived upon scallions or pot-herbs, boiled or stewed with some coarse bread; and on the Sundays, and in honour of the holy festival, his poor fare was improved by a morsel of fish and a little wine, and this he took more for the purpose of sustaining his strength than of gratifying his appetite. On every day the most affectionate care was bestowed by him upon three poor persons, who were by him, a constant follower of the Lord, supplied with food for the day, and their feet washed by him.” (*Singulis præterea diebus tres pauperes affectuose colens; quibus Dominici sequax mandati et victum cotidianum et pedum exhibebat lavacrum.*) W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan. par. ii. c. 10. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 250. Such was St. Wulstan as prior of a monastery, and because he was so mortified, so meek, and so humble, the Pope’s legates considered him to be well suited to discharge the duties of a bishop. This was the spirit of “Popery” in the eleventh century!

him to consent to be a bishop ; but all these efforts proved fruitless, until he was addressed by the pious Wulfi—a man who was then known to have passed forty years the solitary life of a recluse,* and by whom he was severely chided for his disobedience and his obstinacy. In addition to this, he was terrified by a Divine oracle, and therefore felt himself bound, to the great grief of his heart, to give his consent.

Upon the day of the decollation of St. John the Baptist (the 29th of August), his election was canonically confirmed, and upon the Sunday, on the same day on which the church celebrates the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the 8th of September), he was consecrated as Bishop of Worcester—a see that he rendered illustrious by his life and his virtues.

Wulstan was on this occasion consecrated as bishop by Aldred, the Archbishop of York, because Stigand, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, had been interdicted by the Pope from discharging any of his episcopal functions ; inasmuch as he had, whilst Robert the Archbishop was living, presumed to accept of the archbishopric. A protestation in due form was made at the time by Wulstan, of obedience to Stigand as Archbishop of Canterbury, and not to Aldred, by whom ordination was administered. Besides this, the Archbishop of York was directed, in consequence of the suit promoted by Stigand, to declare, in presence of the King and his Witan, that he wished neither then nor thereafter to claim any ecclesiastical or secular subjection to him on the part of Wulstan, either because

* See *INGULPH. Hist.* pp. 58, 61.

Wulstan had been consecrated by him, or, that previous to his consecration, he had made Wulstan a monk.*

* F. WIGORN. a. 1062. vol. i. pp. 218, 219, 220, 221. Upon the last passage see note by WHARTON. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 250. See also Vit. S. Wulstan, in *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. ii. pp. 239, 240.

Of this truly venerable man two anecdotes remain to be told, which, though widely separated from each other in point of time, alike manifest his anxiety to benefit the poor, to console them in their afflictions, and to put an end to their degradation. Both anecdotes are told in the words of Malmsbury.

"Not only was his tenderness and kindness displayed to the monks, but his merciful disposition was felt by the common folk of the country. He discharged at as an early hour as he possibly could the daily offices, and then placed himself in a conspicuous position before the doors of the church, so that all who wished might have the readier access to him. There he was a diligent and pious enquirer into all grievances and complaints, and so spent he his hours to mid-day, and often until evening; and willingly did he do so wherever it was in his power to offer aid or consolation to the needy, or baptize the children of the poor; for venality had arisen from the regions of hell, and so prevailed, that priests would not gratuitously administer the sacrament to infants—they would not do even that if the parents did not put something in their purse. Wulstan pitying the destitution of the one class, and lamenting the unhappy state of mind of the other, and by the act itself condemning their avarice, he in baptizing the children of the poor imparted a new dignity to the office he discharged. From the towns as well as from the hamlets all flocked to him, and especially those who having not wherewithal to pay for their children, desired to obtain for them the grace conferred by the waters of baptism. From those of smaller means the practice spread even to the rich, so that there was scarcely any one in the entire district who conceived that his child could be properly baptized, if the sacrament were not bestowed by Wulstan." W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan, Par. ii. c. 7. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 248.

"There is a maritime city named Bristol, from which persons can in a direct line sail to Ireland, and therefore suited to the barbarous custom that prevailed in this district. The natives of Bristol, as well as others, often, for the sake of traffic, sailed to Ireland from that port. Amongst these there was a long-established trade

At the same time that St. Wulstan was made Bishop of Worcester,* a certain noble man, of very generous

which St. Wulstan put an end to. It was one that had so captivated their minds, and so blinded their understandings, that neither their fear of God, nor their loyalty to King William were sufficiently strong to induce its abolition. Human beings were purchased in all parts of England, and were carried off to Ireland to be disposed there at a profit. Amongst these were females, who first were made the victims of the vilest passions, and when they were about to become mothers, were disposed of. The compassionate lamented, upon beholding whole bands of adolescent persons, of both sexes, tied together by ropes, thus carried away for this traffic. Even barbarians, it might be supposed, would feel pity to see their fellow-creatures, in the flower of their beauty and the prime of their youth, daily subjected to infamy, and daily chaffered for as if they were mere animals. It was an execrable deed, it was a miserable disgrace, so to see men devoid even of the attachment that the dumb brute exhibits for its young, relieving their necessities by selling as slaves those who were their own flesh and blood. Such a traffic as this had grown into an inveterate habit, and transmitted from one generation to another—and yet this very traffic St. Wulstan gradually but still effectually abolished. Knowing well that the obstinacy of the people was not easily to be overcome, nor readily to be moulded in accordance with his wishes, he often went to Bristol, stopped there for two and three months at a time, and every Sunday, by his preaching, scattered amongst the multitude the seeds of Divine truth. And so doing at various intervals, he at length succeeded, and that so completely, that not only did these people renounce the practice of the vice, but they became an example to the population in all other parts of England to abandon it also. At last, one amongst them having doggedly resisted the precepts of the bishop, he was driven out of the town and deprived of his eyes. And though such a proceeding may be lauded as a proof of devotion, still the deed itself must be censured, even whilst we remember, that where the human mind becomes brutalised, it is impossible to convince it of its error by the mere force of reasoning alone." W. MALMSB. *Vit. S. Wulstan*, Par. ii. c. 20. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 258. See further as to St. Wulstan, *Gest. Pont. Ang.* lib. iv. pp. 279, 180. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. ii. pp. 240—249.

* "Anno Domine MLXII. Sanctus Wulstanus * * * episcopus Wigorniaest effectus. Hoc in tempore, &c." *INGULPH.* p. 67.

disposition and highly renowned in war, the Lord of Brunne, and its adjacent marshes, named Leofric, proved himself to be in many things a benevolent friend and a sage councillor to the monks in the monastery of Croyland. This Leofric was the relative of the great Earl of Hereford, Ralph, who married Goda, the sister of King-Edward, and whose remains now lie interred at the monastery of Peterborough. The wife of Leofric, Ediva, was, like her husband, of illustrious family, as she was the immediate descendant of the illustrious nobleman Oslac, the contemporary of King Edgar. The son of such parents was Hereward--celebrated even in his youth for his strength. In his face and figure Hereward was truly beautiful, but still of a disposition that was far too pugnacious; for in his boyish sports and play he was so rude, that it might be said of him that many time "his hand" was against every man's, and every man's hand against him.* When he engaged in wrestling matches, and such other sportive trials of strength, with youths of his own age, unless he obtained a triumph over them all, and the laurel of victory were not tendered to him, that which he could not gain by the strength of his arm, he frequently won with the point of his sword. For such conduct as this, those who came in contact with him made frequent complaints, and they at length excited the Earl Leofric so much against his own son, that he appeared before King Edward, exposed to the Sovereign the many boyish

* The paragraph from Ingulphus is here introduced, as giving the earliest authentic account on record of the Saxon Knight Hereward, whose achievements, especially in the reign of William I., have rendered his name for ever famous.

follies of his child, and with such animosity dwelt upon the outrages committed by him against his neighbours, that he required and obtained his banishment, as if Hereward had been not his own offspring, but one of his worst enemies.

Thus came the most valiant youth Hereward to be banished, and so banished he travelled to Northumbria, to Cornwall, thence to Ireland, and lastly to Flanders, and everywhere behaved himself with such dauntless bravery, that in a short time he won for himself great glory and high renown. In all dangers he distinguished himself by his intrepidity, and from all he came forth scathless. In every battle he chose as his opponent the stoutest warrior, and by superior courage conquered him, so that men doubted which was the greater—his valour or his good fortune. In every conflict he was a victor, and from the midst of the most awful dangers he came forth as sound in body as he had been undismayed in mind. And when he had thus rendered himself renowned by the many conflicts and great battles in which he had been engaged, and in all invincible, even his prowess was proclaimed by his adversaries, and his great achievements were narrated with pride in England. His father, mother, kinsmen, neighbours and countrymen, became, by the grace of God, animated with a great love for him, so that it was manifest his own stout arm had changed their bitter hatred into a tender respect and an affectionate esteem.

Whilst Hereward was in Flanders he was united in marriage with a maiden named Turfrida, and the issue of that marriage was an only daughter, who long lived in the neighbourhood of Croyland,* and who was there married†

* "*Quæ nunc superest in nostra convicinia.*" *INGULPH.*

† "*Nuper maritali conjugio copulata.*" *INGULPH.*

to an illustrious knight, and a great friend to the monastery, Hugh Evermue, who became by that marriage Lord of the vill of Depyng, and of Brunne, with all belonging to them.

As to the mother of Turfrida, she came with her husband to England; and here contemplating and reflecting upon the many changes of this fleeting world, she, with the sanction and permission of her husband, bade adieu to all its pomps, received the habit of a nun in the monastery of Croyland, from the hands of Abbot Wulketul, and so clothed as a nun, lived long and holily, and at last died and was buried in the monastery.

Hereward upon his marriage returned with his wife to his native land, and there having waged many battles, and encountered a thousand dangers in his numerous fights against King, and earls, and barons, and generals, and soldiers—and having exposed himself to perils, and happily executed feats that are still extolled and sung in ballads through the streets—and having so vindicated the cause of his widowed mother—he was at last permitted to enjoy the King's favour, to be restored to his hereditary domains, to end his days in peace, and his body to be buried in Croyland beside the remains of his wife. Thus much of his adventures for the present—more must be said respecting them hereafter.*

Early in the year 1063, that is a few days after the Nativity of our Lord, the valiant leader of the West Saxons, Harold, in accordance with the commands of

* *INGULPH.* Hist. pp. 67, 68, see p. 70. *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 102. vol. i. pp. 224, 225, 226. lib. ii. c. 106, 107. vol. i. pp. 233—239.

King Edward, proceeded in all haste with a small body of horsemen from Gloucester, where the King was then staying, to Rhyddlan.* His intention in making this expedition was to put to death Griffin, King of the Welsh, on account of the frequent depredations carried on by him along the English borders, and also for the many affronts he had thereby offered to his Lord, and King Edward. Griffin, however, received due warning of the approach of Harold, took to flight with his adherents, got on board a ship, and with some difficulty escaped. No sooner had Harold discovered the flight of Griffin, than he set fire to the Welsh king's palace, burnt down to the water's edge his ships and their equipments, and the same day withdrew from the Welsh territory.

About the time of the gang-days in the same year, Harold sailed with an armed fleet to Bristol, and from Bristol sailed round the most of the land of the Welsh, whilst his brother, the Earl Tosty, co-operated in this expedition with an army of cavalry, and both with their united forces commenced ravaging the land. The Welsh were thus compelled to yield hostages, to promise the payment of the tribute that was due by them, and to repudiate King Griffin as their sovereign.† In the harvest of the same year, and on the 5th of August, King Griffin was slain by his own men, in consequence of the war that was thus waged against him by Harold.‡

No sooner had Griffin been put to death, than his head, and the stem of his vessel, with all the decorations attached

* F. WIGORN. a. 1063. vol. i. p. 221.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1063. vol. i. pp. 221, 222.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* a. 1063. This event is placed by Florence of Worcester in the year 1064.

to it were sent to Harold, and these were instantly brought by him and placed before King Edward.*

King Edward gave then the land of the Welsh to Griffin's brothers, Blethgent and Rithwal; and they took the oaths of fidelity to King Edward and Earl Harold, that they would be prepared and ready by sea and land to obey their commands; and they also promised that whatever had been paid from their land to preceding kings of England, they would submissively and duly pay.†

* F. WIGORN. a. 1064. vol. i. p. 222. "And his head was brought to Earl Harold, who sent it to the King with his ship's head, and the rigging therewith." *Sax. Chron.* 1063.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1064. vol. i. p. 222. "King Edward committed the land to his two brothers, Bethgente and Rigwatlan, who swore oaths and gave hostages to the King and to the earl, that they would be faithful to him in all things, ready to aid him everywhere by water and land, and would pay him such tribute from the land as was paid long before to other kings." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1063. INGRAM. p. 252. See *INGULPH.* p. 68. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 504.

The following is the Welsh historian's account of these transactions:—

"Upon his (Harold's) return to England, by the persuasions of Caradoc, the son of Gruffydh ap Rytherch, himself with his brother Tosty raised a great army and entered into South Wales, which they destroyed after that manner, that the Welsh were glad to deliver up hostages for the payment of the ancient tribute, which afore-time they were used to pay. Gruffydh hearing of the insolencies of the English in South Wales, made all possible haste and preparation to oppose them, but all to no purpose; Harold having already treacherously hired some of Gruffydh's nearest friends to murder him; who, watching their opportunity, executed their wicked design, and brought his head to Harold. Gruffydh being dead, Harold, by King Edward's orders, appointed Meredith, son of Owen ap Edwyn, Prince of South Wales, and the government of North Wales to Blethyn and Rywalhon, the sons of Consyn, brothers by the mother's side to Prince Gruffydh, and who probably, for the desire of rule, were accessory to the murder of that noble prince." CARADOC. p. 95.

In the year 1065, the reverend father Agelwyn, Bishop of Durham, raised from the tomb in which they had long lain, in a monastery near to the mouth of the river Tyne, the bones of St. Oswin, the former King of Bernicia. These relics had up to the time of their translation lain in the earth four hundred and twenty-five years, and were this year enshrined with great honour.*

In the month of July in the same year, 1065, Harold, the valiant earl of the West Saxons, commenced the construction of a magnificent edifice in the land of the Welsh, at a place called Portskeweth; and he ordered to be brought there an immense mass of provisions, both food and liquors, with the intention that his lord and king, Edward, might there enjoy the pleasures of the chase for some time.† Such was the purpose of Harold; but Caradoc (the son of the King Griffin of South Wales, that had been slain, and his kingdom invaded a few years before by Griffin, King of North Wales), collecting as many associates as he possibly could, came to Portskeweth, on the festivity of St. Bartholomew the Apostle (24th of August), and there killed nearly all the workmen and overseers that were employed upon Harold's edifice, and then carried away with them everything of value that had been brought together in the same place.‡

* F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 222. R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 504, 505, 506. See vol. i. pp. 316—320 of this work.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1065.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. pp. 222, 223. "But when he

In the same year, 1065, upon a Monday, the feast of St. Michael the Archangel (3rd of October), the Northumbrian thanes, Gamelbearn, Dunstan, the son of Athelneath, Glonieorn, the son of Heardulf, with two hundred soldiers, came to York.* There they, in revenge of the execrable murder in the royal palace, on the preceding 28th day of December, of the noble Northumbrian thane, Gospatrick, which had been effected through treachery, and by the order of Queen Edgitha, at the instigation of her brother Tosty; in revenge also of the murders of

had begun and collected many materials, and thought to have King Edward there for the purpose of hunting, even when it was all ready, came Caradoc, son of Griffin, with all the gang that he could get, and slew almost all that were building there; and seized the materials that were there got ready. Wist we not who first advised the wicked deed. This was done on the mass-day of St. Bartholomew." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1065. INGRAM. p. 252. The cause of this outrage committed by Caradoc is thus explained:—

"Caradoc-ap-Gruffydh-ap-Rytherch, who being the chief promoter of Harold's making an expedition against Gruffydh-ap-Lhwelyn, made no question to attain to the government of South Wales, in case Gruffydh got the worse. But it happened otherwise; Harold being sensible of Caradoc's subtlety and knavery, and doubting whether if he were made Prince of South Wales, he could obtain a certain lordship nigh Hereford, which he had a longing mind to, made a composition with Meredith-ap Owen for the said lordship, and created him Prince of South Wales, and on the contrary, banished Caradoc out of the country." CARADOC. p. 96, see also p. 97. Bromton (p. 948) attributes the destruction of the provisions collected by Harold to his brother Tosty, and describes it as having been accompanied with circumstances of extraordinary atrocity. This he states to have happened in consequence of a quarrel between Harold and Tosty in presence of the King, and which quarrel Ailred mentions as having happened when both Harold and Tosty were boys, and their father living.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 223.

Gamel the son of Orm, and of Ulf the son of Dolfín, both of whom had also, in the previous year, treacherously and under the pretence of making peace with them, been enticed into Tosty's chamber at York, and there slain by his orders; in revenge also for the enormous tribute unjustly extorted from the entire of Northumbria, these confederated thanes did, on the day above-mentioned, put to death outside the walls of the city of York, the Danish huscarlas, Amund and Reavensvart, who had been arrested in their flight and brought back to York; and on the day following, they slew more than two hundred of Tosty's hired and armed followers,* on the northern bank of the river Humber. The same day, they also broke into Tosty's treasury, and took away everything that had been stored in it.†

The Northumbrians then sent for Morcar, the son of

* "Viros ex curialibus illius." F. WIGORN. "And ofslogon his hired-menn ealle the hig mihten to cumen."

† F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 223. The paragraph here translated from Florence of Worcester appears to have been copied from an official statement detailing those transactions—the account probably given by the Northumbrians themselves justifying these proceedings, and not improbably translated from the Anglo-Saxon into Latin by our author. There is a seeming air of authenticity about it which entitles it to attention. The Saxon Chronicle is much more brief, but is interesting, as shewing that the Danes were instruments of Tosty in his oppressions of the people.

"Soon after this, *all* the thanes in Yorkshire and Northumberland gathered themselves together at York, and outlawed their earl, Tosty; slaying all the men of his clan that they could reach, both *Danish* and English; and took all his weapons in York, with gold and silver, and all his money that they could anywhere there find." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1065. INGRAM. pp. 252, 253. At the time this attack was made on York, another copy of the Saxon Chronicle states, that Tosty "was at Brentford with the King." See Ingram. p. 253, note *a*.

Earl Algar, and elected him as their lord.* Algar upon being chosen, marched towards the south with all the men of his shire, and with him advanced the men of Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, until they at last arrived at Northampton, where Morcar was joined by his brother Edwin, and all the men of his earldom. Amongst the adherents and supporters of Morcar on this occasion were many of the Welsh.†

At Northampton nearly all the great men of Northumbria were assembled together, and there they held a conference with Harold, the Earl of the West Saxons, and others, whom the King, at the request of Tosty, had sent to them for the purpose, if it were possible, of making peace between the two parties.‡ Another conference, and for a similar object, was afterwards held at Oxford, on the festival day of the Apostles Saints Simon and Jude (28th of October); and when Harold and many others sought to reconcile them with Tosty,§ the Northumbrians, though they were not inferior in numbers to the King's friends, were still anxious to maintain peace and tranquillity in their province, and they therefore tendered excuses for what had occurred; but still declared that they were free-born men, had been nurtured with the thoughts and aspirations of free men, that they would consequently never submit to the ferocious cruelty of any commander, and were prepared to practise that lesson which had been taught them by their ancestors—either to enjoy liberty or

* *Sax. Chron.*

† *Sax. Chron.* a. 1065.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 223.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 223.

to encounter death.* In fine, they declared that if the King wished to have them as loyal subjects, he should place as an earl over them Morcar, the son of Algar, and experience of their conduct would soon demonstrate that they knew well how to obey with meekness those who treated them with gentleness.

Harold, upon hearing such sentiments as these expressed by the Northumbrians, and being far more anxious to see the country quiet, than to promote the interests of his brother, recalled his army, and then proceeding to the King, induced him to confirm the appointment of Morcar.† This the King granted, and sent back Harold to the Northumbrians at Northampton, and announced to them the same, and confirmed it by hand, and renewed there the laws of King Canute. “ But the
“ northern men did much harm about Northampton whilst
“ Harold went on their errand; for they either slew men,
“ and burned house and corn, or took all the cattle they
“ could come at, which amounted to many thousands.
“ Many hundred men they also took, and led northward

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200. vol. i. p. 343.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200. vol. i. p. 343.
There is another version given of this repudiation of Tosty by the Northumbrians.

“ And all with one accord deprived him of his earldom and outlawed him, and all those who were his confederates in lawless acts;—

“ And because he the rights
Of God violated; and all despoiled
Over whom he had power—
Of life and of land.”

Sax. Chron. INGRAM. p. 253. note a. “ Ac eum cum omnibus qui legem iniquam statuere illum incitaverant, exlegaverunt.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 223.

“ with them ; so that not only that shire, but others near it, were the worse for many winters.”*

A short time after the Festival of All Saints, the Northumbrians, aided by the Earl Edwin, drove Tosty out of the province.†

Tosty, then at enmity with all persons and all parties in England, departed with his wife and children to Flanders, where he remained until the death of King Edward.‡

Directly after these occurrences, King Edward began to feel that his last fatal sickness was slowly coming upon him.§ It was in this year that King Edward, worn down with years, perceiving that Edgar, the son of the Etheling Edward, recently deceased, was unfitted, alike mentally and bodily, to occupy the kingly throne, and that the Earl Godwin's numerous and malignant offspring were daily acquiring greater strength and power in the land, fixed his thoughts upon his relative, William, Duke of Normandy, and openly sanctioned the duke as his successor to the English crown.|| At that moment Duke

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, pp. 253, 254.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 200. vol. i. p. 343. “ He passed the winter at St. Omers.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 224. “ Then Earl Tosty and his wife, and all they who acted with him, went south over the sea with him to Earl Baldwin, who received them all ; and they were there all the winter.” *Sax. Chron.* See H. HUNT. p. 367. ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 508, 509. S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 11, 12, 13. pp. 35, 36, 37.

§ F. WIGORN. a. 1065.

|| INGULPH. p. 68. “ Eum sibi succedere in Regnum Angliæ voce stabili sancivit.”

William was the victor in every battle in which he had been present; had triumphed even over the King of France—was invincible as a warrior; a most just judge in all causes submitted to him; and in all that pertained to the promotion of God's service distinguished himself by his devotion and his religious zeal. To this William, then, Edward had sent as his ambassador, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom was confided by the King the secret message,*—that he (William) was not less from regard to the relationship that existed between them, than respect for his own personal merits, appointed by Edward as his successor in his kingdom.† Moreover, Harold, the head of the King's household, coming into Normandy, not only made oath that he would, upon the death of the King, preserve the throne and kingdom for Duke William, but he even promised, and to this he plighted his troth, that he would marry a daughter of Duke William's; and upon making such oath, and entering into such an engagement, he returned back to England, enriched by great and magnificent presents.‡

The holy King Edward, oppressed with age, was now busily engaged in preparing to receive the reward for his warfare in this world; and as day followed day, so increased his love for God, his affection for the Mother of God, his devotion towards the saints of God, and his veneration for

* "Sui Archipræsulis relatu insinuavit." *INGULPH.*

† "Illumque designatum sui regni successorem tam debito cognitionis, quam merito virtutis." *INGULPH.*

‡ *INGULPH.* p. 68. "Adelizam filiam suam cum medietate Anglici regni se daturum spopondit." *W. GEMITICENS.* lib. vi. c. 31. p. 664 (Camden); see note as to the duke's daughter in this volume, and *LAPPENBERG'S Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 269.

the most blessed Peter, his special patron, and with him of that dear disciple (St. John, the Evangelist), whom Jesus loved, and upon whose wondrous and singular grace of chastity Edward felt intense delight in meditating.*

Upon one occasion, a church, devoted to the service of God, was consecrated in the name of the Apostle. At this dedication the King was present, and joyfully assisted at the divine office in honour of the Evangelist; and when he followed the procession, and was surrounded by a large body of military, there suddenly appeared before him a person in the garb of a pilgrim, who called out aloud to the King, and begged his Majesty, for the love of St. John, to bestow upon him some alms. The King immediately put his hand in his purse,—but in so doing he found he had already exhausted it of its contents, in works of charity. The pilgrim still asked for relief, and renewed his prayers for assistance. The King called out for his treasurer; but so great was the crowd, that officer could not be discovered. The saint was greatly afflicted, and for a time knew not what to do, until he recollected the ring that he wore on his finger, and this he, on the instant, took off, and presented to the pilgrim, who, expressing his thanks for a donation so costly, either retired from the crowd, or disappeared.

It afterwards happened that two men, who had gone on a pilgrimage to adore God at the sepulchre of the Saviour in Jerusalem, had, upon a certain day, strayed from the public high-road, on which they had previously been

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Confes.* p. 397. This writer's dissertation upon the merits of St. John the Evangelist are omitted in the translation.

travelling. - At that moment, the sun was setting, the day fast drawing to a close, and the sky louring with the darkness of the fast-coming night ; the travellers knew not what to do, nor which side to turn. Whilst they thus stopped on their way, and were conferring together upon the misfortune that had befallen them, they saw passing before them a crowd of youths, all wearing white albs, and preceded by two boys bearing wax tapers, the brilliant lights of which cast a wide illumination around, and made a dazzling circle appear even in the profound obscurity of the night which had now set in upon them. This procession of youths was followed by an old man, who walked between two men. This old man inspired veneration in the beholders ; his hair was white as the drifted snow ; there was a marvellous placidity in his look, an innate grace in his movements, and such sweetness and gentleness in his face, as to make the beholder feel that his indeed was an angelic beauty. This old man stopped as he looked upon the youthful travellers, and thus addressed them :—

“ Strangers ! who are you ? and whence come you ?
“ What is the name of your country, and your King—
“ your law of life ? And what is the cause of your pilgrimage ? ”

To these questions they answered :—“ Our native land
“ is England ; Edward is our King ; we are subject to
“ the laws of Christ, and we have come here with the
“ determination of visiting the most sacred places of our
“ Lord’s Passion and Resurrection ; but to-day we have
“ by chance strayed away from our companions, and now,
“ to tell the truth to your reverence, we know not where
“ we are ; who will receive us as guests ; or from what

“ quarter we may hope to find humanity and charity exhibited towards us.”

The old man looked at those who still kept gazing at him. There was joy in his eyes and happiness in his aspect. “ Follow me,” he said, “ and the Lord, the Giver of all things, will provide you with whatever may be necessary.”

They thanked him, and then, in company with the old man, they entered into a most noble city. There a table was laid for them : they were hospitably entertained, and so betook themselves to rest.

The following morning the old man accompanied them out of the city, and when they were beyond its walls, he thus addressed them :—

“ Men and brethren, doubt not that you will happily revisit your country ; for God will, for our sake, bestow upon you a prosperous voyage, and I will, for the love of your King, all the entire journey, have my eyes fixed upon you. I am John, the Apostle and the Evangelist, the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who, because of his chastity, with an extreme affection now love your King. Salute him for me ; and lest faith should be wanting to the oracle, deliver to him this ring, which he gave to me, when I appeared before him as a pilgrim, upon the day of the dedication of my church ; and in so delivering this ring to him, also announce to him that the day of his death is fast approaching, for within six months I will visit him, that he, with me, may follow the Lamb : that which none can hope to do whose perfect purity of flesh does not correspond with the spotless innocence of their mind and morals.”

So spake he, and the men found themselves in that

place where they had wished to be. They returned then with all speed to their country; they presented the ring to the King; they disclosed the oracle; and they told the King, in secret, of his approaching death. The moment the name of St. John was mentioned, the King burst into tears; and then having diligently inquired into all things they had seen and heard, he, with many thanks, sent them to their own homes.*

In no one respect did King Edward degenerate from the virtues of his ancestors, as the miracles performed, and the spirit of prophecy possessed by him will fully

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 397, 398. *Vit. c.* 9. § 31. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 300.

"St. Edward, in his last illness, gave a ring, which he wore, to the Abbot of Westminster, as William Caxton, in the reign of Henry VI., relates in his MS. Chronicle of England. It is said, in the life of the saint, to have been brought to the King by a pilgrim, as an assurance of his death being at hand, given in a vision by St. John the Evangelist, though this circumstance was unknown to Sulcard. This ring of St. Edward's was kept some time in Westminster Abbey, as a relic of the saint, and applied for curing the falling sickness. In imitation of this, the succeeding Kings were accustomed to bless rings on Good Friday against the cramp and the falling sickness, till the change of religion. See Polydore Vergil, *Hist.* i. 8. Harpsfield, *Sæc.* 11. c. 3. The late king-at-arms, the learned and ingenious Mr. Anstis (*Rules of the Gart.* t. 2. p. 223), proves the custom of our Kings blessing these rings on Good Friday, from John of Ipres, in the reign of Edward III., and from several MS. accounts of the comptrollers of the king's household. In the chapel of Havering (so called from having this ring), in the parish of Horn-church, near Rumford, in Essex (once a hunting-seat of the king's), was kept till the dissolution of abbeyes, the ring given by the pilgrim to St. Edward, which Mr. Weaver says he saw represented in a window of Rumford church." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 654. See *Britannia Sancta*, vol. i. p. 8.

demonstrate.* He was sparing in the exactions of tributes from the people; and all who were extortioners in their enforcement were execrated by him. In eating and in drinking he was temperate, in royal banquets abstinent, and on the solemn festival occasions, when he was obliged to appear in all the state and grandeur of a sovereign, although his person was decorated with robes covered with gold, and which the Queen's own hand had embroidered with gorgeous magnificence, still so beseemly were they borne by him, that whilst he appeared to be all that was required to exhibit what was the greatness and the glory of a King, yet there was not the slightest movement to manifest that there was pride in his heart, or haughtiness in his disposition; and those who gazed upon him could perceive that his thoughts were occupied not with any thing that pertained to worldly vanity, but with humble and devout thanks for God's goodness and beneficence to him.†

Of all the pleasures in this world of which men take

* "—a virtutibus majorum rex Edwardus * * minime degeneraverit. Denique miraculis et prophetiæ spiritu, sicut deinceps dicam, claruit." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 220. vol. i. p. 373.

† W. MALMSB. The description here given of the meek and sanctified Edward sitting in his robes of state, and thinking of heaven, whilst surrounded with all the glories and magnificence of this world, reminds one of the pious German Emperor (Henry II.) his contemporary, who, lest any feeling of vanity should disturb his mind, whilst clothed as an Emperor, always used the discipline before his shoulders were covered with his imperial robes:—"Considerans Henricus Imperator nominis majestatem longe suis præcellere meritis, nunquam insignia regalia sibi præsumpsit imponere, nisi clam per confessionis, ac penitentiae, verberum insuper satisfactionem licentiam a quolibet sacerdotum suppliciter mereretur." BARONIUS. a. 1056. § 7. vol. xvii. p. 120.

delight, there was but one in which he participated with satisfaction ; it was the chase,—for it was a joy to him to hear the barking of the hunting-dogs, as they speeded quickly through the glades of a forest ; and he loved to look upon the flight of those birds whose instinct it is to pounce upon others as their prey. Such was the healthful exercise to which he every day resorted : having first attended in the morning to the holy offices of his religion. In everything else that he did, he was totally and absolutely submissive to whatever might be the will of God ; and in the midst of all the affairs of his kingdom, he lived the life of an angel. To the poor and to strangers, and especially to foreigners—but, beyond all others, to those devoted to a religious life—he was benignant, inviting them to seek for assistance from him,—munificent in bestowing it, and whenever he found them conspicuous by their great piety, ever encouraging and exhorting the monks of his own country to imitate their example.

St. Edward was of moderate height, perfectly well made, fair skinned, of florid complexion, and his hair and eye-brows as dazzlingly white as the snow-fair feathers of the swan.*

We now proceed to mention some of his miracles.†

There was a young female, who had been married to a person of a condition in life similar to her own. This female was unblessed with a family, and she became afflicted with a hideous disease ; the glands of her neck becoming swelled, with a superfluity of pestilent humours.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 220. vol. i. pp. 373, 374.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 222. vol. i. p. 375.
“ Porro ut jam de miraculis dicam.”

She had been warned in a dream to seek the water in which King Edward washed his hands, and for this purpose entered the palace. The King himself, who was ever ready to perform a work of charity, dipping his fingers in water, rubbed the neck of the woman: and health seemed to grow up on the instant beneath his healing hand; the morbid skin burst open, rancid gore and creeping worms rushed forth, and the foul tumour at once subsided. As, however, the woman was still deformed by a foul, ulcerated, and hideous gash in her neck, Edward ordered that she should be supported out of the royal treasury until a perfect cure was established. Seven days did not pass away until not merely the wound was closed, but so covered over by a beautiful skin, that it was impossible to perceive any trace of the disease with which she had been afflicted. A year afterwards, the same woman had twin children; and thus miracle was added to miracle, and a double proof so afforded of the sanctity of King Edward.*

Some of those who were best and most intimately acquainted with the private life of St. Edward, declared that he very frequently cured the same description of disease when he was in Normandy; and hence they, in our days, may be regarded as affirming that which is false, who declare that the cure of the same disease is attributable not to the sanctity of the individual by whom it was accomplished, but as a gift that is inherited by the individual as a member of the royal family.†

* W. MALMSB. See *ATLRED. Vit. Edward. Con.* p. 390. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. Vit. c. 7. § 16. p. 298.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. 11. § 222. vol. i. p. 375.

Upon one occasion, when the King was in his palace

The disease here referred to is "the king's evil." The following observations respecting it cannot be read but with interest :—

"Hence was derived the custom of our kings touching for the cure of that species of scrofulous tumour called the king's evil. Peter of Blois, in 1180, wrote, in a letter from the court of Henry II., that the King had touched persons in this manner (Petr. Bles. Ep. 150, ad Clericos Aulae Regiæ, p. 235). In the Records of the Tower, it appears that in 1272, Edward I. gave gold medals to those whom he had touched for this distemper,—as Mr. Becket acknowledges. Queen Elizabeth laid aside the sign of the cross in the ceremony, in which she was imitated by the three succeeding kings, though they all continued the practice; and Charles I. in 1650, by a pompous proclamation, invited all who stood in need of it, to repair to him, that they might be made partakers of the heavenly gift." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 653 (St. Edward).

"St. Edward," says Dr. Heylin (Help to English History, p. 38), "was the first that cured the disease called the king's evil, leaving the same hereditary to his successors. * *. This practice was continued by the Kings of England, even after the change of religion, down to the Revolution in 1688;—only with this difference, that Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and the two Charles's, omitted the sign of the cross, with the prayer used on that occasion, which was resumed by King James II." *Britannia Sancta*. vol. i. p. 6.

Polydore Vergil thus expresses himself as to these cures;—"Quod quidem immortale munus jure quasi hæreditario ad posteriores reges manavit. Nam Reges Angliæ etiam nunc tactu, ac quibusdam hymnis, non sine ceremoniis prius recitatis, strumosos sanant." *Ang. Hist.* lib. viii. p. 143. Pagi's remarks upon this passage are very curious :—"Sed illæ ceremoniæ nonnisi ad majorem decentiam adhibiti; solo enim tactu tam a Regibus Anglorum, quam a Regibus Francorum ut infra videbimus, ac a septimis masculis nullo interjecto partu femineo natis curantur, quod de his ultimis centies et amplius propriis oculis vidi." a. 1066. § 3. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. pp. 287, 288. To such a passage as this, the note of the Rev. Alban Butler is peculiarly applicable :—

"That the Kings of France cure the strumæ, or king's evil, by their touch with the sign of the cross, is confidently affirmed by the bold critic, Dr. Thiers (*Tr. des Superstitions*, l. 6. c. 4. p. 106), though he calls the like notion of the seventh son a

near to the church of St. Peter, there came to the place a certain miserable man, an Irishman by birth.* This man was deprived of the use of his legs, for the muscles were so contracted, that his legs were drawn back, and at last the soles of his feet adhered to his thighs, and from the loins downwards he was twisted into a mass of deformity, so

vulgar error (ib. p. 107), which is confirmed by the author of the remarks (ib.) in the Dutch edition. Guibert of Nogent, in 1100 (l. l. de Pignor. Sanct. c. l. p. 331), tells us, that King Louis the Big cured the strumæ by his touch with the sign of the cross, which it seems he had often seen him do. He adds, that this king's father, Philip, lost that privilege by his crimes; and that he knows that the King of England attempted nothing of the kind. But herein a foreigner may have been mistaken. William of Nangis says that St. Lewis first used the sign of the cross in touching such diseased persons. But it appears from Guibert, that he only restored the use of it. Pope Boniface VIII., in his bull for the canonization of St. Lewis, says: 'Among other miracles, he conferred the benefit of health upon those who were afflicted with the king's evil.' Philip of Valois cured fourteen hundred of these patients. Francis I. touched for this distemper at Bologna, in the presence of the Pope, in 1515, and whilst he was prisoner in Spain. No one pretends that all that are touched are cured; for several are touched more than once, as F. Le Brun remarks, who maintains this privilege to be miraculous. (Hist. Critique des Superstitions, l. 4.) Patritius Armachanus (that is, Jansenius of Ipres), in his furious invective against the French, entitled *Mars Gallicus*, acknowledges this privilege in their kings. In England, the learned Bradwardin confidently ascribes this privilege to Edward III. (De Causa Dei, fol. 39.) Since the revolution, only Queen Anne has touched for this distemper. Bromton, in 1198, is said to be the first author who openly derives this gift from St. Edward the Confessor." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 653. See BOUQUET, note on W. Malmsbury, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc.* vol. xi. p. 175. BRAND'S *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii. pp. 302, 303—(Ellis's edition).

* Vit. S. Edward. c. 7. § 24. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 298. This Irishman's name was *Gillelmichel*. "Secundum proprietatem linguæ illius vocabulo Gillelmichel." AILRED. p. 383. See HARPSFIELD. xi. Sæc. c. 3. p. 219.

that with his hands on the earth, and then grappling two pieces of wood, he dragged his weary body along—a heavy burden to himself!*

This man, whilst he lay before the palace, seeing the King's Chamberlain, said to him: "Hugolin, why dost thou not look upon me? why not take pity on me? and why cannot the sight of so much misery move thee to compassion?"

"What wouldst thou wish me to do for thee?" asked Hugolin.

"Six times," replied the poor man, "I have, even as thou seeest me, visited the seat of the Apostles, but have not been worthy to have had soundness of body bestowed upon me. The Prince of the Apostles has not, however, absolutely refused my prayer, he has but deferred its accomplishment, because he desires to have Edward, known to him for his devotion in all things, as an associate in working this miracle. I have received from the Apostle himself the command to come to the King, in order that he, taking me up upon his sacred back, may carry me from his palace to the church beside it, which thing, if he shall do, health and strength will be given to my crippled limbs."

No sooner was this intelligence conveyed to the King, than he gave thanks to God, speedily approached the poor man, stooped lowly down, and had the cripple placed upon his shoulders. And then there was seen pendent from the person of this mighty Sovereign and illustrious King, a wretched, sordid beggar, whose squalid arms and loathsome hands embraced the royal neck, and were clasped

* "Trahebat se post se." Vit. c. 7. § 24.

together on that truly royal breast! Some of those who were present at this scene laughed outright at what they saw; others gibed at it, and declared that the King had been cajoled by a pauper, whilst others esteemed it but as the utter simplicity and the extreme folly of virtue.

The King had advanced but a few steps with his burden, when suddenly the muscles of the cripple relaxed, the bones knitted together, the mortified flesh was warmed with health, the feet that had till then adhered to the thighs lost their hold, the joints of the knees moved freely, and the man was able to stretch forth his legs, and as he did so, the King's robes became adorned, rather than defiled, by the wretch's dripping blood.

As soon as the by-standers perceived what had occurred, they all with one voice cried out, that enough had been done—that the King should at once lay down the poor ailing creature, and thus free himself from the loathsome burden he was bearing. The King, however, was mindful alone of the command which the poor man had brought to him; he treated those expostulations as if they were but the songs of sirens; he entered the church, and he bore the beggar as if the man were a holy holocaust, and laid him down before the altar, there resigning him to the care of God and St. Peter, and from thence he sent him forth perfectly restored to health.

This poor man afterwards received from the King the means of defraying the expenses of his journey, and he then went on a pilgrimage to Rome, to return thanks to God and St. Peter.*

* Vit. S. Edward. Con. c. 7. § 24. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 298. See AILRED. pp. 383, 384. The place where this

A certain man who had become blind, learned by a divine revelation that he would be able, through the merits of this holy king, to recover his lost sight, if he washed his face in the water that the King had used for the ablution of his hands.* When the man stated this to the chamberlain, and the latter repeated it to the King, the pious monarch was filled with amazement, and then greatly indignant at such an intimation being made to him. He replied, that the man must be deluded with foolish fancies, for no such grace was conferred upon a sinner like

miracle occurred—of a King bearing a beggar upon his shoulders—must have been about that part of the street which now lies between the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey. How few of the thousands that frequent that street, are aware that it is sanctified by being the scene of such an incident in the life of the last of the true Anglo Saxon Kings of England !

Hoveden mentions an incident somewhat similar to this in his account of the reign of St. Edward. It is thus told by him :—

“ Upon a certain solemn festival day, when Edward was in London, and was wearing his crown as a King, and was clad in his regal robes of state, and was proceeding from his palace to the monastery, being at the time surrounded with a crowd of his nobles, archbishops, bishops, clergy and people, there sat on the road by which the King was about to pass, a poor leper, full of ulcers, who was rebuked by those who preceded the King, and desired by them not only to be silent, but also to get out of the King's way. The King hearing what they said, desired them to let the man remain where he was ; and then, upon the King approaching the leper, the latter said to him :—‘ I conjure thee in the name of the living God to carry me on thy shoulders into the church.’ The King bowed down his head, and desired the man to be placed upon his neck. It was so done, and as the King was so walking, he prayed of the Lord that health might be given to the leper. The King's prayer was heard ; the leper was from that hour cured, and he went on his way praising and blessing God.” R. HOVEDEN. p. 447.

* Vit. S. Edward. c. 7. § 27. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 298.

himself; that it was for the Apostles to possess such a virtue as the man attributed to him, and he warned him to place no faith in his dreams. The King, having so expressed himself, washed his hands and proceeded to the church. The chamberlain, however, delivered to the blind man, in a basin, the water in which the King had laved his hands. The blind man bathed his eyes and his face with the water, and instantly his sight was restored to him.*

In the same manner, King Edward cured a blind man of Lincoln, who lived many years after his being cured, a proof and a witness of the miraculous powers possessed by this Sovereign.† But as an exemplification of how perfect was the virtue of Edward as a man, and that the world may know what power accompanies such virtues as his, we shall now narrate an incident that may well excite astonishment.

There was a man named Wulfwin, surnamed Spillecorn, the son of Walmar of Nutegareshale, who was engaged one day chopping wood in the forest of Bruelle, and when after his long labour he indulged in sleep, the blood, it is supposed, coagulated around his eyes, and he was thus deprived of sight for seventeen years.‡ At the end of that

* Vit. S. Edward. c. 7. § 27. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 298. See AILRED. p. 390, 391. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 223. vol. i. p. 377, 378.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 223. vol. i. p. 376.

‡ The state of the poor man upon awakening from his sleep is well described by St. Ailred:—"Surrexit a somno, apertisque oculis nihil videbat. Contorquet miserum caput hac atque illac, fricat frontem manu, digitis oculos tergit, sed non extergit caliginem. Intellexit tandem se privatum lumine, et mox in clamorem. lacrimasque prorumpens, socios advocat, casum exponit." p. 392.

time he was instructed by a dream, that he should go on a pilgrimage to eighty-seven churches, and beseech the saints in each that he might be cured of his blindness.* At length he arrived at the King's palace, and there his entrance being opposed by the chamberlain, he for a long time and in vain paced up and down before the door; obstinate in his resolution, he persisted in claiming admission to the King's presence. With some difficulty, and not without the King's direct orders, the man was brought before Edward, who upon hearing of his vision, innocently answered him: "I vow to our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary, that I shall be most thankful, if God shall be pleased through the means of so poor a creature as myself to afford any relief to the afflicted." With this, although he would not dare to think that a miracle was about to occur, yet yielding to the urgent request of his servants, he placed his hand, which he had first dipped in water, upon the blind man, and on the instant copious drops of blood poured from his eyes, and the man cured, in his joy shouted out, "I see thee, King! I see thee, King!" And so seeing, he had for a long time the care of the King's palace at Windsor, where this cure had been effected—the man outliving by many years the Saint and

* W. MALMSB. According to St. Ailred, the suggestion as to visiting eighty-seven churches, was not conveyed to Wulfwin Spillcorn in a dream, but by the lips of a pious matron, and it was expressed in these words: "*Oportet te, mi amice, ecclesias numero octoginta nudis pedibus et absque lineis circumire, Sanctorum cum summa humilitate postulare suffragia, et sic fide non ficta, spe certa, hylari spiritu ad palacium properare recepturum ex regiis manibus pristinum sanitatem.*" p. 392.

Monarch, through whose sanctity sight had been restored to him.*

Upon the same day, and with the same water with which Wulfwin Spillecorn had been cured, three men who were completely blind in both eyes, and a man who was blind of one eye, and who all four were fed with the alms bestowed upon them by the King, were cured, the water being supplied to them by the servants, who had full faith in its healing effect.†

In regarding the character of St. Edward, our admiration cannot but be excited by the reflection, that at that very period or moment of time at which he appeared to be most gorgeous with all the pride, pomp, and attributes or royalty around him, and when to the eye of the spectator he seemed to be the participator in feasts in which magnificence, richness, and luxury superabounded, yet that was the very moment in which he merited the grace of having spiritual gifts showered down upon him, and amongst them even that great gift—a revelation from heaven.‡ And the fact was so; for man can but look upon the face of man, whilst God sees into the hearts of all mortals. Edward wore a sword, but it belonged to his office: his head glittered with the diamond-gemmed crown, but he complied with custom and with duty when he put it on: wherever he walked a dazzling band of

* W. MALMSB. It is stated by Ailred that the man was appointed care-taker of the palace at Westminster, and that he was living in the reign of King William, p. 393.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 223, 224. vol. i. pp. 376, 377. AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 392, 393. *Vit. c.* 7. § 27. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 298.

‡ AILRED. *Vit. Edward Con.* p. 395.

knights attended upon him, but it was necessary for one in his position to be so accompanied; and when he sat exalted above all others at a royal banquet, he did so, because he could not avoid complying with an old-established custom. Thus lived Edward; and so living, it chanced upon an Easter Sunday—that great Sunday in commemoration of the Resurrection of Our Lord—that he sat invested with all the magnificence that belongs to an imperial king, the sceptre in his right hand, and on his head the crown, and that having first refreshed himself with the flesh of the Heavenly Lamb,* he was in the midst of a grand banquet, but far more desirous to partake of spiritual than of temporal food.† We may suppose that at such a moment, a timorous apprehension seized upon the heart of the King, lest the profuse luxury of the feast, the costliness of the dishes, and the splendour of the banquetting hall should divert his mind even for a moment from his religious meditations, and therefore did he place a more careful guard upon his senses, and placing God alone before his eyes, as the sole object worthy of contemplation, he regarded this earth, and all that belongs to it, but as filthy and despicable ordure. So seemed his thoughts to be engaged, when on a sudden it was observed, that his face brightened up, that joy was pourtrayed in every feature,

* “Jam cœlestis agni carnibus saginatus.” AILRED.

† AILRED. Malmsbury describes the guests of Edward as conducting themselves in a far different manner from their host—as endeavouring to compensate for the long and severe fast of Lent by the rich viands laid before them on Easter Sunday. “Cumque alii, longam Quadragesimæ inediā recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 225. vol. i. p. 377.

that his lips relaxed into a smile, that he was then heard to laugh, and that then his countenance again assumed a sad and serious aspect. Those who were lookers-on upon the banquet, as well as those who were seated as guests, were conscious that the King had been visited by some divine revelation, and that some wondrous secret had been made known to him, but still no one presumed to put a question to him on the subject.

The royal banquet was at an end, the tables were removed, and the truly blessed King retired to his chamber, for the purpose of laying aside the royal ornaments with which he had been decorated. Thither he was followed by Earl Harold, by one of the bishops and one of the abbots, who desired to speak with him on the incident that had occurred during the progress of the banquet. To their interrogatories the King made this answer:—

“ Blessed is he who places his hope in the name of the
“ Lord, and who despises the vanities and false pleasures
“ of this world ; for in proportion as he withdraws him-
“ self from that which is false, the closer is he drawn to-
“ wards that which is true. Know then that which has
“ happened : When the full goblets were passing around,
“ when luscious dishes were partaken of, and when the eyes
“ of all were dazzled with the splendour of the precious
“ metals that were to be seen on every side, I pondered
“ but on one thought alone—I remembered my Lord and
“ my God, and I offered up to Him my whole heart and
“ soul ; and whilst I did so, my mental vision was irradiated
“ with a special light, which penetrated with a marvellous
“ celerity to the city of the Ephesians, and that passed
“ even to Mount Celion, and there I contemplated the

"Seven Sleepers* as they rested in their cave, whilst there

* The most brief and authentic account of the "Seven Sleepers" will be found in the following statement of the Rev. Alban Butler:—

SS. Maximian, Malchus, Martinian, Dionysius, John, Serapion, and Constantine, martyrs, commonly called the Seven Sleepers.

"Having confessed the faith before the proconsul at Ephesus, under Decius, in 250, they were walled up together in a cave in which they had hid themselves, and there slept in the Lord. Some moderns, mistaking this expression, have imagined that they only lay asleep till they were found in 479, under Theodosius the younger. The truth seems to be, that their relics were then discovered. They are much honoured by the Greeks, Syrians, and all the oriental nations. Their relics were conveyed to Marseilles in a large stone coffin, which is still shewn there in St. Victor's church. In the Musæum Victorium, at Rome, is a factitious plaster or stone (made of sulphur melted with fire and mortar), formed in imitation of a large precious stone, in which is cut a group of figures representing the Seven Sleepers, with their names; and near Constantine and John are exhibited two clubs; near Maximian a knotty club; near Malchus and Martinian two axes; near Serapion a burning torch, and near Danesius (whom others call Dionysius) a great nail. That large nails (clavi trabales, or such as were used in joining great rafters or beams in buildings) were made use of as instruments of torture, is evident from St. Paulinus and Horace. From this ancient monument some infer that these martyrs were put to death by various torments, and that their bodies were only buried in the aforesaid cave. In this group of figures, these martyrs are represented all as very young, and without beards. In ancient martyrologies and other writings, they are frequently called boys. The cave in which their bodies were found became a place famous for devout pilgrimages, and is still shown to travellers, as James Spon testifies. See *Dissertatio de Sanctis Septem Dormientibus, Romæ, 1741, in 4to., in which the above said group of figures is explained, c. 5, &c.*" BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. vii. p. 142. See also GREGOR. TURON. *De Gloria Martyrum*, lib. i. c. 95. SURIUS, vol. iv. pp. 363—370. *Act. Sanct. (Julii)*, vol. vi. pp. 375—397.

By Baronius the statement as to the Seven Sleepers is treated as much a fable as the story of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins; as the magical practices ascribed to Pope Sylvester II.; as completely destitute of truth as Turpin's History of

“ was manifested to me what was the peculiarity of their
 “ features, the size of their bodies, and even the quality of
 “ their garments. And whilst I looked upon these things,
 “ my interior joy of heart was signified by a smile, and
 “ made known by a laugh ; but then, even whilst I gazed
 “ upon them, I perceived that they who had rested for so
 “ many years upon their right, did by the Divine power
 “ turn upon their left side, and this change of theirs is an
 “ omen, a dire omen, significant of many evils to mortal
 “ men now upon this earth. For then will happen that
 “ which is written in the Gospel, ‘ Nation shall rise against
 “ ‘ nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall
 “ ‘ be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilences
 “ ‘ and famines.’ During the seventy years,*—for such is
 “ the length of time during which they shall lie on their
 “ left side—God will visit upon His people their iniquities,
 “ delivering them over to the hands of Gentiles, and sub-

Charlemagne and Orlando ; in fact, placed in the same category with the forgery respecting Pope Joan, for which, see vol. ii. p. 62 of this work ; and MILKY'S *History of the Papal States*, vol. i. p. 475 ; vol. ii. p. 96. It is thus Baronius combines all these statements together :—

“ Nonne hactenus fabula ista, ut historia lecta est Cyriaco Papa Roma Coloniam comitante S. Ursulam cum virginibus undecem millibus ; cum tamen nec per somnium quidem ejus nominis Pontifex sederit in sede Petri ? De Septem Dormientibus somno tentis annos prope ducentos quid dicam tam a Græcis in Oriente, quam a Latinis in Occidente historiam lectam atque receptam ? De Sylvestro Papa Secundo, quod per magiam Pontificatum adeptus fuerit, atque dilaceratus in obitu a Diabolo ? De obitu Hadriani per muscam illato quid addam ? De fabularum officina Turpini : quot jam ex eis in historiam transierunt, et fidem sibi plenissimam conciliarunt ? Taceo de plurimis aliis, quæ vel a nobis superioribus tomis sunt confutata, vel erunt inferius confutanda.” BARONIUS. *Annal. Eccles.* a. 853. § 61. See a. 812. § 18.

* “Septuaginta annis.” AILRED. “Septuaginta quatuor annis.” W. MALMESB.

“ jecting them to the domination of those who hate them.
“ The enemies to the name of Christ shall rise in insur-
“ rection against Christians, servants shall rebel against
“ their masters, kings shall contrive plots against kings,
“ princes shall lay snares for princes, and in all lands the
“ sword shall avenge the wrongs that have been done to
“ Christ.”

All who heard these words of the King were filled with amazement ; and as it so happened, that none had heard previously of the Seven Sleepers, they being in a land far removed from this, therefore they asked the King both who they were and what had been their history ; and the King then told what were the names of each, what their preceding lives, what the different passion by which they had suffered, and how the designation of “ sleeping ” came to be applied to them.* Upon hearing these things, they took counsel with each other ; and then, in order that posterity might place confidence in the statement of such facts, as well as to test in the plainest manner the truth of the King’s words, they determined upon sending to Constantinople, with a letter from Edward himself to the Emperor, the earl a knight, the bishop a clergyman, and the abbot a monk.

This resolution was carried into effect. The persons so sent arrived in the royal city of Constantinople, and were received with honour by the Emperor, who upon reading the letter they brought with them, was rejoiced in spirit, and felt most grateful that the saintly treasures which Greece contained should be made known by a

* “ *Rex vitam illorum, et nomina, et passionem, et dormitionis modum exposuit.*” *ALFRED.*

divine revelation to the English. The English messengers were sent to Ephesus, and there, in accordance with the Emperor's command, the bishop and clergy preceded the English legates into the cave, with censers burning aromatic spices, and there shewed to them the bodies of the saints, and their garments, and how they were then lying on their left side.* And, lo! a great fear fell upon those who were witnesses to the wondrous occurrences that had taken place with regard to the martyrs of Greece, and of whom and which the holy King of England had, through the divine spirit, been instructed. Discourses were delivered on this occasion, gifts were presented, and the ambassadors returned in safety to their own country—the Greeks rejoicing in what they had heard and seen as it had been told to them; and the messengers of the English King bringing back to the people the incontestible proof of an unprecedented miracle.

The prophecy delivered by the King did not err in the smallest particular, for the moment that he was removed from the earth to heaven, every land was filled with commotion—Syria was subdued by the Pagans, monasteries were destroyed, churches uprooted from their very foundation, all places crowded with funerals, and nations disturbed by the deaths of their rulers—Greeks and Germans, French and English.

And thus is it plain, that the most holy King Edward was

* AILRED. "Factumque est, et vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse jurarent super dextrum illos latus requiescere; sed, post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarent." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 225. vol. i. p. 379.

endowed with a great gift of prophecy ; for at one and the same time there was for him no obscurity in the past, no secret in the present, and nought unconcealed as to the future.*

The oracle delivered to Edward by the pilgrims from Jerusalem, had apprised him, months before it occurred that the day for his demise was fast approaching, that the hour was coming when he should depart for his own country, and, therefore, did he send before him those who were the most fitting messengers to ensure his welcome—his prayers and his tears.† He distributed his treasures with a profuse hand, and thus made for himself friends out of the mammon of iniquity, in order that even it might be subservient to the construction of that tabernacle in which he should rest for ever. It was, however, his especial desire, that the church which he had built in honour of St. Peter should be dedicated before he died, regarding such an act as the fitting and glorious accomplishment of his labours, and desiring that he might, whilst still living, behold fully completed, by the pontifical blessing being bestowed upon it, that monastery which he had erected for the remission of his sins, and as a compensation for his unfulfilled vow.‡

It was now the year 1065,§ and that day was coming—a festival, full of more joy than all the other festivals of the year—the day on which our Saviour clothed in a mortal form issued from the Virginal womb ; and as that fes-

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 395, 396. See *Vit. c. 9. § 30. Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol i. p. 300. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 325. vol. i. pp. 377, 378, 379, 380.

† AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* p. 398.

‡ AILRED. p. 398.

§ See F. WIGORN. a. 1065. vol. i. p. 224.

tival day was one of those on which the entire nobility of England should assemble in the palace of the Sovereign, and he should appear as the supreme monarch over all, wearing his crown, and bearing his sceptre, Edward determined, for the purpose of giving greater solemnity to the consecration, that it should take place with regal pomp and state on the day of the Holy Innocents. (28th Dec.)*

Such was his determination, when upon the very night of Christmas day, he was attacked with fever, and in a moment the joys of all were changed into sorrow, and their festival into mourning. He concealed, however, his illness, and was able, supported by a double consolation, to do so. First, he felt that his own death was imminent, and next, his heart was filled with a holy joy whilst witnessing the sacred solemnities in honour of the sweet nativity of his most sweet Saviour. With these consolations to sustain him he was for three successive days able to overmaster nature, and to triumph over disease—bearing during that time the weight of the regalia, and manifesting his usual alacrity of spirit at the solemn banquet, in which his guests were the bishops and the nobles of the kingdom. Upon the third day, however, feeling that the period of his being called away from this world could be no longer postponed, he commanded that all things should be got in readiness for the consecration of the church on the day following. He himself prepared the gifts, brought out the various ornaments, set apart the various descriptions of sacred vessels, wrote out a description of the estates, with all of

* AILRED, p. 398. See as to Council at Westminster and all the documents connected with its foundation, WILKINS' *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 316—322. SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, vol. i. pp. 627—634, LABBÆUS, vol. ix. pp. 1186—1191.

which it was his intention to endow, to adorn, and to enrich that most holy place of prayer.

The day of the Holy Innocents (1065) shone forth a joyful festival for England, as all the bishops and nobles of the kingdom assembled together, and so commenced the sacred solemnity of the dedication. King Edward, as far as his failing strength permitted him, took part in the holy office,* whilst the Queen Edgitha, arranging all things, procuring everything that was requisite, solicitous upon each particular point, and attentive to all circumstances, discharged at the same time the duties that attached to her and to her husband.

At length all that was requisite to be done in the performance of so high and great a solemnity had been accomplished, and then the King, as if he had said the words "it is consummated," let his head fall back upon the couch on which he had been reposing, and from that moment yielded up his body to the dire mortal agony which he had so long struggled against. And as he did so, grief was in every heart, sorrow upon every countenance, and lamentation uttered forth by every tongue; for in his death many foresaw the desolation of their country, the extermination of its people, the annihilation of the English nobility, the end of liberty, and the shipwreck of honour!

In the King's chamber the nobles of his palace were standing around, and the Queen, prostrated at the foot of the bed, was endeavouring to warm in her bosom his frigid limbs, when he, on a sudden, fell into a deep sleep, the con-

* Bromton states that he was so ill, that he was scarcely able to stand up during the celebration of mass: "*Vix in crastino ad missam stare poterat audiendam.*" p. 954.

sequence either of that utter prostration so often induced by severe sickness, or, as it is perfectly credible, carried away in a deep entrancement of the spirit; for in that state he lay two whole days apparently almost lifeless.

At the end of the two days, King Edward awoke as if from a sound sleep, opened his eyes, sat up in his bed, and then raising his hands towards heaven, he spoke these words:—

“ Oh ! Almighty God, in Whose power all things are
“ placed, Who knowest all things before they have come
“ to pass, Who transferrest kingdoms, and changest em-
“ pires, and repayest the iniquities of fathers in the sufferings
“ of their children—if those things that have now been
“ revealed to me be sent to my knowledge by the light of
“ truth, then give Thou strength to my voice, and a signifi-
“ cant purport to my words, that I may narrate Thy mira-
“ cles, so that those who hear me may learn to fear Thee,
“ and with an humbled spirit and a contrite heart appease
“ Thy wrath, in order that the evil Thou proposest to let
“ fall upon this nation may be averted.”

As King Edward gave utterance to these words, a miraculous circumstance occurred; vigour was restored to his body, strength to his voice, and the tongue that sickness seemed to have enchained was unloosed by the grace of God. All present wondered how he, so oppressed but a few moments previously by heavy sickness, that the sound of his voice could with difficulty be heard, should now speak in clear and distinct tones, and as if he were in full possession of all his physical powers.

Whilst they were thus lost in amazement, St. Edward resumed his discourse, and in these plain and distinct words

he thus narrated the vision with which he had been favoured :—

“ When,” said he, “ I was ‘ a young man, and lived as
“ an exile in Normandy, that which was ever most grate-
“ ful to me was the society of good men ; and whatever
“ persons appeared to me to be the best, the purest, and
“ the most pious within the sacred precincts of monastic
“ life, were ever those who, beyond all others, stood on
“ terms of most friendly and familiar intercourse with me.
“ Amongst those there were two individuals, who, by the
“ holiness of their words, the sanctity of their lives, the
“ gentleness of their manners, and the affability of their
“ address, won for them in an especial manner my admi-
“ ration, and secured for them my affection. These two I
“ constantly visited ; for their eloquent discourses were more
“ sweet to my mind than honey to the palate of mortals.
“ Now, those two very persons, who long since have been
“ removed from earth to heaven, but lately stood before
“ me as I lay buried in sleep, and then, in obedience to
“ God’s command, they told what would befall my people
“ after my death.

“ They said, that the measure of English wickedness
“ is filled up, that the iniquity of the English people is
“ consummated, and that it has provoked the wrath of
“ God, and now calls aloud to heaven for vengeance ;—
“ that prevaricating priests have defiled God’s covenant,
“ that they have with polluted hearts, and with foul hands,
“ dared to touch holy things ; that they have acted not as
“ shepherds, but as hirelings ; that they have forsaken
“ their flocks, and not protected them ; that they have
“ cared for the milk and the wool of the flock, and not
“ the sheep themselves ; and that so acting, death shall

“ alike feed upon the shepherds and upon flocks, when
“ both are thrust down into hell. And then they said that
“ the princes of this land are unbelievers; that they are
“ confederated with thieves; that they are the robbers of
“ their own country; that they are men in whom the majesty
“ of God inspires no fear, and the law no respect, and to
“ whom truth is onerous, justice despicable, and cruelty
“ a pastime; and that the consequence of this state of
“ things is, that our prelates care not for what is equitable,
“ nor our subjects to manifest that obedience and loyalty
“ required from them. And, lo! it is because that such
“ is their condition, that God brandishes His sword, and
“ stretches his bow against them, and a heavy doom
“ impends over them. His wrath and His indignation
“ will be exhibited, evil spirits will be sent against them,
“ and to whose power, and to be punished with fire and
“ with swords, they will be delivered over for one year
“ and one day.

“ Such were the words of the monks, to whom I made
“ this reply, for I was filled with grief when I heard of
“ the calamities that were about to befall my people.

“ Oh! Ye, who are cognizant of the secrets of heaven,
“ I ask, if the English people be converted and do
“ penance, will not God pardon them, and bestow upon
“ them His blessing? Penitence suspended the sentence,
“ that had already gone forth from the mouth of God,
“ against the Ninivites, and even the vengeance that was
“ provoked by the utterly impious Achab. I then will
“ persuade my people that they may repent of their past
“ sins, and live more scrupulously for the future; and
“ thus, perchance, God will take pity upon them, so that
“ the great evil with which they are threatened may not

“ fall upon them, and that He, who was prepared to
“ punish them as His foes, may with His wonted goodness
“ receive them into His Grace as repentant sinners.

“ No, no,” they replied, “ for the heart of this people
“ is hardened, and their eyes are blinded, and their ears
“ are heavy, so that they will not regard thy warning,
“ nor listen to thy admonitions, nor be terrified by threats,
“ nor be soothed by the kindness, the blessings, and the
“ benefits conferred upon them.

“ My grief,” continued King Edward, “ was aggravated by such words as these, and I then said, Will
“ the wrath of God continue for ever? Is there no time
“ fixed at which He shall be appeased? When shall joy
“ succeed to sorrow in England?—or, when shall come
“ consolation for such awful adversity? What is the
“ remedy to be hoped for amid so many afflictions, so that
“ whilst grief and woe may be now, there can be found
“ some slight mitigation for it, in the hope that the mercy
“ of heaven will be hereafter exhibited?

“ To such questions as these the saints replied by this
“ parable:—

“ When a green tree, cut down from its trunk and
“ separated at a distance of three acres from its parent
“ root, shall, with no man’s hand aiding it, and no necessity forcing it, return to its parent stock: and
“ engrafted upon its ancient root, shall have again its
“ sap restored to it, and flower again, and produce fruits;
“ then may be hoped for some consolation for tribulation,
“ and then a remedy for the adversity that we have predicted.*

* AILRED The same mysterious announcement is to be found

"And the monks having spoken these words, they returned to heaven, and I was restored to consciousness and to you."

There were present at the time that the King narrated this vision, the Queen, Robert, the guardian of the sacred palace, the Earl Harold, the brother of the Queen, and Stigand, who had intruded himself unlawfully upon the See of Canterbury, whilst its Archbishop, Robert, was still living; an offence for which he had been suspended

in Malmsbury. We adopt the Rev. Mr. Sharp's translation of the passage :—

"Whenever a green tree shall be cut through the middle, and the part cut off being carried the space of three acres from the trunk, shall, without any assistance, become again united to its stem, bud out with flowers, and stretch forth its fruit as before, from the sap again uniting; then may a cessation of such evils be at last expected." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 226. vol. i. p. 381. See BROMTON. p. 955. KNYGHTON. pp. 2331, 2381.

An attempt is made by Ailred to explain this parable, and to show that it was fulfilled in the birth of Henry II., the son of Henry I. and Matilda of Scotland. See p. 401, and Vit. S. Edward. c. 10. § 35, and notes *d. n.* in *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 301. All men of all ages conceive that the mysteries which are wrapped up in religion are to find their development in the very time in which those expounders of prophecies chance to live,—as if with their deaths this world was to cease, and not as if each man was but an atom in the generation that has succeeded to others, and to be followed by other generations to cover this earth in their appointed time. Thus the parable which Ailred may have fancied was developed in his time, may yet be applicable to England, which has, since the death of the last of its sainted kings, been visited with worse evils than a Norman invasion, or even the wars of roses, in its heresy of centuries. That an epoch will come, when the last evil must cease, is certain. It may not be in the present generation; but whenever the religion of St. Edward is restored, and all England bows down before the parent-stock of the Cross, then, and not till then, can it be said of land and people: "Tunc sperandum est aliquod in hac tribulatione solatium, et de ea, quam prædiximus, adversitate remedium."

by the Supreme Pontiff, and that was afterwards punished by his death, in the bursting forth of his bowels.

This Stigand hardened his heart to the voice of the holy narrator, and would not be daunted by his declarations, nor believe in his prophecy, but sneeringly remarked that the old King was raving; and he laughed when he should have wept, at the words that were uttered in his hearing.

There were others—persons of sound mind, and clear understanding—who did not so treat the words of the King, but who sighed deeply and wept abundantly, for they knew that the King, in predicting the condition of the priests and nobles, had merely described circumstances as they really existed. The same things that Edward said, had before been told to the Supreme Pontiff, and had induced the Pope to send more than one Legate to England with letters, rebuking the clergy for their folly, and exhorting both King and Queen to have those evils cured,—and yet such remonstrances had been found unavailing. Such persons, however, had better experience that the King had foretold with a true prophetic spirit what was to befall them, when King Harold by his perjury forced King William to invade the kingdom, and that conquered in battle, his defeat led to the annihilation of English liberty, and was the commencement to the slavery of England; and when the entire of the Old English nobility perished off the face of the land, and when that which once was believed to be impossible, was shown to be not only possible, but certain, viz., that there was not to be found of the English race in their own land, nor King, nor bishop, nor abbot, nor ealdorman.*

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* pp. 398, 399, 400, 401. This

As the hour was now fast approaching, at which the King felt he should pass from this world to his Lord, he ordered his friends to refrain from weeping, and not by an useless sorrow to dash the joy that the hope of heaven excited in his mind.*

With such words as these Edward addressed himself to the bystanders :—

“ If you loved me,” said he, “ you would rejoice because I now go to my Father, to receive those joys which He has promised to the faithful, and that not through any merits of my own, but through the grace of my Lord and Saviour, who compassionates as He willeth, and bestoweth mercy as He pleases. Do you, however, follow me, who have ever been your friend, with your prayers, and resist those who would impede my ascent to the celestial regions with your psalms, and alms deeds; for, although my faith in the Crucified cannot be overcome by those malignant enemies, yet no one can leave this world so perfect that those foul fiends will not attempt to impede or terrify him.”†

Edward then spoke in commendation of the Queen, to her brother and the nobles; he spoke in terms of praise of the obedience she had ever exhibited, and he

last sentence, descriptive of the fallen state of Englishmen, is confirmed by Malmesbury, who says, “ Nullus hodie Anglus vel dux, vel pontifex, vel abbas; advenæ quique divitias et viscera corroduunt Angliæ; nec ulla spes est finiendæ miseræ.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 227. vol. i. pp. 381, 382.

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward. Con.* p. 401.

† “ Vos autem amicam persequimini precibus, et obsidentibus iter meum ad supera psalmis elemosynisque resistite; quoniam, licet ab iis superari fides crucifixi non posset, vix tamen quispiam ita perfectus est, ut vel impedire eum vel terrere non temptent.” AILRED.

proclaimed aloud her perfect chastity, and declared that whilst she had always appeared in public as his wife, yet that in retirement they had ever lived as if she had been his sister or his daughter.* He then commanded that all those things which, with a regal munificence, he had bestowed upon her as a dowry, should ever remain hers, firm, secure, and undisturbed. As to those persons who had followed him from Normandy to England, he earnestly recommended them to the care of his countrymen, leaving them to do as they pleased; if they returned to their own land, to do so with every mark of kindness bestowed upon them; or if they stopped here, to be treated with honour. He next entreated that his body might be interred in the abbey church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he had built from its foundations, and also, that the moment his death took place, the event might be made known as widely and extensively as possible, lest by the delay of that knowledge, there might be postponed the offering up for him of prayers and pious exercises.† All such dispositions having been duly made by him, the saint ordered the priests, with the ministers of the church, to attend him: and then he fortified himself for death by receiving Our Lord's Body and Blood.‡ Perceiving the Queen with others weeping abundantly, and sighing constantly, he said to her:—

“ Weep not for me, daughter, for I shall not die, but

* See ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 512, 513. HARPSFIELD. SÆC. xi. c. 3. p. 217.

† “ Suumque transitum mon omnibus propalari, ne mortis suæ cognitione dilata, orationum quoque suffragia differentur.” AILRED.

‡ “ Exitum suum Dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione munivit.” AILRED.

“ live—I am departing from the land of the dying, and,
“ as I believe, to live in our Lord’s blessed land of the
“ living.”

Commending himself totally and absolutely to God, in the full faith of Christ, with all the sacraments of Christ, in the hope of the promises of Christ, this old man, in the fulness of his days, departed from this world, and his pure spirit abandoning its pure flesh, was, as a victor, united, and for ever, to the Creator of all spirits ; ascending, it was received by the citizens of heaven, and the ethereal key-bearer opened for it the gates of Paradise, and in the fulfilment of his promise, John, the disciple, whom Jesus loved, met the sanctified soul ; and virgin associated with virgins to follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth for ever.

Edward died in the year of our Lord’s Incarnation, 1066, the fourth indiction, and on the 5th of January, and when he had reigned twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days. With him departed the happiness of England—with him perished liberty, and with him decayed away the strength of the nation.

It would not be possible to describe what mighty fear then fell upon the minds of men, nor what amount of grief possessed their hearts, nor how horror, as if a dark and thick cloud, seemed to rest over and obscure the whole island. It was with such feelings the relations and friends of the King stood by his sacred remains, when suddenly the lifeless corpse assumed the semblance of that beatitude which had been bestowed upon Edward ; for the countenance of the dead became suffused with a roseate hue so pure, and so entrancing, that it seemed to come from heaven, and won at once the admiration of all who gazed

upon it. All marvelled at this spectacle, but still more were they astonished, when they found his uncovered body was glorious with beauty, and that the snow-white flesh seemed to be refulgent with a dazzling light, so that the honour of his stainless virginity was made manifest even to unbelievers.

The royal remains were prepared for interment. The body was rolled up in precious linen and in gorgeous robes, and at the same time, the poor of Christ were relieved with abundant alms. The bishops were present; crowds of priests and clerks were there; the earls of the kingdom, with nobles and thanes, were assembled; while communities of monks were in attendance, and a numberless multitude of both sexes, from towns, and cities, and hamlets, were gathered around the body of the King.

On the one side were to be heard the intoning of psalms, and on the other the shrill notes of grief which came from tearful crowds. In all places joy was commingled with sorrow—joy, because of the King whom all were conscious was then in heaven; sorrow, because by his death they were conscious they had endured a loss that was irreparable.

They bore to the church that temple of chastity and that abode of virtue—the King's body; and they offered up for the King himself, the Sacrifice of Salvation. And thus in that place which he had himself determined upon, he was buried with all honour, and there until the last day lies his body, awaiting the blessed resurrection bestowed by our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be honour and glory, now and for evermore, Amen.*

* AILRED. *Vit. Edward Con.* pp. 401, 402. *Vit. c. ii. § 36. Act. Sanct.* (Januar.), vol. i. p. 301.

" Here Edward the King, and of Angles the lord,
 " Sent his steadfast soul to Christ.*
 " In the kingdom of God
 " A Holy Spirit !
 " In the world here he abode awhile,
 " Of council sage, in the kingly throng.
 " Four-and-twenty winters wielding
 " The sceptre freely, he wealth diffused.
 " In the tide of health, the youthful monarch,
 " Offspring of Ethelred,
 " Ruled well his subjects, the Welsh and the Scots
 " And the Britons also,
 " With Angles and Saxons
 " Those kinsmen of old.

*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*

" Blithe-minded ever was the harmless King,
 " Though he long before of land bereft
 " Abode in exile, on this wide earth,
 " When Canute overcame the kin of Ethelred,
 " And the Danes invaded our dear kingdom
 " Of England ;
 " And for full eight-and twenty years
 " As masters dispensed of its wealth.
 " Then forth from his chamber
 " Free, and in royal array,

" Li cors ki mult fu énorez,
 A Westmostier est enterrez
 Mult fu riche sa sepulture,
 Ki faite fu et encore dure."

Le Roman de Rou, v. 10973—7.

See *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 32.

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM'S translation, slightly modified, p. 255.

" Good, pure, and mild,
 " Edward the noble,
 " By his country defended,
 " By land, and by people ;
 " Until suddenly came bitter death,
 " And this King so dear, snatched from this earth.
 " Angels carried his soul sincere
 " Into the light of heaven.
 " But the prudent King had the kingdom settled
 " On high-born men—
 " On Harold himself, the noble earl ;*
 " He who in every season faithfully heard
 " And obeyed his lord, in word and in deed ;
 " Nor gave to any what might be wanted
 " By the nation's king."†

The name of Edward became illustrious by the number of miracles effected through his intercession, and there was much discourse amongst the monks of Westminster

* " And se froda swa theah
 Befaeste thaet rice
 Heah-thungenum menn
 Harolde sylfum."—*Sax. Chron.*

This may be considered as the best proof of Harold's claim to the throne. It is confirmed by the words of the Ely historian :—" Quem (Haroldum), rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem eligerat." *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 100. vol. i. p. 221. (Ang. Christ.) Precisely the same words are used by Florence of Worcester, a. 1066. and S. Dunelm. p. 193.

Knyghton, in declaring that it was the most anxious wish of Edward that he should be succeeded by Edgar, still had a short time before his death predicted that his immediate successor would be Harold—" ante obitum suum Haroldum prædixit futurum regem post se." See pp. 2338, 2339.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM. pp. 255, 256, 257.

Abbey with regard to his sanctity.* Day by day the love and devotion of all for so powerful a patron increased, and the desire constantly became stronger to look again upon his holy relics. There was with respect to these relics an amicable contention amongst the monks—some maintaining that his virginal flesh would be found sound, whole, and perfectly free from corruption; and others declaring that no such assertions should be made—that there was a species of presumption in putting them forward, because if they should prove to be untrue, the glory of the Confessor might be diminished; “for,” as they argued, “if the bodies of the Apostles, martyrs, and innumerable saints have resolved themselves into dust, and nature should do its work in a similar manner upon our Edward, he should not therefore be the less loved by us, nor should he be regarded on that account to be less acceptable to God.”

This disputation was brought to the knowledge of the venerable abbot of the monastery, Gillebert, surnamed Crispyn, and he determined that the body of their great patron should be examined, so as to have determined by indisputable proofs what was the actual fact. A certain day was therefore appointed in which the relics of the King should be produced before them all—to confirm either the faith of the one party, or to gratify the affection of the other. To this holy spectacle the abbot invited

* AILRED. *Vit. et Mirac. Edward Con.* p. 408. We purposely omit the narrative of these various miracles, of which a full account will be found in this author, see pp. 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.), vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

persons distinguished for their integrity and their piety, and among the rest, Gumulf, Bishop of Rochester, a man eminent for his extraordinary piety.*

It was in the thirty-sixth year from the time that Edward had departed from this life, that the holy men who had been invited for the purpose, attended to witness the opening of his tomb. Upon the removal of the stone that closed up his sepulchre, such a fragrant odour arose, that it seemed to all present that the entire church was filled with perfume, and that the grave itself was the depository of aromatic spices.† First was removed the robe in which

* Of the labours and virtues of this Gumulf, or Gundulf, there are records still in existence. Amongst other things mentioned of him as Bishop of Rochester, it is stated, that "the church of St. Andrew in Rochester, which was then, from years, almost a heap of ruins, he entirely rebuilt, and left it in the state in which it appears at present (ut hodie apparet). He constructed all the necessary buildings required for the monks. He received into the monastery twenty-two monks, and having so received, clothed each in the religious habit, and as he subsequently found them fitted for the reception of holy orders, he himself blessed and consecrated them, and, as far as he could, by his own diligence and through that of others, he brought them all up in the love and fear of God; and having them so instructed he honoured them, and all the days of his life bestowed upon them every kindness and benefit that it was in his power to confer. And thus he who, when he became a bishop, did not find in the monastery of St. Andrew more than five canons; upon the day he departed from this life, left more than sixty monks, good scholars, all admirably instructed in psalmody (bene legentes et optime cantantes), and all devoted to the service of the Apostle and of God, and loving their religion beyond all earthly things." ERNULFUS. de Rebus Ecclesie Roffensis in *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 337. See same vol. pp. 333, 334, 336, 338, 339, 342, 390, 392.

† Some very curious facts respecting the delicious perfume emanating from the relics of saints, will be found in BARONIUS. *Annal. Ecclesiast.* a. 451. § 60: a. 827. § 8: a. 939. § 2. The word "manna" is frequently to be met with in the writings of the Hagio-

the most sacred limbs of Edward had been rolled, and it was then perceived that they retained all their original beauty and soundness. The lookers-on, hopeful that the still greater glory of the Saint might be made manifest, took off the robes, and then they beheld the kingly ornaments and the garments, and found the former untarnished and the latter undecayed. They stretched the arms, bent the fingers, felt the joints, and found all entire, flexible, and as firmly knit together as in the body of a person in the full vigour of health. They considered next the soundness of the flesh and the colour of the skin, and

graphers, and is always significant of an odoriferous dust or liquid exuding from the bodies of saints. Thus St. Gregory of Tours speaks of the tomb of St. John the Evangelist, and declares that the dust which came from it was borne as a relic to all parts of the world, and that it cured diseases. "*Cujus nunc sepulcrum manna in modum farinæ hodieque eructat, ex qua beatissimæ reliquiæ per universum delata mundum, salutem morbidis præstant.*" GREGOR. TURON. *De Mirac.* lib. i. c. 20. See GUADET, notes on RICHER, vol. ii. p. 25. n. b. DUCANGE. in verb. *Manna*. In the account of the miracles of St. Beatrice Atestina, it is stated that a liquid which flowed from her shrine (*arca*) cured diseases. *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) *Mirac.* § 18. vol. ii. p. 603. Amongst the charming legends respecting the manner in which heaven has been pleased to honour the remains of the saints, there are none perhaps more beautiful than those regarding St. Anthony, who died about the year 1300, and from whose grave there sprung forth spontaneously a crop of lilies, *Act. Sanct.* (April.) Vit. S. Anton. Ord. Erem. S. August. Append. § 17. vol. iii. p. 834; and of St. Angelus, martyred in 1220, and from whose mouth, when buried, lilies burst forth, *Act. Sanct.* (Mai.) vol. ii. p. 57. c. 2. § 8: p. 60. c. 3. § 19. We cannot pass from this subject—the relics of saints and the reverence the church has ever manifested towards them—without recommending to the perusal of all who respect profound scholarship combined with fervent piety, that most valuable and able work, the *Hierurgia* of the Rev. D. Rock, D.D. See as to relics, *Hierurgia*, Part ii. c. vi. pp. 259—288. (London, Dolman, 1851.)

they observed that the one was purer than glass, and the latter as white as snow, and each prefiguring the glory of the future resurrection. All wished to touch and all feared to place their hands on the beloved face of Edward, until the Bishop of Rochester, conscious of a stainless soul, or made more bold by his greater devotion and love for the saint, removed the napkin with which the sanctified head had been covered, placed his hand upon it, and then stretched forth to its natural length the venerable snow-white beard, and that adhered as firmly to the chin as if Edward were still living. Delighted with this miracle, and inflamed with a fiery zeal, the bishop endeavoured to pull forth a single hair from the beard, in order that he might keep it as a relic; but it adhered so firmly to the skin, that he could not accomplish his purpose.

Gillebert perceived what had occurred, and he gently rebuked the bishop, by saying—"Leave matters as they are, my good bishop. Do not desire to disturb the repose of so great a King, nor in any way to lessen in the slightest degree the entirety of that which Christ has hitherto preserved."

To these words, the Bishop replied: "Well hast thou spoken, abbot. Do not, however, attribute this effort of mine to presumption, but to devotion; for I would prefer the smallest portion of the relics of King Edward, to all the wealth that Cræsus once possessed. But as the King deigns not that ought shall be taken from him, then I say, so let him remain as he is, until the day of his blessed resurrection."

The robe in which the sanctified limbs of Edward had been rolled was retained, and its place supplied by another equally precious, and this being done, those loved and

sweet relics were restored again to the tomb in which they had before reposed, as fair, as chaste, as fresh, and redolent of beauty, as when they lay in the pure and saintly bridal-chamber of King Edward.*

When miracles unnumbered were worked at the tomb of St. Edward, King William I. had it adorned with a gorgeous shrine composed of silver and of gold.† Subsequently, an application was made to the Roman Pontiff, that solemn honours might be assigned to the memory of Edward. This application, conferred by Henry II., King of England, was attended with success in the year 1161, when Alexander III., the Supreme Pontiff, in the eleventh year of his reign, and on the 7th of the ides of February, promulgated a Bull at Anagni, by which it was ordered that Edward should be enrolled amongst the number of the saints, and as such honoured.‡

* AILRED. *Vit. et Mirac. Edward. Con.* pp. 408, 409. "Underneath St. Edward's chapel was buried, without any monument or inscription, Maud, the most holy Queen of England, daughter to St. Margaret, and wife to Henry I., and mother to the Empress Maud, married to the Emperor Henry V., and mother of our Henry II. Queen Maud walked to church every day in Lent bare-foot and bare-legged, wearing a garment of sackcloth; she likewise washed and kissed the feet of the poorest persons, and gave them alms. The priory of Christ Church with Aldgate, and the hospital of St. Giles in the Fields, were founded by her." BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 654.

† De Translatione S. Edwardi. c. i. § 3. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 302.

‡ De Translatione S. Edwardi. c. i. § 3. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. p. 302.

The following is a copy of the Bull of canonization of St. Edward.*

“ Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to
“ his venerable brethren, the archbishops, bishops, and to
“ his beloved sons, the abbots, priors, and other prelates
“ of churches established in England, health and Aposto-
“ lical benediction.

“ Paying due attention to the constancy of devotion and
“ firmness of faith which you have ever manifested to your
“ most sacred mother, the Roman Church, we are at all
“ times disposed to concord with your wishes, and as our
“ most dear brethren, and the chosen children of the
“ church, and as loved by us in the sincere charity of our
“ Lord, to pay to you marked honour, and as far as God
“ will so permit us to do, with a hearty will to comply
“ with your requests.

“ Taking into our consideration the petition that has
“ been laid before us, relative to the canonization of Ed-
“ ward, formerly the glorious King of the English, and
“ his enrolment in the catalogue of the saints—and look-
“ ing also to the request that has been made to us by our
“ most dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of
“ England; and to the demand so urgently made
“ upon us by you, we have, with our brethren, held anx-
“ ious and serious consideration on the subject—and
“ having inspected the book containing an account of the
“ miracles performed by him whilst he was in the flesh,
“ and through him since he left this world, and by which
“ the Almighty God has made known His mercy; and

* Bulla Canonizationis S. Edwardi. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.), vol. i. p. 302.

“ having, moreover, considered the letters of our predecessor of pious memory, Pope Innocent;* and having also received your testimonials, we, although the subject is an arduous one, sublime in its nature, and not frequently, and never as a matter of course, conceded in General Councils; nevertheless, with the general advice of our brethren, in accordance with your prayer and the desire of your King, do now declare that the body of *this Confessor* is to be so glorified and honoured with due and public renown on earth, as the Lord, through His grace, has glorified the same *Confessor* in Heaven. Therefore he is to be counted amongst the number of the Holy Confessors, since it is shewn by signs, and proved by miracles, that he has so merited to be esteemed by God.

“ Hence it becomes you, in accordance with your prudence and your piety, devoutly to honour, and with all your hearts to venerate him, since your strong religious feelings have induced you to ask that he should, by Apostolical authority, be declared an object of veneration. We now by this Apostolical writing warn you and exhort you in the Lord, that you do, as far as in you lies, study, and endeavour to honour him with due reverence and fitting devotion, so that through his intercession you may obtain pardon from the Strict Judge of mankind, and in everlasting happiness obtain a glorious reward.

“ Given at Anagni on the 7th day of February.”†

* Innocent II. occupied the Pontifical throne from 17th February, 1130, until the 24th of September, 1143. BOLLANDUS.

† De Translatione S. Eduardi. c. 2. § 5, 6, 7, 8. *Act. Sanct.*

Upon the return of the messengers from the Apostolic See, the Abbot (Laurence)* convoked an assemblage of venerable persons, bishops as well as abbots, in the abbey church of Westminster, before whom were first read, in accordance with his desire, the letters of canonization of the blessed King, by Apostolical authority; and then, with the universal approval and assent of all present, the Mass for a Glorious Confessor was solemnly celebrated, as the Lord Pope had first commanded it to be said, and with all due honour, by one of the cardinals at Rome.† As matters, however, of pressing urgency at this time detained the King beyond the sea, the raising up of the sacred body of St. Edward was, in accordance with His Majesty's command, postponed until his return.

Nearly two years had passed away before the King returned from Normandy to England.‡ No sooner had that event occurred, than the Abbot (Laurence) ever de-

(Januar.), vol. i. pp. 302, 303. The veneration directed to be paid to the memory and virtues of St. Edward, have ever since been continued by the Catholic Church in England, see *Supplementum Novum ad Breviarium Romanum adjectis officiis Sanctorum Angliæ*, Octob. 13. Translatio. S. Eduard. Conf. pp. 243, 254. (Derby, Richardson and Son, 1844.)

* "Nuntiis itaque ab Apostolica Sede regressis, sæpeditus abbas," De Translatione S. Eduardi. Auct. Anon. c. 2. § 9. "Translatio Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, procurata per Laurentium, ex priore Dunelmensi, Westmonasterii Abbatem." *Chron. Petriburg.* a. 1163.

† De Trans. S. Edward. c. 2. § 9.

‡ De Trans. S. Edward. c. 2. § 10. "Rex Anglorum Henricus finibus transmarinis pro voluntate dispositis in Angliam rediit

* * Eodem anno translatus est corpus Sancti Regis et Confessoris Edwardi apud Westmonasterium, a B. Thoma Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, præsentī Rege Henrico, qui hæc procuraverat." M. PARIS. a. 1163.

sirous to bring to a fitting conclusion the affair that had been thus commenced, and to place in a conspicuous and fittingly honourable position that sacred body which had lain too long concealed in the earth, held a private and earnest conversation with the sovereign as to celebrating the translation of the relics of the blessed King. In so doing, he besought of Henry that he would make a fitting termination to what had been so well and so nobly commenced, and since it had been undertaken in accordance with His Majesty's commands, its end might be dignified by His Majesty's presence. To this just demand the King returned a fitting answer, and a day was determined upon, which was deemed by both to be suitable.

Meanwhile, the abbot, in accordance with the advice of wise and sensible men, determined that there should be a secret inspection of the relics of the saintly body, in order that its solemn translation might be effected with the greater solemnity. But, because the abbot well knew that such was a holy and a dignified action, and that he was fearful of his own unworthiness to discharge it, he more than once attempted to perform it, and more than once shrank from completing it; for each time his soul, conscious of its infirmity, restrained his trembling hand, and piety hesitated to do that which it feared might be an act of impiety. As his fear increased, so did his devotion, and with an increase of devotion, there came confidence, and with confidence, the love that knows not terror, and sets timidity at defiance. Gradually his apprehensions were dissipated, and his confidence so strengthened, that he resolved upon accomplishing the task before him, and at last considered the means by which it might be most opportunely and secretly effected.

In accordance with this determination, upon a certain night, when the monks, after their matutine vigils, had returned to their beds, and the gates of the church had been closed, and the lay attendants of the abbey excluded, there remained in the church the abbot, the prior, and some of the monks, who had been selected for the holy office before them, and who, in accordance with the command of the abbot, had fitted themselves for devoutly performing it, by fasting and by prayer.

All these persons, clothed with white albs, and with naked feet, commenced the office with prayer, and with psalms, and with singing the Litany before the High altar; then the abbot and the prior, and two of the monks, proceeded to the King's sepulchre, whilst the others remained in tears and in prayers before the altar.

When the stone that covered the tomb had been removed by them, and lights had been brought close to the sepulchre, they beheld lying in it a man clothed in a robe, richly embroidered in gold, his feet covered with purple hose, and magnificent slippers, and his head and face invested with a round regal mitre,* skilfully and profusely worked in gold—the beard snow-white, long, and slightly curled, lying in a natural and graceful position on the breast.

The monks who had remained in prayer before the altar were then called, and permitted to look at this long-wished-for spectacle, and great was the joy, and loud the thanksgiving of all as they gazed upon it. They were not, however, content with merely beholding the royal

* "Caput et faciem cooperta mitra rotunda." See DUCANGE. in verb. "*Mitra*."

relics—the ardent spirit of devotion urged them to go much further—to inspect closely, to touch, to search into that precious treasure so much of which was already visible to them. They, therefore, with fitting reverence and beseeching piety placed their hands upon the robes, the covering of the head, the tunic, the hose. All were with a pious curiosity felt, and then there was tried if that corruption had occurred, which reason would dictate as inevitable, and that nature itself required. The attempt was made—and, lo! all parts were found to have retained their original integrity, with this exception, that the original colour had partly faded, and their beauty was blurred by constant contact with the stone-work in which they had been encased, as well as from the dust and cement, particles of which had fallen in through the interstices of the tomb; but which particles being removed as well as they could, with a linen cloth, the colour of all, as well as the workmanship on the ornaments, could readily be discerned. With fear and with reverence, the hands of all were then placed beneath that glorious body,—some touching the head, some the feet, some the shoulders, and some the waist; and then rolling it up in precious silken tapestry, it was placed in a wooden chest prepared for the purpose, and then all things, as they had been found, were again shut up, with the exception of a ring of gold, which had been found on the finger of the King, and that the abbot, from a feeling of devotion, and in memory of this event, determined should be taken especial care of for the future.*

* “Abbas propter devotionem retinuit, et ad hujus memoriam satis provide reservare decrevit.” Trans. S. Edward. c. 3. § 12. See note in this volume, respecting St. Edward’s ring.

The day at length arrived which King Henry had fixed upon—that on which should be celebrated the Translation of St. Edward's relics; and then all things having been prepared which were deemed to be necessary for so great and so solemn a ceremony, the King, attended with an immense number of his nobles, and the most illustrious persons in his kingdom ordered the chest in which so precious a treasure had been deposited to be opened. He then, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by several bishops, abbots, and such other venerable individuals, saw with his own eyes the person of the sanctified King; and as far as it was permissible for a tender fear and pious reverence so to do, he touched that person with his hands, and rejoiced to find that all was in that precise position which the abbot had previously described to him. A procession, such as a day of this great solemnity required, was formed, and the precious, incorruptible, and virgin body of Edward was borne through the cloisters of the monastery on the shoulders of King Henry, and of the principal noblemen of his kingdom, and then was placed as a burning light upon a candlestick in the house of the Lord, so that all who entered the church might see that light, and be illuminated by it.

Thus was that illustrious vessel of chastity, and that abode of every virtue, placed in the precious shrine of gold and silver, which had been constructed for Edward by the illustrious King, his cousin, and the conqueror of England, William I. It was on this so placed by royal hands, amid the joyful laudations of all, and their blessings and thanksgivings to God, who is ever glorious in His saints, and in His works wonderful.

The day of this translation was celebrated on Sunday, the 13th of October, in the year of our Lord 1163, by the most excellent King of the English, Henry, assisted by the following venerable individuals: Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, Gilebert of London, Henry of Winchester, Nigel of Ely, Robert of Lincoln, William of Norwich, Jocelyn of Salisbury, Walter of Rochester, Hilary of Chichester, Geoffrey of St. Asaph's; by the Norman bishops, Ernulph of Lisieux, Rotrot of Evreux, and Acard of Avranches; by the abbots, Hugh of St. Edmund's, Robert of St. Alban's, Roger of Reading, and Gregory of Malmsbury; and by the following earls, Robert of Leicester, Hugh of Nottsule, Geoffry of Essex, William of Arundel, Reginald of Cornwall, Patrick of Salisbury, William of Albemarle, and Richard of Pembroke, with others, nobles, knights, and divers individuals of various ranks and orders, constituting an immense multitude. This occurred in the fourth year of the pontificate of the most sanctified Pope Alexander III., the author and the conceder of so good a work, and in the ninth year of the most glorious and most pious King of the English, being then present, and presiding over the entire proceedings in the performance of this pious act, the Abbot of Westminster, the reverend father Laurence.*

* De translatione S. Edwardi. c. 1, 2, 3. § 1—14. *Act. Sanct.* (Januar.) vol. i. pp. 302, 303, 304. Of the various persons mentioned as being witnesses on this occasion to the translation of the relics of St. Edward, there are few who do not occupy an important position in history. The most remarkable of these, however, were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the martyr, St. Thomas; Geoffry, Bishop of St. Asaph's, supposed to be the author of the celebrated work, the "*Historia Brittonum*," and the Earl of Pembroke, Richard Strongbow, the first Norman invader

This King, St. Edward, subsequent to the period at which he had been crowned, in a witenagemont, with the barons, and others, his subjects caused to be renewed, established, and confirmed the good laws which had for sixty-eight years been buried almost in complete repose, or fallen into desuetude.* These laws were then called "the laws of St. Edward;" not because he had been the first to invent them, but because they had previously been "placed under a bushel," and consigned to oblivion from the time of King Edgar.†

Edward ordained for the people of his time the common laws of the English, because it might be said that before them the laws promulgated were partial, restricted, and local.‡ The first laws that were in Britain were those

of Ireland. See notes *a* to *cc.* in p. 304. in the same volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

"The national council of Oxford, 1222, commanded his (Edward's) feast to be kept in England a holiday. Out of respect to the memory of St. Edward, the Kings of England to this day, at their coronation, receive his crown, and put on his dalmatic and maniple, as part of the royal robes, though even the crown has been since changed, and now only bears St. Edward's name, being made in imitation of his." (Wall's in Glossario, M. Parisii. p. 282, and the account of the Regalia.) BUTLER's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. p. 655. For an account of St. Edward being enshrined in 1269, see DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 273.

* KNYGHTON. p. 2338.

† KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* Lib. i. c. 15. p. 2338.

‡ "Qui leges communes Anglorum genti tempore suo ordinavit, quia per ante leges nimis partiales editæ fuerunt." BROMTON. p. 956. What follows in the text is introduced for the purpose of making known to the reader the amount of legal, antiquarian, and topographical knowledge possessed by monks, who, it is still supposed by many unread persons, were very ignorant members of the community! Whilst referring to this subject—the *supposed ignorance of monks*—we cannot refrain from giving publicity to the opinion entertained respecting them by a Protestant clergy-

of Dunwallo Molmucius. His were called the Mol-

man, and a most able antiquarian ; but who, despite his prejudices, is a witness to the truth :—

“The influence,” says the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, “of the earlier monks on the laity was prodigious ; but it must be remembered that they nearly monopolized the arts, the learning, and the religion of their times. Cooled by modern philosophy, and accustomed to the chaster models of Greece and Rome, we still continue to be delighted and astonished by their architecture. What then must have been the effect of it at a time when the castles of the nobility were dungeons, the mansions of the gentry little better than hovels, and the minds of the people open to every impression of simple wonder ? The pomp and pageantry of their worship steal insensibly upon the imagination, in defiance of enlightened reason, of *Protestant principle*, and of perceptions blunted by every species of factitious enjoyment. How easy then must it have been to bribe the senses of rustics, who out of religious houses saw no splendid scenes but those of earth and heaven, heard little music but that of birds, and inhaled no other perfumes than those of the field ; besides, that natural charms can only be enjoyed by cultivated minds, while artificial and gorgeous exhibitions strike with augmented force upon the rudest. These remarks will sufficiently account for the influence of monastic institutions on the *Laity* in the middle ages. But, with respect to the *Religious* themselves, monastic habits, particularly in advanced life, would have an effect but too observable among men ‘whose separation from the world is less rigid than that of the cloister,’ in extinguishing the attachments of kindred, and narrowing all their regards to the interests of their own little circle. Yet *within* that circle there was more room for display and greater variety of character than is generally supposed. In a single monastery, talents for intrigue and government, for husbandry, internal economy, arithmetic, architecture, painting, music, calligraphy, instruction of youth, epistolary correspondence, medicine, canon-law, and theology would all have room to display themselves ; nay, even address and knowledge of the world would be acquired in no mean degree by their frequent journeys to the chapter of their orders, to the court of their own sovereign, or of Rome ; and, on the whole, I conceive that there would be much fewer marked and distinguished characters in a convent than in the same number of men among the superior ranks of society as they are found promiscuously in the world.

mutine laws, and retained their celebrity even to the days of King Edward. Amongst these laws, as may be seen in *The British History*, it was declared that towns, and temples of the gods, and the roads leading to them, and even the ploughs of husbandmen, should be regarded as places of refuge to all betaking themselves thereto.*

Thus much for the effects of monastic institutions upon the *understanding*. With respect to the state of *religion* in these foundations during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the characters of the Cistercian monks were compounded of real Christianity, of superstition, and of fanaticism. As to the first, they were bred in the school of Bernard, and, till wealth and indolence began to operate, certainly retained much of that evangelical spirit which their master had imbibed from Augustine. In the mean time, as a small elevation is conspicuous when opposed to a depression, or even to a plane, the vices and ignorance of the secular clergy would afford their cloistered competitors for public favour no small advantage. On their superstition it would be needless to enlarge. Of their fanaticism, though less generally understood, there can be as little doubt; and when this quality united itself with hypocrisy, of which the monkish history affords some examples, another powerful engine was brought to bear on the minds of an uncultivated age.

“But when an opinion of their sanctity swelled into a persuasion of their merits, and when this principle in its turn begot the monstrous tenet of supererogation, a fund of spiritual riches was immediately created, and this, like every other species of wealth, became power in the hand of the possessor. Hence the anxiety we have seen expressed by their benefactors to be engrafted into their communities, to be commemorated in their devotions, and to rest beside their altars. After all these abatements, I scruple not to repeat that the monks of this period were the best men of their times, and to express a charitable hope, that many of them are saints in heaven.” *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, in the county of York*, by Thomas Durham Whitaker, LL.D. F.S.A., Vicar of Walley, in Lancashire, pp. 41, 42. (London, 1812.)

* BROMTON. G. MONUMETENS. *Hist. Brit.* lib. ii. c. 17. lib. iii. c. 5. In the latter place it is stated not only were these laws translated by Gildas into Latin, but also by King Alfred into English.

Next, Marcia, a Queen of the Britons, and the wife of Guitholin, and from whom, it is supposed, the province of the Mercians was named, propounded a code equally wise and discreet. Both these laws Gildas, the historian, translated from the British language into Latin,* and they were commonly called *Merchenlaga*, that is, the “Mercian Law,” or “Law of the Mercians,”† and this law was in operation in eight shires or provinces, viz., Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Oxfordshire. There was then the law composed by Ina, King of the West Saxons, in Anglo Saxon or English, to which Alfred, King of the West Saxons, subjoined a law which was called *Westsaxenelaga*, i.e. “the law of the West Saxons.”‡ These laws, in the olden time, were in operation in the nine southern shires, and which are protected from the other parts of England by the river Thames, viz., Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Barokshire (Berkshire)—and which was so called from a certain barkless oak in the forest of Windsor, at which the people of the country used to assemble together—Wiltshire, which was formerly called *Semerana*, Southamptonshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devonshire. At length, the Danes dominating over the land, a third law was put forth, which was called the

* BROMTON. See G. MONUMET. *Hist. Brit.* lib. iii. c. 13, where it is added, as to the Martian law: “This was, with other things, translated by Alfred. He called it, in the Anglo-Saxon language, *Pa Marchtla Lage*.”

† See Mercian Laws, in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 81, 82.

‡ BROMTON. See *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 20—65.

Denelaga, i. e. "the Danish Law," or "Law of the Danes."* This law prevailed in the fifteen eastern and northern shires, viz. Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Yorkshire. This province of York, it is to be remarked, formerly contained the entire land of Northumberland, that is from the waters of the Humber to those of the Tweed, the boundary of Scotland. At this day, however, the province of York extends only from the Humber on one side to the Tees on the other, and yet there are in it twenty-two hundreds, i. e. wapentakes. Durhamshire, which is within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durham, extends from the Tees to the Tyne. Northumberland, the chief town of which is Newcastle-upon-Tyne, reaches from the Tyne to the Tweed—the land of "Northumbrana," however, contained formerly all the land between the Humber and the Tweed, and thus was called the province of York. Carlislehire contains the land of Cumberland: to Appelbeshire belongs the land of Westmoreland. Lancashire contains in itself five moderate-sized shires—these are Westderbyshire, Salfordshire, Leylandshire, Blackburnshire, and the territory of Lancaster; and these are designated in common parlance, Hundreds or Wapentakes. The Latin word "Huntredus" being that which in Welsh and Irish is called "Cantred," and containing one hundred vills. *Wapentake*, an Anglo-Saxon word, means "to

* BROMTON. See *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 66, 71, 153, 161, 183. PALGRAVE'S *Rise and Progress of British Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 49.

“take up arms,” because upon the first coming of a new lord, the tenants, as a mark of their homage, yield to him their arms.* If, then, the *Northumbrana* district, which formerly extended from the Humber to the Tweed, was still to be regarded the same as in the olden time, the number of its shires would be thirty-two—but as we have already remarked, it is divided into six provinces, which are Yorkshire, Durhamshire, Northumberland, Carlisle-shire, Applebeshire, and Lancastershire; and then there are in all England, Cornwall excepted, thirty-seven shires, provinces, or counties.

* “*Waepen-getaec*, Wapentake; the hundred so denominated in some of the counties north of Trent, or, according to Edward the Confessor, 30, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire.” THORPE. *Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*.

Sir Henry Spelman, in his “English Works,” having shewn what was the ancient government of the church in this country, makes these remarks:—

“This was the modell of the church policy; composed no doubt of that fundamental rule of government prescribed by Jethro unto Moses: ‘*Appoint rulers over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens.*’ According to the steps whereof, the state temporal did likewise take her lineaments. For the temporal government was likewise divided into *Satrapies* or *Dukedoms*, which contained in them divers *Counties*; the County divers *Lathes* of *Trithings*; every Trithing divers *Hundreds* or *Wapentakes*; every Hundred divers *Towns* or *Lordships*, shortly after called Baronies. And the government of all these were committed to their several heads; viz. *Towns* or *Manours* to the Lords thereof, whom the Saxons called *Theings*, after Barons; *Hundreds* to the lords of the Hundreds; *Trithings* or *Lathes* to their Trithingreeves; *Counties* to their Earls or Aldermen; and the larger *Satrapies* to their Dukes or Chief Princes. All which had subordinate authority one under the other, and did within the precinct of their own territories, minister justice unto their subjects.” Of the Ancient Government of England. SPELMAN’S *English Works*, p. 50. b. See PALGRAVE’S *Rise and Progress of English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 97.

From the above-mentioned three laws, viz. *Merchenlaga*, *Westsaxenelaga*, and *Danelaga*, this King Edward, called the Third, propounded our common laws, which still are called the Laws of King Edward.†

* BROMTON. pp. 956, 957. To the laws of "Edward the Confessor," that is, the Code which under that designation received the sanction of William the Conqueror in the fourth year of his reign (See Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, p. 190), it is not necessary for us to refer, as coming especially within the main object of this work—the ancient legislation of England as regarded the slave-class and the poor. There is but one clause in these Laws that may be said to deal with them, § xxi. where archbishops, bishops, earls, barons and knights, are made responsible for the conduct of their domestic servants, and where, if judicial powers be vested in them, they have the power of deciding in their own courts respecting the accusations preferred against them (p. 194). Much more interesting than those laws which bear the name of Edward, is the Code entitled "*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*," which follows in the "*Ancient Laws and Institutes*," the *Dooms of Canute*, and "precedes the *Laws of Edward*," and by which the duties that should be exacted, and the privileges that should be conceded, to the prædial working classes, are laid down. Upon this Code it is remarked by Mr. Thorpe, in the Preface to "*the Ancient Laws*:"

"Immediately following the laws of Cnut, is the curious document entitled '*Rectitudines singularum Personarum*,' the Saxon original of which exists, I believe, in one manuscript only, belonging to the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This piece is valuable, as presenting us with an enumeration of the several classes of persons employed on a domain, of the services to be rendered by each, and of the reciprocal duty of the lord to those engaged on his land. This document presents difficulties to the modern student, arising from our want of acquaintance with many of the usages therein mentioned, though an attempt at the illustration of some will be found in the glossary appended to the work; it was therefore deemed advisable to annex to it the Latin version from a collection of manuscripts, in place of an English one, of which it seems hardly susceptible." (pp. iv. v.)

That which Mr. Thorpe shrank from doing, we fear even to attempt. The spirit however of this code may be gleaned from the regulations affecting the most helpless classes of all—the mere

drudges—the *esnes*, and their wives or daughters—and the *freeman* without home or habitation—the dependant (*folgere*) upon the rich man for protection and employment. It is declared as to these :—

“ Each male (*esne*), that is, each person in need, is to have twelve pounds of good corn, the bodies of two sheep, a good heifer, and wood pasturage, if such there be.

“ The female slave to have eight pounds of corn, one sheep, or three-pence for her winter meat, and one sester of beans for Lent. In summer her whey or a penny.

“ Every poor freeman to have every twelve months two acres, one half sowed and the other not, but the latter to be sowed by himself, and to have his food, and gloves, and shoes, and if he deserves more it ought to be given to him. (p. 187.)

“ Every sower has a right to have in every sowing-season one basketful, when his seed shall have been well sowed in the course of the year.

“ Every neat-herd is to have the herbage of two oxen, with the herd of his master, in the common pasturages : but this is to be with the testimony of his caldorman. He is also to have shoes and gloves, and fodder for his cow, with his master's oxen.

“ Every cowherd is to have the old cow's milk for seven nights after it has calved, and the biestings for fourteen nights of the young cows, and his own cow is to be kept with his master's.

“ Every shepherd is to have *thingan* for twelve nights at Christmas, and one lamb and one bell-wether's fleece, and the milk of his flock for seven nights before the equinox, and a cupful of whey or butter-milk all the summer.

“ The goatherd is to have the milk of his herd after the feast of St. Martin, and before that his part of the whey—and a he-goat, if he have taken good care of his herd.

“ To the beadle it belongs that, in consideration of his services, he be more free from manual labour than other men, because so often occupied with the necessary duties of his office—it is also proper that he have some little portion of land allotted to him for his labour.

“ To the woodman or forester belongs, as of right, all timber thrown down by the wind.” (p. 188.)

We find, in that useful and learned work “ the Saxons in England,” some observations respecting the document from which we quote, and the inferences that may be fairly drawn from it :—

“ The valuable document entitled, ‘ *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*,’ gives details respecting the allowances made to serfs in various prædial or domestic capacities which would induce a

belief not only that they were tolerably provided for, but even enabled by the exertion of skill and industry to lay up funds of their own towards the purchase of their freedom, the redemption of their children, or the alleviation of their own poverty. From the same authority, and others, we may conclude that on an estate in general, serfs discharged the functions of ploughman, shepherd, goatherd, swineherd, oxherd, and cowherd, barnman, sower, hayward, woodward, dairymaid, and beadle or messenger; while the geneát, cotsetta, gebúr, beócere, and gafolswan, were probably poor freemen, from whom a certain portion of labour could be demanded in consideration of their holdings, or a certain rent (*gafol*) reserved out of the produce of the hives, flocks, or herds committed to their care: and these formed the class of the *Laet* and *Esne*, poor mercenaries serving for hire or for their land, but not yet reduced so low in the scale as the *theow* or *wealh*." KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, book i. c. viii. vol. i. pp. 214, 215. See LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 357—362.

[We cannot pass from these regulations respecting the provision to be allowed to slaves, without reminding the classical reader, that Cato gives the dietary for his establishment: "For the bailiff, 100 lbs. of wheat per month, in winter; one-eighth more in summer. For the female housekeeper and shepherd, 75 lbs. each per month. For the slaves 4 lbs. of bread each per day in the winter. From the time they begin to dress the vineyard 5 lbs. per day, till they have figs, when they revert to 4 lbs." See a most valuable article on 'Ancient Agricultural Literature,' in *Quarterly Review*, No. clxxiii. (June 1850) p. 158.]

It is not improbable, but that when the poor wished in the Norman times for a restoration of the "Laws of King Edward," they desired to see restored the spirit of legislation which enforced such provisions as those to be found in the "Rectitudines Singularum Personarum." As to the difference between the condition of serfs in Saxon and in Norman times, see KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 212, and note *b*. We cannot better conclude this subject, than with the following just and candid observations of Mr. Kemble, with respect to slavery and serfdom during the reigns of the Anglo Saxon Kings.

"From what has been already cited, it must be evident that there was a constantly growing tendency in favour of freedom, that the clergy suggested every motive, and the law made every possible effort, at least to diminish the more grievous circumstances of servitude. It is moreover to be borne in mind, that a very large proportion of the *theowas* at any given time, were in reality criminal serfs, convicts expiating their sufferings by their crimes." (vol. i. p. 213.)

Mr. Kemble might have remarked, that in all respects our convicts are at this moment *the slaves of the state*—that such places of confinement as Milbank Penitentiary, and Pentonville prison, are governmental *Ergastula*—and that in our penal colonies it had been the practice for the Sovereign to hire out *his slaves* to private individuals.

Mr. Kemble continues his observations in these words :—

“ Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I am disposed to think that the mere material condition of the unfree population was not necessarily or generally one of great hardship. *It seems doubtful whether the labour of the serf was practically more severe, or the remuneration much less, than that of an agricultural labourer in this country at this day* : his lord was bound to feed him for his own sake, and if, when old and worn out, he wished to rid himself of a useless burthen, he could by an act of emancipation hand over his broken-down labourer to the care of a Church, which, with all its faults, never totally lost sight of the divine precepts of charity.” *The Saxons in England*, book i. c. viii. vol. i. pp. 213, 214.

We cannot, however, pass from the laws of King Edward, without remarking that banishment, and not slavery, was the punishment attached to crimes. And we cannot refrain from quoting one of them, § xvii., which distinctly lays down this proposition, that he who fails in his duty as a King, is not worthy of the name of a King. Such was the law defined by a Pope, and adopted by the Anglo-Saxons :—

“ Rex autem qui vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc constitutum est, ut regnum et populum Domini et super omnia, sanctam ecclesiam, regat et defendat ab injuriis; maleficos autem destruat et evellat. Sin autem, nomen regis perdit, testante Johanne Papa, cui Pepinus et Karolus filius ejus necdum reges sed principes, sub rege Francorum stulto, scripserunt, querentes : Si ita manere reges Francorum, solo regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est : Illos vocari decet reges qui vigilanter defendunt et regunt ecclesiam Dei et populum ejus, imitati regem psalmigraphum dicentem : ‘ Non habitabit in medio domus mei qui facit superbiam.’ ” (p. 193.) See as to the laws of Edward, R. Hoveden. p. 608.

As to Edward's donations to churches, see THORPE. pp. 1784, 2127, 2128. *Evident. Eccles. Cantuar.* p. 2224. DUGDALE'S *Monasticon*, vol. i. pp. 99, 190, 210, 267, 268, 423, vol. ii. pp. 118, 285, 286; 287, vol. iii. pp. 52, 100, vol. iv. p. 664, vol. vi. pp. 988, 991. ALFORD. vol. iii. pp. 562, 563. § 1.

As to other traits in the character of St. Edward the Confessor, see *Les vies des Saints*, vol. i. pp. 69, 70, 71, vol. vii. p. 28.

Britannia Sancta, vol. i. pp. 1—9. HARPSFIELD. xi. Sæc. c. 3. pp. 215, 216, 217, 218, 219. *Polydore Vergil*, lib. viii. p. 140, 141, 142, 143. BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, vol. x. pp. 643—655. PITSON'S *Illust. Ang. Script.* pp. 187, 188. SMITH. *Hist. Eccles. Ang.* lib. iii. c. 19. § 1. pp. 224, 225. § 4. 229, 230, 231.

CHAPTER VIII.

HAROLD, GODWINS-SON.

THE different candidates for the crown upon the death of Edward . . his grand-nephew Edgar, his brother-in-law Harold, and his kinsman William. The claims of Harold preferred. . consecrated as King. Harold's acceptance of the crown a violation of his oath to William. Most parts of England submit to Harold. Discontent of the Northumbrians. Harold in his desire to conciliate the Northumbrians visits them in company with St. Wulstan. The Saint foretells to the Northumbrians the calamities that were to befall them. St. Wulstan's efforts to reform the morals and correct the manners of the people. Harold's government praised by some of the English writers. Character of Harold by Ordericus Vitalis. William receives intelligence of the death of Edward and accession of Harold. William sends ambassadors to Harold. Harold's reply to William's message. Negotiations between William and Harold,

broken off by the latter. Tosty, the brother of Harold, urges William to invade England. The appearance of a comet in 1066. The coasts of England ravaged by Tosty, who is repulsed by Edwin and Morcar. William consults with his friends as to the invasion of England. Many opposed to it. The opposition overcome by the device of William Fitz-Osbern. Preparations for the expedition to England commenced. Foreigners engaged to serve with William. . the discipline maintained in the Norman camp at Dive. Pope Alexander II. William appeals to the Pope. . Harold neglects or declines doing so. The pope decides in favour of William, and against Harold as a perjurer. A standard sent to William by the Pope. Harold makes preparations to resist the invasions of the Norwegians and Normans. Harold sends spies to Normandy. William desires one of the spies to announce to Harold his determination to invade England within the year. The murmurs of William's followers. . his address to them. Lanfranc appointed by William Abbot of Caen monastery. Conan, Count of Brittany. Tosty in the court of Harald Hardrada. He induces the Norwegian to prepare for a hostile attack on England. Harold's land and sea forces disbanded on the 8th of September for want of provisions. Harald Hardrada joins Tosty in Scotland with a large fleet. The combined fleets of Tosty and Harald Hardrada reach the coast of England. . they defeat on the 18th of September the English forces under Edwin and Morcar. Vision of St. Edward. The defeat of the Northmen foretold. The battle of Stamford Bridge. The bravery of a single Northman described. The Northmen completely routed. Tosty and Harald Hardrada slain in battle. Harold spares Edmund, the King's son, and others who had participated in the invasion. Harold offends his own followers by refusing to divide the spoils won in war with them. The fleet of William arrives at St. Valeri-sur-Somme. The soldiers murmur at the delay in this port. The relics of St. Valery carried in procession. This

religious ceremony followed by a favourable wind. Departure of the Normans on Michaelmas eve. The unmolested disembarkation at Pevensey of William and his followers. Edgitha, the widow of King Edward, and sister of Harold, favourable to William. William falls in landing on the English coast. William establishes a fortification at Hastings. Anecdote respecting William when reconnoitering. William's strange dream the first night he slept in England. Harold is informed of the arrival of William in England. He resolves, although with a small force at his command, to march and meet the enemy. The message of Robert, the son of Guimare, to William. The gallant answer made by William. Harold in is vain recommended by his brother and friends not to oppose himself in person to William. A herald sent from Harold to William. The reply of William. Harold declines William's proposition for deciding their quarrel by single combat. Harold marches to "Battle," in the hope of being able to surprise William. William apprised of Harold's approach. The causes that led Harold with few soldiers to encounter the army of William. The report of Harold's spies on returning from the encampment of William. Gurth's advice to Harold rejected. The different manner in which the night before the battle is passed by the English and Norman soldiers. William's devotion on the morning of the battle. The incident respecting William's hauberk. he makes a vow to build a monastery. Anecdote respecting William Faber. William's address to his soldiers. Harold's speech to the English before the battle. The English and Norman forces described. The battle of Hastings. its various incidents set forth in detail. Discovery of Harold's body. Legends respecting Harold having escaped alive from the battle. The dream of William on the field of battle. William remains at Hastings some days, to see if the English will submit to him. Finding they will not do so, he ravages the country. The destruction of Romney. Dover submits to William. The men

of Kent also tender their allegiance. The English combine to declare Edgar King. The desires of the English defeated by their dissensions. William lays waste several provinces in England. The English defeated in the suburbs of London by Norman Knights. Archbishop Stigand surrenders to William. Archbishop Aldred, the Etheling Edgar, and others submit to William. The coronation of William in Westminster Abbey as King of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

HAROLD, GODWINS-SON.

A.D. 1066.

KING EDWARD died upon Friday, the fifth day of January, in the year 1066, and upon the following day his remains were consigned to the grave, with all the solemn pomp that became a king, and not without the bitter tears of all who were present, in attendance upon his obsequies.* By his death the seeds of discord were deposited in the kingdom, because the vacant crown was then claimed by two persons, each professing a legal right to possess it—Harold in England, and William in Normandy.† As to England itself, it was shaken with doubt, and bewildered by uncertainty, as to which candidate for the crown it should favour, or with which it should be committed as its ruler—Harold, or William, or Edgar; for even the

* F. WIGORN. a 1066. vol. i. p. 224. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066.

† W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan. par. ii. *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 253.

last, as being the nearest to Edward in blood, the King had commended to the nobles, but, with his usual tenderness for the feelings of others, had not openly expressed an opinion on the subject.*

There were, indeed, a few who had projected the elevation to the throne of Edgar Etheling, the son of Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, but as he was young, unfitted for so high a command, and poor in pecuniary means; and as Harold was, as far as intellect was concerned, more sagacious, as he abounded more in wealth, and as he had already distinguished himself in war, and won for himself renown, he was, to his own misfortune and the misery of the country, preferred to Edgar.†

Thus there were some of the nobles in favour of William, Duke of Normandy,‡ some of Earl Harold, the son of Godwin; and some in favour of Edgar, the son of Edward. Now, this is to be observed, that Edmund Ironside, the native king of England, of the royal race, was the father of Edward, and Edward of Edgar, to whom therefore the kingdom of England by right belonged: but Harold, alike astute and provident, well knowing that whatever is ready for execution should never be postponed from the present moment to a future time, did, upon the day of the Epiphany, and the very day on which King

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. i. p. 408.

† KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. i. c. 15. p. 2339. "Sed quia puer tanto honore minus idoneus videbatur, Haraldus comes de genere proditorum, cujus erat et mens astutior et crumena fecundior et miles copiosior, sinistro omine regnum obtinuit." ETHELRED. *Geneal. Reg.* p. 366. See BROMTON. p. 957.

‡ R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 513. "Fluctuabant proceres regni, quem sibi regem præficerent et rectorem; quidam enim Willelmo Normannorum duci."

Edward was interred, wring from the majority of the nobles the promise of their allegiance.*

No sooner then was King Edward's obsequies fully completed, and the tomb closed over his remains, than Harold, the son of Godwin, and as one chosen by the late King as his successor, was elected by the nobles of all England as the supreme monarch, and upon the same day consecrated with every fitting honour, by Aldred, Archbishop of York.† Thus was he, despite his lowly rank, and in defiance of the oath he had sworn, and in violation of the faith and allegiance to another with which he had bound himself, permitted to intrude himself upon the throne.‡ By the oath he had given to William, the King's relative, he had bound himself to guard and preserve the crown for that individual; for his own it never could be either by course of nature, or in accordance with law; and hence his own irreverent usurpation of the crown did but accelerate by a new crime (the violation of a compact aggravated by perjury) those evils which the pious King Edward had prophesied were impending over England.§

* R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 513. See H. HUNT. p. 367.

† F. WIGORN. See *Sax. Chron. Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 100. vol. i. p. 221. (Ang. Christ.) R. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* lib. vi. p. 384. R. DICET. p. 479.

‡ INGULPH. p. 68.

§ AILRED. *Vit. et Mirac. Edward Con.* p. 404, see also p. 401. The old English authorities attributed much of the evil consequences that befell their country to the perjury of which Harold had been guilty, sanctioned as that crime had been by the submission of the nation to him as an usurper. See S. DUNELM. p. 197. BROMTON. p. 952. KNYGHTON. p. 2340. PETER LANGTOFT's *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 60. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, vol. i. p. 354.

In whatever way the crown was won by Harold—whether gained by favour, or extorted by force—there can be

As to Harold's mode of ascending the throne, there are various accounts given in addition to those quoted in the text. The *Roman de Rou* describes the nobles as interfering with St. Edward on behalf of Harold, v. 10880—10970. vol. i. pp. 115—119. In *Harald Hardradas Saga*, c. 80, we have this account given of the nomination of Harold as King :

"It is said that when the King was approaching his last hour, Harald and a few others were with him. Harald first leant down over the King, and then said, 'I take you all to witness that the King has now given me the kingdom, and all the realm of England;' and then the King was taken dead out of the bed." LAING's *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 77. Then it is also said, that he surreptitiously obtained possession of the crown, ORDERIC VITALIS. lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 118, 119. Harald Hardradas Saga, c. 80. SNORRO. vol. ii. p. 153. M. PARIS. p. 2.—that he extorted possession of the crown, ALBERIC. *Chron.* a. 1065, in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 360—that as a perjurer, and aided by a few persons, he usurped the throne, G. PICT. pp. 104, 105. *Chronicon de Bello*, p. 2. W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 31. p. 664.

Even the manner of Harold's coronation is a matter of dispute, although we think from the authorities quoted, there can be no doubt he was consecrated by Aldred, Archbishop of York, as Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then suspended from the performance of his pontifical duties by the Pope. See F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 224. INGULPH. p. 68. *Liber. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 100. vol. i. p. 221. S. DUNELM. p. 193. R. DICET. p. 479. KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 16. p. 2339.

On the other hand, it is said that Harold was crowned by Stigand. ORDERICUS VITALIS. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 119. W. PICT. p. 105. MICHEL. *Chronique Anglo Normandes*, vol. ii. p. 243. Other authorities, if literally translated, would leave the signification that he placed the crown on his own head: "Capiti proprio imposuit diadema." ROG. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 513. "Qui quidam Haraldus ut quidam tradunt, seipsum apud Westmonasterium coronavit." BRONTON. pp. 957, 958. "Ut quidam tradunt, seipsum nullis cærimoniis diademate ornavit." POLYDOR VERGIL. lib. viii. p. 144. "Iste Haraldus quamvis semetipsum propriis manibus coronasset; nunquam tamen rex inunctus erat." RUDBORNE. *Hist. Maj.* lib. iv. c. 5. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 243.

no doubt as to this fact, that in a short time nearly all the kingdom had submitted to him as a sovereign.* The Northumbrians alone—a mighty, rude, uncivilized, and irreligious race of men—hesitated as to whether or not they would accept him as their sovereign; for they seemed to think that the bold and hardy sons of the north would be degraded if they appeared to yield to the dictation of the delicately-nurtured southerners. In this contumacious spirit, they were greatly encouraged by the example of Tosty, the brother of Harold, his equal in bravery, and in no respect his inferior, if he could have so far curbed his haughty spirit, as to study the arts of peace; but who, at a subsequent period (and as we shall have occasion hereafter to narrate more fully), appeared in the Northumbrian province with his ally, Harald Hardrada, the King of the Norwegians, and then suffered the due and heavy punishment of his rash courage and his unreasoning hatred.

On this occasion, however, Harold preferred subduing the contumacy with which he was encountered by measures of mildness and of peace, instead of rooting out rebellion with the sword; and therefore he made St. Wulstan the companion of his journey to the north. Harold did this, because he was aware that the fame of Wulstan's sanctity had penetrated even to the most remote inhabitants of Northumbria, and because it was believed that no arrogance, however great and unbending it might appear to be, could withstand the meekness and gentleness of the saint.

The event proved how correct was the opinion enter-

* W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan. in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 253.

tained with respect to St. Wulstan; for those very people, unconquerable by war, and untameable by disaster, in whose spirit was ever to be found the ferocity as well as the magnanimity of their ancestors, from reverence for St. Wulstan, yielded a ready allegiance to Harold.

And in that allegiance there can be little doubt they would have persevered, had not Tosty, as we have already intimated, perverted them.

This circumstance is to be remembered in connexion with St. Wulstan, that though he was, as a bishop, benevolent, meek, and gentle, still he never soothed with soft phrases the ears of those who abandoned themselves to wickedness; on the contrary, he reproached them with their vices, and when he found them incorrigible, he overwhelmed them with threats of the Divine vengeance. And if he perceived that private warnings were of no avail, then he openly proclaimed to them—and on this occasion he did so with a prophet's tongue—that they should suffer for their sins with a heavy punishment. The calculations of a wise man, and the vaticinations of a prophet, are seldom found without their speedy or their certain realization. And so it was with Wulstan, in his journey to the north, on this occasion. Coming events were alike foreseen and predicted by him. At last, he openly declared to Harold, that it would be detrimental to his interests, as well as to those of England, if he did not resolutely determine upon, and rigidly enforce, a correction of the wickedness and immorality that then prevailed.

There was at that period to be found prevalent in most parts of England, an abandonment of morals; for in the superabundance of peace, luxury had sprung up, and rioted in all sorts of pleasures. Wulstan, of course, de-

nounced the vicious, but he pursued, as if with a personal enmity, those men who wore long hair, and devoted their time to its adornment and preservation. And if any such persons came before him as penitents, he with his own hands denuded them of their luxuriant locks.* He had for this purpose a small knife, generally used by him in paring his nails or removing the blots and stains in books; and with this he cut some ringlets as if they were the first sacrificial hairs, and then enjoined, as a matter of obedience, upon his penitents, that they should themselves take off all the rest of their hair, so as to make it an equal length with that which he had clipped.† And when some persons manifested a repugnance to do this, he publicly reprobated them for their effeminacy, and as publicly forewarned them of the misfortunes that would befall them. “The time,” he said, “would come, when they would feel ashamed of themselves as men, because having imitated women in the wearing of flowing hair, they would be as incapable, as if they really were women, from defending their country from foreign nations.”

And who can doubt or dispute that in such words as these he did not then prophesy, as clearly as words could

* “Ille vitiosos, et præsertim eos qui crinem pascerent, insectari: quorum siqui sibi verticem supponerent, ipse suis manibus canam lascivientem secaret.” W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan. See Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. iii. § 245. vol. ii. p. 419 (E. H. S.)

† “Habebat ad hoc parvum cultellum, quo vel excrementa unguium, vel sordes librorum purgare consueverat. Hoc cæsariei libabat primitias, injungens per obedientiam, ut capillorum cætorum series ad eandem complanaretur concordiam.” W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan. These facts are, we conceive, curious, as illustrative of the manners as well as the customs of the times of which they treat.

intimate, a future fact, the landing of the Normans, which occurred in this very year ?*

No sooner was Harold entrusted with the government of the kingdom, than he made it his study to put an end to all laws that were unjust, and to devise laws that would be equitable—to prove himself the patron of churches and of monasteries—to pay respect to, and manifest veneration for, bishops, abbots, monks, clerks—in fine, to be benevolent to the good, and to hold malefactors, of every kind and degree, in abhorrence.† It was in accordance with such principles of government, that he issued a general order to all holding command under him, that they should arrest thieves, plunderers, and disturbers of the kingdom, whilst he himself laboured to put the country in a proper state of defence by sea as well as by land.‡ It is reported that Harold was endowed with not a few valuable qualities, even though he shewed no reluctance to dishonour himself with perfidy when it was profitable to him, and when, by a seeming show of virtues, he wished to confound the reasoning of mankind upon his conduct.§ As a man, Harold was remarkable for the magnificence and grace of his form, his strength, his dexterity, and his personal accomplishments ; his enlarged intellect, his eloquence as a speaker, his wit, and his wisdom in conversa-

* W. MALMSB. Vit. S. Wulstan, in *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

† F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 224.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 408.

tion. But of what avail were all these gifts to one who had not integrity?—that basis upon which every virtue must rest as its sure and solid foundation.*

* ORDERIC. VITALIS. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 118. (Soc. Hist. France). This author adds: "Mox ipse regnum, quod nequiter invaserat, horrendis sceleribus maculavit." Lib. iii. p. 191. This is directly at variance with what is said of Harold's government by Florence of Worcester, Malmsbury, Bromton, and so many other of the English writers. The approval of each is expressed in the strong language of an eulogium. And yet the Norman writers affirm that the brief reign of Harold was stained with "horrid crimes." Of what character, it may be asked, were those crimes? We find them stated in Knyghton, and we copy his words:—

"He (Harold) became too elated by his elevation to the throne. He was covetous in the collection of gold and silver, and treasures, and, indisposed for marriage, he dishonoured the families of barons, nobles, and knights of his kingdom; a circumstance that excited their wrath against him. He exhibited too, such severity and even ferocity in the preservation of his forests, that he drove away many of the nobility who resided in the neighbourhood of them—depriving several of their mansions, and reducing numbers to poverty. It cannot be a matter of wonder, that by such conduct as this, he rendered himself odious to his people. Hence it was, that a part of the earls and barons conferred together—and that they said that it was but by the mere accident of fortune he had become their king; that he was not a real king, but an usurper, who had intruded himself upon the throne, and as such solely ruled the nation for its misery and misfortune. They therefore sent to William, Duke of Normandy, promised him their aid if he would prosecute his claim to the crown, and gave to him an oath of fidelity if he did come. The invitation was accepted by William." KNYGHTON. lib. i. c. 16. p. 2339. He then adds, but only as a rumour, that Harold as a king had governed the country wisely and well:—"Tradunt quidam quod Haraldus regno potitus statim leges iniquas destruere, &c." p. 2339. We incline strongly to the belief that from motives of policy, Harold governed the state prudently; but as one stained with perjury, it was impossible for him to have acted fairly and justly towards the church. We imagine a true description of Harold's reign is given in the words of Polydore Vergil:

"Is statim initio sui regii principatus, memor se per vim reg-

It was on the tenth day after the death of King Edward, that William, Duke of Normandy, received the intelligence of the King's demise, as well as that he had been succeeded by no member of the royal family, and that the throne was then held by Harold as an usurper.*

num occupasse, ad promerendam suorum benevolentiam, neque liberalitate, neque clementia, nec comitate utendi ullam occasionem omittebat, qui graviora vectigalia aut sustulit, aut minuit, militibus stipendiam, ministris mercedem adauxit; sed hæc pre religione colenda, non multo accuratius agebat." *Ang. Hist.* lib. viii. p. 144.

* BROMTON. p. 958.

"Edward is dede, allas! messengers overwent
To William. Harold was, thorgh comon assent,
Was coroured nobly, and for Kyng thei him helde,
But the Duke of Normandie to William felle the schelde."

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 69.

In the *Roman de Rou*, a very interesting account is given of William upon hearing the news of Edward's death, and Harold's elevation to the throne. It is there stated by Wace, that William was in one of his parks, with knights, ladies, and squires, and had even arranged his bow for the sport of shooting, when,

"Eis voz al postiz un sergant
Ki d'Engleterre vint errant,
Al Duc vint dreit, cil salua;
A une part li cunseilla
Ke li Reis Ewart ert finez,
E Heraut ert à Rei levez."

Upon William being assured that Harold was actually King, he conducted himself like one whose passions had deprived him of his reason, he was observed often to fasten his mouth, and as often to unfasten it again, and then not speaking to any man, nor any man daring to speak to him—he then in a boat crossed the Seine, entered into his hall, seated himself on a bench there, turned himself about on it, from time to time, and at last covered his face with his mantel, leant his head upon a "pecol," and so remained, not uttering a word himself, nor any speaking a word to him. Wace then adds, that he was aroused from his gloomy reverie by William, the son of Osberne, the Lord of Breteuil, and

Now William had three good and sufficient reasons for being provoked to anger, and deeply irritated upon this occasion—first, because his own relative, Alfred, had been mutilated and then put to death by Godwin and his sons: secondly, because, through the machinations of Godwin as well as of his family, the Archbishop Robert, the Earl Odo, and all Frenchmen had been exiled from England; and thirdly, because Harold, the son of Godwin, had by perjury obtained a crown, and had, without even the semblance of a right, usurped that which, by reason of his relationship to the late monarch, could be more justly claimed by himself.*

Immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence,† William sent ambassadors to Harold to expostulate with him upon the treaty into which they had entered, and that had been thus violated; upon the promises that had been made, and were thus broken; and also to see if some means might not be devised by which their differences might be fairly and justly arranged.‡

The messengers of William addressed themselves to Harold in gentle language, as they had been instructed so

that, in accordance with his suggestions, messengers were sent to Harold. *Roman de Rou*, v. 10983—11064. vol. ii. pp. 120, 121, 122, 123.

* H. HUNT. p. 367. See *ETHELRED*. p. 367. *BROMTON*. p. 958. In Knyghton, *four* causes of discontent are alleged on behalf of William against Harold. 1st, the murder of Prince Alfred. 2nd, the proscription of Archbishop Robert. 3d, the promise of succession made to him by Edward, in case he should die without children. 4th, the oath of Harold to carry that promise into effect. *Lib. i. c. 16. p. 2340*.

† “*Eidem Haraldo protinus mandavit.*” *BROMTON*. p. 938.

‡ *INGULPH*. pp. 68, 69. See *W. DE HEMINGBURGH. Chron.* vol. i. p. 8.

to do, but at the same time their entreaties were commingled with the threat that William would, if compelled to do so, avenge himself with the sword before the year had passed away, and that he would be seen in that very place in which Harold deemed himself to be most secure.* To this Harold replied: "That as far as the crown of England was concerned, he (Harold) had been guilty of an act of presumption, because he had sworn to give to William that which was the inheritance of another, and this too without the knowledge of the Witenagemot and of the people; and that therefore his was a foolish oath, and as such, one to be broken. It was one to be regarded in the same light as a vow, or oath, made by a young girl, whilst living in her father's house, and without the knowledge of her relations, as to the disposal of herself to another person. Any such oath or vow," he remarked, "would be regarded and adjudged as in itself null and of no effect—how much more then the oath that he had made, when a subject, controlled by the King's authority, without the knowledge of the country, and unapproved of by the entire nation, and made, too, when under the coercive pressure of time and circumstances? Such an oath was one that never could be ratified. Besides," he remarked, "that William now asked him to do that which would be in itself iniquitous, namely, to abandon a sceptre which, by the extreme favour, and with the full approval of his countrymen, had been confided to his care. To do so, would," he affirmed, "neither be agreeable to the people, nor, as far

* W. MALMSE. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 408.

“ as the military power of the country was concerned, safe
“ for him to do.”

With such answer as this—founded as it was, in fact, and supported by plausible arguments, the messengers of William returned, having utterly failed in the object of their mission.*

When William found that his embassy had thus proved fruitless, he sent another message to Harold, to the effect : that though Harold had resolved upon profiting by the violation of his faith, still if he would marry his daughter, he (William) would submit with patience to the wrong that had been done ; but if Harold would not do this, then he would most assuredly find him (William) vindicate his right to the throne by arms.†

Harold elated with the possession of the imperial diadem, bestowed not a single thought upon the promises he had made, and the compacts into which he had entered with William.‡ He not only maintained that he was freed from his oath, but that the daughter of William, to whom he had been betrothed, had died when she was marriageable. * * * Besides, he was under the impression that the threats of William would never lead to any serious result, because he knew that the Norman was

* W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. pp. 408, 409. See for an answer, somewhat different in its terms, EADMER. *Hist. Nov.* p. 5.

† W. DE HEMINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 8. (E. H. S.)

‡ W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 408. This is the same daughter to whom reference has been already made, and whose age, at the time she was affianced to Harold, is a matter of dispute. See PLUQUET. *Roman de Rou.* vol. ii. pp. 193, 194. note 4. *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 349—360.

involved in war with the neighbouring princes.* He, therefore, would scarcely give an audience to the ambassadors of William—he listened to them without attention, he denied his treaty, repudiated his promise, and treated with contumely and scorn every tender of accommodation and compromise that was made to him.†

With these proceedings on the part of Harold, William felt greatly and justly indignant, and the iniquity of which the former had been guilty, filled him with the hope that he should yet be victorious.‡

As to the English people, they were conscious that a sudden, unexpected, and rash usurpation of their rights had been effected by Harold, and some few amongst the most illustrious of their nobility were willing and ready, not merely to refuse submission to Harold, but openly to resist him.§ Others, however, not knowing how the usurper's government was to be avoided, the pressure of which was felt as an over-grievous burden: and considering that they were neither aware how it was to be got rid of, nor, if it were at an end, what other person could, with advantage to the kingdom, be substituted for Harold,—submitted their necks to the yoke, and thus by their adhesion, gave coherence and strength to a monarchy that had originated in crime. * * *

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 228. vol. ii. p. 408.

† INGULPH. p. 69.

‡ W. DE HEMINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 8. The *Roman de Rou* states that William then sent him a defiance to battle, and that Harold in revenge drove all the Normans out of the country:—

“Fist Herant del paiz chacier
- N'en i volt un soul lessier.”

V. 11073—11089. vol. ii. p. 124.

§ ORDERICUS VITALIS. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 119.

Amongst the (English) nobility were Edwin and Morcar. Both were earls, and both the sons of the illustrious Earl Algar. These were bound by sincere attachment to Harold, and sustained him with all their strength, because he now became the husband of their sister Edgiva, who had previously been the wife of Griffith, the valiant King of Wales, and the mother, by that Prince, of Blethyn (the successor of Griffith), and a daughter named Nest.* On the other hand, Tosty, the son of Earl Godwin, was filled with wrath upon perceiving that the crime of his brother Harold had been attended with success, and that the kingdom of England was thus exposed to manifold oppressions. He, therefore, openly declared himself the opponent of his brother, and resolved to resist him.† The exiled earl commended his wife, Judith, to the care of his father-in-law, Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, and from Flanders proceeded to Normandy, where he addressed a strong rebuke to Duke William, because he was permitting a man who had been guilty of perjury to himself, to reign over the English people; and he at the same time voluntarily tendered his allegiance to William, and promised that if he would cross the sea with all the military strength of Normandy,

* ORDER. VITAL. See notes of M. A. Le Prevost upon Order. Vital. vol. ii. pp. 119, 120 (Soc. Hist. France); and as to the marriage of Harold with "Eddeva Pulchra, see W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 31. MICHEL. note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*. vol. iii. pp. 179, 180.

† A sentence of the author (Orderic. Vitalis) is here omitted, as he erroneously states that it was during the reign of Harold Tosty was banished from England. The event had taken place in the year 1065.

the effect would win for him dignity, empire, and the English crown.

Long previous to this time a mutual friendship had united together in the strong bonds of attachment both William and Tosty, who were married to two sisters ; and this close connexion but riveted more firmly their respect and regard for each other. William then received with great joy his relative and his friend ; thanked him sincerely for his amicable reproaches, and animated by the exhortations of Tosty, resolved upon convoking the nobles of Normandy, in order that he might fully and openly consult with them upon the great project he then contemplated.*

Tosty was, however, in the first instance, despatched by William against England.†

It was on the 24th of April that there appeared a comet, which was seen not only in England, but, as it is believed, in every other part of the globe. For seven successive nights it shone in the heavens with a dazzling and excessive brightness.‡

* ORDERIC. VITALIS. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 119, 120, 121. (Soc. Hist. France).

† "PORRO DUX Tosticum Comitem in Anglia misit." W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 32. p. 664. (Camden.) M. Michel justly censures the Norman writers for the misstatements made by them respecting Tosty, and his being the elder brother of Harold. See *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 182, 183.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 225. "Easter," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "was then on the 16th day before the calends of May. There was over England such a token seen as no man ever saw before. Some men said it was the comet-star, which others

A short time after the appearance of the comet, Earl Tosty returned from Flanders to England.* The first place at which he touched was the Isle of Wight, the inhabitants of which he forced to supply him with money and provisions. He then departed, and proceeded all along the coasts of the sea, until he arrived at Sandwich, ravaging and plundering the people.†

The moment that these circumstances became known to King Harold, who was then staying in London, he directed an immense fleet to be gathered together, and a large army of cavalry congregated, whilst he himself

denominate the long-haired star. It appeared first on the eve called *Litania Major*, that is, on the 8th before the calends of May, and so shone all the week." *Sax. Chron.* pp. 257, 258. INGRAM. "In diebus illis in parte Circii cometes apparuit, que tribus radiis longius protensis, maximam partem Austri per spacium quindecim noctium illustravit, et mutationem ut plurimi asseverunt alicujus regni designavit." W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 31. p. 664. "In festis paschalibus per quatuordecim fere noctes continuas cometa apparebat: quo in tempore atrox et lachrymabile nimis prælium factum est in partis Aquilonibus, in quo rex Anglisaxonum tres reges cum infinito eorum exercitu usque ad internicionem delevit." L. SCHAFNABURG. *Reb. Germ.* a. 1066. "Cometa stella visa est." MARIANUS SCOTUS. a. 1066. "Cometes apparuit in tota Paschali hebdomada." SIGEBERT. GEMBLAC. *Chron.* a. 1066. in PISTORIUS. *Veter. Script. Germ.* vol. i. pp. 176, 452, 600. Otto. *Frising. Chron.* lib. vi. p. 35. URTESIUS. *Rer. Illust. Script.* vol. i. p. 137. The appearance of the comet at this particular period was an incident which these extracts suffice to show attracted the attention of foreign writers, and induced some of them to believe that it was an indication of the great revolution that was impending over England. It is pourtrayed in the Bayeux tapestry. See TURNER'S *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*. vol. ii. p. 384. (Sixth ed.)

* "Non multo post, Comes Tostius de Flandria rediens." F. WIGORN. See *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066. p. 258. INGRAM.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 125. "And committed outrages by the sea-coast, every place where he could land." *Sax. Chron.*

prepared to proceed to the port of Sandwich.* No sooner did this intelligence reach Tosty, than he withdrew from Sandwich, and taking with him the boatmen,† some of whom were volunteers, and some unwillingly pressed into his service, he proceeded towards the Lindsey district, in which he burned to the ground a great many vills, and put to death a vast number of individuals.‡ From that portion of the country, the united valour of the two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, speedily forced him.§ By them he was driven from the land, forsaken by the boatmen, and thence he sailed towards Scotland with not more than twelve smacks. By the King of the Scotch he was not merely hospitably entertained, but his men were supplied with provisions, and Scotland was made the place of his abode during the summer.|| His

* F. WIGORN. "When it was told to King Harold, who was in London, that his brother Tosty was come to Sandwich, he gathered so large a force, naval and military, as no King before gathered in this land; for it was credibly reported that Earl William from Normandy, King Edward's cousin, could come hither and gain this land; just as it afterwards happened." *Sax. Chron.* p. 258. INGRAM. This statement is confirmatory of that made by the Norman writers, that Tosty's invasion was made with the connivance of William.

† "Butsecarlis." F. WIGORN. "Butsekarlon." *Sax. Chron.* These boatmen were probably used as pilots to Tosty's fleet of sixty ships.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 225. "And (Tosty) went north into the Humber with sixty ships, whence he plundered in Lindsey, and there he slew many good men." *Sax. Chron.* "A Flandria in Humbram navigio sexaginta navium delatus." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 386.

§ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 386.

|| *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066.

host on this occasion was Malcolm, King of Scotland.*

Duke William, who had resolved upon avenging the insult he had received, and of vindicating his right to the inheritance he claimed by force of arms, held a consultation with his friends.† In this resolution he persisted, although several of the older and more experienced amongst them sought to dissuade him by shrewd and ingenious arguments, as, for instance, that the matter was far too arduous to be undertaken, and one quite beyond the strength or power of the Normans to accomplish.‡ Upon a matter of such mighty import, the opinions were as various as the individuals composing the assembly.§ The more ardent in spirit were most willing to correspond with the desires of the Duke, and, therefore, incited their associates to prepare at once for battle, and, whilst they lauded the proposal, declared that not a moment should be lost in making a commencement with it. Others, however, were for dissuading the Duke against proceeding with it, as alike rash, precipitous and perilous, and adverse to which there were these obstacles—the dangers of a sea-passage to be encountered—a large fleet to be prepared—a few Normans

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 225. See, in reference to these transactions of Tosty, W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 32. p. 664. ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. p. 119. HIGDEN. *Polychron.* p. 284. R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 513, 514. S. DUNELM. p. 193. BROMTON. p. 958. KNYGHTON. p. 2339.

† W. PICT. p. 105.

‡ W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Norman.* p. 105. (Masceres.)

§ “Et audita re tam grandi, utpote diversi diversa senserunt.” ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. p. 122.

at the best to be placed in hostile array against a multitudinous nation of Englishmen—and, with such impediments as these before them, they maintained that victory was an impossibility.*

A second council was summoned by William, and as the nobles were proceeding to take part in it, they were joined by William, the son of Osbern, who held the office of the Duke's seneschal.† He descanted upon the perilous expedition that was proposed to them by the Duke to undertake—he contended strongly against the feasibility or the wisdom of a few individuals like themselves attempting to wage war against an entire nation of valiant men such as the English had proved themselves to be.

The nobles hearing the seneschal so express himself were greatly rejoiced—and they, therefore, pledged their faith to him, that whatever he should say to the Duke, they would agree to. No sooner, however, did he come along with them into the presence of Duke William, than he said—"I am prepared with all these, my friends, as well as with all the means in my power, to proceed upon the expedition you have proposed to us."

In accordance with the promise they had previously given to him, all the nobles of Normandy thus felt themselves compelled to coincide in the words and the proffer of the Duke's seneschal.‡ Whatever then William was pleased

* ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. p. 122.

† R. DICET. *Abbrev. Chron.* p. 479. The fact of there being two consultations of the friends and nobles of William, before the invasion of England was absolutely determined upon, is proved by H. HUNT. p. 367, BROMTON. p. 938, KNIGHTON. p. 2340, and the *Roman de Rou*, v. 11120—11300. vol. i. pp. 126—134.

‡ R. DICET. *Abbrev. Chron.* p. 479. According to the *Roman*

to direct all were ready to obey, and the incapacity of the individual to execute was the only limit that could be found to the extent of each man's performances.* What prudent preparations were then made by them for the supply of shipping, for arms, for men, for provisions, and the other materials requisite for a warlike expedition, and how all Normandy was animated by the same spirit and with the same ardent zeal, it would be tedious to tell in detail. Prudent provision was made for every contingency, and no less care was taken to secure success for the expedition abroad, than to have Normandy well governed

de Rou, William Fitz Osbern, he who was the Duke's seneschal and the lord of Breteuil, not merely entrapped the Norman nobles into a promise to aid the expedition to England; but, without any authority received from them, he offered on his own part, as well as for them, double the usual contributions they were bound to make in case of war:—

“ Ki solt mener vint chevaliers
 Quarante en merra volentiers
 E ki trente servir delt
 De sesante servir vos velt,
 E cil ki solt servir de cent
 Dous cent en merra bonement.” v. 11254—11259.

This artful proposal, which was regarded as an attempt to double the contributions on the nobles, and to convert a pressing exigency into a permanent burden, created such a commotion in the assembly, that all became talkers and none listeners.

“ Mult part fu la cort troblée
 Grant fu la noise è la criée;
 Nus hoem ne poeit altre entendre,
 Parole oïr ne raison rendre.” v. 11276—79.

Upon the Duke taking each of them apart, and promising that he never would for the future ask more than what had been customary to demand, they then stated what was the number of ships that each would prepare for the expedition. See *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. pp. 130—134.

* W. Pict. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Norman.* p. 106. (Maseres.)

and safely guarded during the contemplated absence of the Duke.*

An immense number of foreign soldiers was also mustered. They were attracted to the standard of William partly by his well-known liberality; but still more by a perfect confidence in the justice of his cause. To these, as they came into the Duke's camp, every species of rapine was prohibited, and whilst they remained at the mouth of the river Dive, detained by adverse winds, pay and provisions were monthly given out for fifty thousand armed men. Such was the prudence and forethought of William as the commander of an army. For soldiers, whether natives or foreigners, there was abundance, and thus even the slightest pretext for plunder was not afforded. The herds and the flocks of the country people browsed in peace in their own fields, or in the midst of tents. The untouched crops awaited the sickle of the reaper, and were neither crushed beneath the careless hoofs of the proud war-horse, nor torn away by the greedy hand of a camp-forager. The helpless and the unarmed man jogged heart-free and singing whithersoever he pleased, and seeing as he

* W. PICT. It is stated by Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iv. and lib. vii. that the care of Normandy was during his absence confided to his eldest son Robert. Benoit, on the other hand, says that the administration of the duchy was confided alone to the wife of William—Matilda—"A sa femme la proz, la sage." *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 36992. vol. iii. p. 189. (Monuments Inédits sur L'Hist. de France.) We entertain, however, little doubt that the government of Normandy was during the absence of William confided to Robert; for we find it so distinctly stated in that curious old document in Camden, entitled, "*Fragmentum de Guilhelmo Conquestore*." The words used are these. "Ducatum Normanniæ, antequam in Epitunio Senlac contra Heraldum certassem, Robertus filio meo concessi." *Ang. Norman. Hiber. Script.* p. 32.

passed along troops upon troops of grim warriors, whose discipline he admired, but whose weapons he did not fear.*

At that time there sat in the chair of St. Peter, at Rome, the Pope Alexander, one who was most worthy of obedience and reverence, and who was consulted by the universal church, and whose responses were ever found to be as just as they were salutary.† He had been Bishop of Lucca; he had sought to attain no higher grade in the church, when the predominant, the strong, and, it might be deemed, even the overbearing opinion of a great number of those who held pre-eminent authority amongst the Romans—sustained as that opinion was by the assent of a great council of spiritual persons—placed him in that primacy, which is the chief, and master of all the bishoprics in the lands on this earth. He had won such a promotion by his merits,—his great sanctity and his great learning: and through them his name shone as a refulgent light, from the rising to the setting of the sun; and like too to that luminary in that course which nature has prescribed to it,—he pursued his way unchanging and unchangeable,—his only goal, truth—his sole means of reaching it, the straight path of honesty. And he so proceeded onward, correcting every evil he encountered, and making no concession to the bad passions of mankind.‡

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc Norman.* p. 106.

† W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Nor.* p. 106. (Maseres).

‡ W. PICT. Of this Pope, whose name is mixed up with English history, a few facts may be stated. When Bishop of

William was anxious to obtain the opinion in his favour of one so apostolical.* For this purpose he sent to Rome

Lucca, he was appointed the colleague of St. Peter Damian, and sent in the year 1059 by Pope Nicholas II. to correct the abuses of the Milanese clergy, who were charged with the crimes of simony and impurity. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. a. 1059. § 44. pp. 162, 163. In the year 1061, he was, mainly by the exertions of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), elevated to the chair of St. Peter. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. pp. 182, 183, § 1. The same year in which he was made Pope, he desired Herlembald, Duke of Milan, not to become, as that pious person desired, a monk, but to remain a layman, and contend against those who, with simony and impurity, were fomenting heresy in the church; and to encourage Herlembald so to act, there was bestowed upon him by this Pope and the cardinals a standard: "Mirificum vexillum dedere ut quoties hæreticorum vesania ultra modum insaniret, illud in manu tenens, eos reprimeret." BARONIUS. vol. xvii. a. 1061. § 60, 61. p. 202. In the year 1062, he had to address letters to Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, the ally of Tosty, and slain with him in England, that he should pay due respect in spiritual matters to the Archbishop-Vicar of Bremen, for that many of the bishops in Norway had been guilty of simony, and improperly ordained both in France and England. "In Anglia, vel in Gallia pessime sunt ordinati." The epistles and the legates of the Pope were both contemned by Harald Hardrada, as by other tyrants: "Tyrannus—clamitans se nescire quis esset archiepiscopus, aut potens in Norvegia, nisi solus Haraldus." BARONIUS. vol. xvii. a. 1062. § 106, 107, 108. p. 232. In 1063, he promulgated the canons of a council, in which purity was enforced amongst clergy and laity, under penalty of excommunication; and at the same time canons were commanded to live in common, and to possess no private property. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. § 31—37. pp. 245, 246. In the same year he forbade monks to pass beyond their cloisters. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 252. § 61. The name of this good Pope appears in connexion with the history of England, in the years 1066, 1068, 1070, 1071, and 1072. He died in the year 1073, and it is stated of him, that when living, miracles were worked by him. BARONIUS. vol. xvii. p. 352. § 12. See PAGI. § 13. pp. 352, 353, respecting his personal virtues, and his efforts to effect church reforms.

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* pp. 106, 107.

Gislebert, the Archdeacon of Lisieux,* in order that he might make a statement of the entire matter, and obtain from Alexander, as Pontiff, his decision respecting it.† This did William, lest a just cause should have attached to it the imputation of temerity, and because he desired that the equity of the war in which he was about to engage should be sustained by all the strength of eloquence.‡

* "We think that the individual here referred to was Gislebert Maminot, the son of Robert de Courbépine (near Bernai), and who was Bishop of Lisieux in 1077. This individual enjoyed the entire confidence of William, and was at the same time both his chaplain and his physician. It is probable that with him began the privilege attached to the bishops of Lisieux—of being by right of office almoners of the Dukes of Normandy, with the important exemption attached to that office." A. LE PREVOST. note to ORDERIC. VITALIS. vol. ii. p. 122.

† ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 122.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* § 238. vol. ii. p. 410. The Archdeacon of Lisieux was not the only advocate that William had at the court of Rome. Amongst his supporters was the celebrated Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII. Herr Lappenberg, in alluding to this circumstance, assures his readers, as to the motives of Hildebrand: that he was favourable to the interests of the Duke, "in the expectation of increasing the influence of the church of Rome in England, and effecting the restoration of St. Peter's Penny." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 288. The motives of Hildebrand may be more fairly surmised (although he was a real reformer of church abuses), from his own words, than from those of a modern church-reformation author, like Herr Lappenberg. In a letter dated the 24th April, 1080, and addressed by Pope Gregory VII. to William, King of England, he thus alludes to the part taken by him in 1066, in favour of William and against Harold:—

"Notum esse tibi credo, excellentissimi fili, priusquam ad pontificale culmen ascenderem, quanto semper te sinceræ dilectionis affectu amavi, qualem etiam me tuis negotiis et quam efficacem exhibui; insuper ut ad regale fastigium cresceres quanto studio laboravi. Qua pro re a quibusdam fratribus magnam pene infamiam pertuli, submurmurantibus quod ad tanta homicidia per-

Harold neglected to imitate the example given by William in this appeal to the Pontiff; either because he was by nature haughty and pompons, or because he distrusted the goodness of his cause, or because he was afraid that his ambassadors might be way-laid by William and his confederates, who blockaded all the ports. The result was that the Pope, having maturely considered all that could or might be alleged on both sides,* decided in favour of the legitimate claims of the duke: commanded him to take up arms against the perjurer, and transmitted to him the standard of St. Peter the Apostle, by whose merits he could be protected from every peril.†

petranda tanto favore meam operam impendisse. Deus vero in mea conscientia testis erat quam recto id animo feceram, sperans per gratiam Dei, et non inaniter confidens de virtutibus bonis quæ in te erant, quia quanto ad sublimiora proficeres, tanto te apud Deum et sanctam ecclesiam (sicut et nunc, Deo gratias res est) ex bono meliorem exhiberes. *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xiv. p. 648. See also p. 649.

* "Quare, perpensis apud se utrinque partibus." W. MALMES. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 410.

† "Papa vero auditis rebus quæ contigerant, legitimo duci favit, audacter arma sumere contra perjuro præcepit, et vexillum Sancti Petri apostoli, cujus meritis ab omni periculo defenderetur, transmisit." ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 122, 123. William's complaint against Harold is briefly expressed in the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*:—

"E cum Heraut s' ert desleiz
Qui vers lui s' esleit parjurez."—

V. 36793—4, vol. iii. p. 181.

The *Roman de Rou* says that on this occasion the pontiff not only sent William a standard, but also a precious ring, containing one of the hairs of St. Peter:—

"L' Apostoiles li otreia
Un gonfanon li enveia,
Un gonfanon e un anel
Mult precios e riche e bel;

Harold, however, manifested no feeling of respect for the decision of the Pope.* He had conceived that he might devote his entire time to the enjoyment of ease and tranquillity with his subjects; and, if he had not been informed that the King of Norway was about to assail him, he would not have deemed it necessary either to muster an army, or to make preparations for battle.† He now, however, proceeded to Sandwich port, and there awaited the arrival of his fleet; and as William, the cousin of King Edward, was now also preparing to come to England with an army, Harold was in a state of observation and watchfulness during the entire summer, and even until the autumnal season, for his arrival; having for this purpose stationed a land-army at every accessible point for a foreign force to disembark all along the coasts.‡

Harold being thus prepared to decide his cause in battle, whether by land or by sea, and now waiting with an immense army upon the sea-shore the arrival of his foes, secretly and cunningly sent over hired spies to Nor-

Si come it dit, desoz la pierre
 Avait un des cheveux Saint Pierre."

V. 11450—6. vol. ii. p. 140.

The same authority mentions that Harold and all his adherents lay under the ban of excommunication. V. 12356—9. vol. ii. p. 179. Upon this appeal to the Pope by William, see BROMTON. p. 958. INGULPH. p. 69. R. DE WEND. vol. i. p. 516.

ALBERIC. *Chron. in Rer. Gall. et. Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 360. BARONIUS. a. 1066. § 7, 8. vol. xvii. p. 288.

* "Haraldus vero judicium Papæ parvi pendens." INGULPH. *Hist.* p. 69.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 408.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 225.

mandy.* One of these spies was apprehended, and when he endeavoured to conceal by a false pretext what was the real cause of his coming, the duke showed the magnanimity of his mind by addressing him in these terms :—

“ It is not necessary for Harold, by the expenditure of his gold, and the wasteful loss of his silver, to buy thy fidelity, or make purchase of the astuteness of persons like to thee, who may come hither, and by craft and cunning seek to gain a knowledge of my intentions and my proceedings. That which is determined upon in council is proclaimed openly in public ; and a more certain assurance of what is contemplated will be given, than can be conveyed by any rumour, or embodied in the expression of any opinion—namely, my own personal declaration, and the distinct avowal now made by my own lips. Bear thou back then this my proclamation to Harold, that he may pass his days for ever in peace ; if within the space of one year, he does not behold me, even on that very spot, on which he hopes to find his best defence and strongest security against me.”

Many of the leading men amongst the Normans, when they heard these words, embodying as they did a great promise of future deeds, and an awful threat, could not refrain from expressing their fears and their dissatisfaction. They addressed Duke William in language that despair seemed to have dictated ; they exaggerated the power which Harold possessed, and they disparaged their own. They represented that Harold abounded in wealth, with which might be won the services of valiant leaders.

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 107. (Maseres.)

and the alliances of powerful kings; that he had under his command an immense fleet, manned by crews that were perfectly skilled in nautical manœuvres, and who were well accustomed to dare the perils of the sea, and long-experienced in naval warfare; and that the land over which he ruled was not merely rich in wealth, but supremely invincible, by the immense number of its vast population, well-trained in the use of arms. How then was it possible for William to make good his promise, or fulfil his threat? By what means could ships be built, or when built, where find rowers for them within the space of a single year? Who, they asked, had not reason to fear that this expedition would not be the means of changing the then flourishing state of their country into one scene of absolute and wide-spread misery? Who would not, they added, affirm that a task was proposed to them, that would require the wealth of the Roman empire to overmaster (and even then with difficulty) all the obstacles with which it was beset?

The timid and the faint-hearted who gave expression to such apprehensions as these, were filled with hope, and inspired with confidence, by the following words of Duke William:—

“The policy of Harold,” said he, “is well known and thoroughly comprehended by us; and so far from filling us with fear, increases our confidence. His means are uselessly expended—his gold is wasted, and yet his power is not consolidated. There is not in him that energy of spirit that could induce him even to presume to promise a particle of any thing that belongs to me. But, in accordance with my will, not only is all that is mine own retained, but that which may now be

“ said to be his can be promised by me to others, and shall
“ be given to them. That man will assuredly conquer
“ his foe, who is capable to give away, as if it were his
“ own property, that which the foe, for the moment, retains
“ in his possession. As to the sea-passage to which you
“ refer, it cannot be prevented, and when once begun shall
“ be as joyfully undertaken, as it is sure to be successfully
“ accomplished. Men well know that greater difficulties
“ than it presents, have been happily and triumphantly
“ overcome by me. The victory in a battle is won more
“ through the valour, than by the numbers of soldiers
“ ranged on either side. Besides, there is this difference
“ between Harold and myself: he will fight, that he may
“ not be deprived of that which he has robbed ; I, on the
“ other hand, am but seeking for that which was bestowed
“ upon me as a gift, and to which I had entitled myself
“ by kindnesses bestowed upon the donor. All then that
“ is required on our side is perfect faith and complete con-
“ fidence—with these every danger will be dissipated—a
“ joyous triumph won, great honour gained, and an un-
“ dying renown secured.”

This true Catholic, and this really wise man, felt confident that the omnipotent power of that God, Who wills no evil deed to be done, would never permit a just cause to be defeated. Besides, William bore this in mind, that he intended in going to England, not so much to extend his own power, and increase his temporal glory, as to correct the abuses that prevailed in the Christian customs of that country.*

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* pp. 107, 108. The last words of the author deserve to be quoted : “ Præsertim consideranti sese,

In Normandy then, a vast number of ships, with their requisite equipments, were got ready with all due diligence.* For the construction of these both clergy and laity manifested a like zeal, and contributed with a similar emulation in defraying the expenses that were so incurred.†

qui non tantum ditionem suam et gloriam augere, quantum ritus Christianos partibus in illis corrigere intendit." These words shew why the Norman invasion was approved by such pious men as Pope Alexander II., and Hildebrand, his successor. Upon the abuses with which the English clergy were chargeable at the time, see HARPSFIELD. ix. Sæc. c. 5, p. 222. In refering to the victory of William, it is observed by Adam of Bremen: "Bastardus victor in ultionem Dei, quem ipsi offenderant Angli, omnes fere clericos et monachos absque regula viventes expulit." Adam. Gest. Ham-maburg, lib. iii. § 50. PERTZ. vol. vii. p. 355.

* ORDERIC VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 124.

† Order. Vital. "We know from William at Poitiers, that it was from Dive that the fleet of Duke William sailed to Saint-Valeri-sur-Somme. It is then probable that it was in that and the neighbouring ports that the ships had been constructed. A manuscript published by Taylor, gives us the number of the different vessels that were supplied by the principal nobility, laymen as well as ecclesiastics. William Fitz-Osbern is there set down for sixty ships; Hugh of Avranches, sixty; Hugh of Montford, fifty ships, and sixty chevaliers; Remy, who was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, one ship, and twenty chevaliers; Nicholas, Abbot of Saint Ouen and cousin-german of the Duke, twenty ships and one hundred chevaliers; Robert, Count d'Eu, sixty ships; Foulques-le-Boiteux (d'Aunon), forty ships; Gerold le-Dapifer, forty ships; William, Count of Evreux (in place of William read Richard), eighty ships; Roger de Montgomeri, sixty; Roger de Beaumont, sixty; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, a hundred; Robert, Count of Mortain, one hundred and twenty; Gantier Giffard, thirty, and a hundred chevaliers.

"The vessel in which the Duke himself sailed was provided by the Duchess Matilda, and was named 'the Mora.' It bore on its poop, as it is stated in the manuscript, the golden image of a child, which pointed with its right hand to England, and in the other had a horn of ivory, which pressed against the lips of the image." A Lx PREVOST, note on Orderic. Vitalis, vol. ii. pp. 124, 125. (Soc.

The great bulk of the fighting men enrolled for this expedition were natives of Normandy; but excited by the rumour of what was preparing, men whose lives were passed in war, mustered together in the adjoining counties, and prepared the weapons and instruments that are required in a military campaign. Amongst these were French, Bretons, warriors of Poitiers, and Burgundians, and others dwelling on this side of the Alps.* They flew to arms, ready to engage in a conflict across the sea; and panting for the spoil of England, they voluntarily presented themselves to encounter the perils of the sea, and the still greater dangers that awaited them whenever they should effect a landing.

Whilst these preparations were making, Osbern, the Abbot of the monastery of St. Evreul, and the monks, sought for the opinion of the Duke as to the appointment of a successor previous to his crossing. William, however, was at the moment at Bonneville † holding a council with his nobles. There he, in accordance with the advice of

Hist. France.) The *Roman de Rou* states that the ship of William was decorated at the prow with the copper image of a child armed with a bow and arrow, which it seemed on the point of discharging against England. v. 11596—11600. vol. ii. p. 146, 147. Upon the contributions of the nobles to the expedition, and the number of ships composing it, see same vol. pp. 134, 145, and *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 189.

* ORDER. VITAL. Upon the composition of William's army, and the various provinces represented in it, see *Roman de Rou*, v. 12794—12802. vol. ii. p. 199.

† "We must not be surprised to find William at this time constantly residing at Bonneville-sur-Tonque, as he might there watch over and accelerate the construction of his fleet. Besides, this was the most central of all his places of abode." A. LE PREVOST. note on Orderic. Vitalis, vol. ii. p. 125.

Bishop Hugh and other prudent persons, elected the prior Mainer as abbot, and by the bestowal of the pastoral staff, confided to him the care of the monastery, and at the same time commanded the before-named bishop, that he would look to the spiritual welfare of the monks. A command that was readily undertaken and faithfully fulfilled.*

Upon the same day on which he made this appointment, the Duke commanded Lord Lanfranc, Prior of Bec, to appear before him, and then bestowed upon him the abbey which he had himself founded at Caen in honour of the protomartyr St. Stephen, and that in its construction did so much honour to the munificence of William. Thus was Lanfranc made the first Abbot of Caen, but shortly afterwards he was elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He was a Lombard by birth, a man deeply imbued with a knowledge of the liberal sciences, endowed with benignity, generosity, and the most thorough piety, and constant in his practice of alms-giving, and of every other good work. From the day on which he was placed over the church at Bonneville—that was for a period of twenty-two years and nine months—he nobly distinguished himself in the house of the Lord, by his many and faithful services.†

* ORDERIC. VITAL. See W. Gemiticens. lib. vi. c. 32. p. 665.

† ORDERIC. VITALIS. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 125, 126. See lib. iv. vol. ii. pp. 209, 210, 211, 212. (Soc. Hist. France.) This slight reference to the sainted Lanfranc is introduced as marking a period interesting in English history, and directing attention to one of the great saints whose lives and actions shed lustre upon the annals of this country. See as to St. Lanfranc, CAPGRAVE. *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, pp. ccxxiv. a. ccxxix. a. *Act. Sanct.* (Mart.)

It was at the very time that Duke William was making his preparations to proceed to England, and to win it by force of arms, that the bold Conan, Count of Brittany, sent him an embassy, by which he sought to terrify the Normans.* "I am informed," he said by means of his ambassadors, "that thou wishest now to cross the sea, and "to win a kingdom for thyself in England. Bear thou "in mind, that Robert, the Duke of the Normans, and "whom thou pretendest to have been thy father, did, "when about to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, transmit all his inheritance to Alain, my father and his cousin. "But thou, and thy accomplices, did basely slay by poison my father at Vimieux, in Normandy. And that "land which I, because I was unable to retain possession "of it, thou didst invade, and in defiance of justice, because "thou art illegitimate, still retainest in thy grasp. Now, "then, either restore to me Normandy, mine by right, or "I will make war upon thee, with all the forces I can "collect."

William, upon receiving the message, was somewhat terrified; but his embarrassment was but of brief duration, as God was pleased to render the threats of his enemy of no avail.

One of the nobles of Brittany, an individual who had taken the oath of fidelity both to the Count of the Bretons, and the Duke of the Normans, and thus came to be entrusted with messages from one to the other, rubbed with poison the hunting-horn, the horse-reins, and the gloves of Conan, for he held the office of groom of the chamber to Conan.†

* W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib. vi. p. 665.

† "Unus enim ex proceribus Britanum * * Erat quippe

At the precise moment that he did this, the Count of the Bretons was engaged in besieging Chateau-Gouthier, in the land of Anjou; and the townsmen having submitted to him, he was conducting his soldiers into the place, when he not only had incautiously put on his gloves, and grasped the reins of his horse, but also unthinkingly then raised his hand to his mouth. By this contact with poisonous substances his body became so infected that he died a few days afterwards; and his demise was the occasion of universal grief.

Conan was very sagacious, very honourable, and a lover of justice. Had he lived longer, it is believed that he would have done many good acts, and won for himself honour, by proving himself a useful prince to his people.

As to the traitor who had caused his death, conscious of his crime, he abandoned the expedition on which he had been engaged, and apprised Duke William of the death of Conan.

William, being thus secure from the danger he had

cubicularius Chuningi." W. GEMITICENS. Thus we see that in ancient times noblemen filled nominally menial offices in the palaces of those who were not of royal rank. In the *Roman de Rou*, there are specified the various offices discharged in the Norman court by persons of noble birth:—

“ Gentil furent li capelain
 Gentil furent li escrivain
 Gentil furent li cunestable
 E bien poessanz è bien aidable;
 Gentil furent li Senescal,
 Gentil furent li Marescal,
 Gentil furent li Butellier,
 Gentil furent li Despensier;
 Li Chamberlene è li Uissier,
 Ferunt tuit noble Chevalier.”

V. 5959—5968. vol. i. pp. 302, 303.

apprehended, directed all his energies and martial ardour towards England.*

Whilst these transactions were in progress, Tosty, who had promised that he would by himself, as well as through his friends, give his best assistance to the duke, and who had for that object obtained permission from William to proceed to England, had found himself placed in circumstances far different from those he had anticipated.† His adventures illustrated the truth of the saying: "Man proposes, but God disposes!"‡

Tosty had put to sea, from one of the harbours of Cotentin;§ but he had not been able to effect a permanent landing in England, for his brother Harold had so well protected the land, by a large fleet and army, that no foreign foe could hope, unless by a desperate battle and certain destruction, to invade that kingdom, of which he was himself wrongfully possessed. Tosty was thus placed in a situation alike embarrassing and dangerous. With his few adherents he could not invade England, guarded by

* W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib vi. c. 33, 34. p. 665. As to the episode of Conan, see BENOIT. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie.* vol. iii. pp. 185, 188. (Documents Inédits sur L'Hist. de Franc). DE COURSEN. *Histoire des Peuples Bretons.* vol. ii. pp. 141, 142, 143, 144.

† ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 123. See W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 32.

‡ "Homo cogitat, Deus ordinat." ORD. VIT.

§ "Our author does not specify in a precise manner the port of Cotentin, from which Tosty sailed; but we may conjecture that it was Barfleur. It appears also that he must have sailed about the period of the spring equinox." A. LE PRÉVOST. note on Orderic. Vitalis. vol. ii. p. 123. (Soc. Hist. France.)

a multitudinous military array, and adverse winds prevented him from sailing back to Normandy. Alternately, the sport of the west, the south, and other winds, he was tossed about the ocean, and exposed to many dangers. Thus did he wander for some time, and endure many afflictions, until he, at last, and not without much toil, was able to reach the court of the King of the Norwegians, Harold, who bore as his surname "Hardrada."*

By Harold Hardrada Tosty was received with every mark of honour, and then the latter, perceiving that it was no longer in his power to fulfil the promises that he had made to William, changed the course of action he had

* "Heraldum regem Nortwigenarum, qui Harafagh cognominabatur." ORDER. VITAL. "This was not Harold Harfager, who lived more than a century before these events occurred, and was the contemporary of Rollo. The King who then reigned over Norway was Harold III., surnamed Hardrada, or the Severe." A. LE PREVOST. note on Orderic. Vitalis, vol. ii. p. 123.

"It is singular that all the English authorities, as well as Ordericus Vitalis, and Gaimar, give to this King the surname of Harfagr, or Harvagre, who had been dead a century before." LAPPENBERG.

"More singular is it that the error is repeated in the *Corpus Historicum*, p. 859. note d., a work conducted under the direction of a royal commission." THORPE, note on Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 276, note 5.

The work "*Corpus Historicum*" was not published for five years after the publication of the preceding note. The author of this history was aware that such a book had been printed, but not published; and he sought, and sought in vain, to be permitted to examine it. The favour that was refused to him was conceded to Herr Lappenberg, a foreigner,—and it was so liberally granted to others, who were not Catholics, that its editor has since complained that its researches were appropriated and plagiarised. The mistakes of the old monks about a name is pardonable, when compared with that partiality which opens all its stores of information to a writer of any, or of no creed, and refused it to another, because he professed to write "*a Catholic History*."

originally intended to pursue, and addressed the Norwegian monarch in these words:—

“ I come, mighty King, a suppliant to your highness, and I tender to your majesty my allegiance, in order that through your means I may be restored to the possession of those honours and dignities which are mine by due succession ; for my brother Harold, who, by right, and as the first-born, ought to have obeyed me, has foully and fraudulently risen in insurrection against me, and by perjuries, has gained possession, as an usurper of the kingdom of England. Hence it is that I seek from you, who I recognize as one great in arms, in power, and in every virtue, assistance in war, and which, as your liege man, I desire to receive. Strike down in battle the audacious potency of a perfidious brother, and then retain for yourself the half of England, and through me, who from that time forth shall faithfully serve you, hold also the sovereign power over the other half of the land.”

The covetous King of Norway, upon hearing these words, was greatly rejoiced. He ordered an army to be mustered, warlike instruments to be prepared, and for six full months was busily engaged in fitting out and completing a fleet.*

* ORDERIC. VITALIS. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. See W. GRNETICKENS. lib. vi. c. 32, p. 664. Tosty, previous to his applying to Harald Hardrada, had sought, but vainly, for the assistance of Sweyne, King of Denmark ; thus seeking to revive the claim of the Danish Kings to the crown of Denmark.

Tosty's dealings with the King of Denmark are thus detailed by Snorro, in the *Heimskringla* :—

“ Tosty, it is said, went with his people over the sea to Flanders, and stayed there a while, then went to Friesland, and from

During the entire of the summer and the autumn of

thence to Denmark, to his relation, King Sweyne. Earl Ulf, King Sweyne's father, and Gyda, Earl Tosty's mother, were brother's and sister's children. The earl now asked King Sweyne for support, and help of men; and King Sweyne invited him to stay with him, with the promise that he should get so large an earldom in Denmark, that he would be an important chief.

"The earl replies: 'My inclination is to go back to my estate in England; but if I cannot get help from you for that purpose, I will agree to help you with all the power I can command in England, if you will go there with the Danish army, and with the country, as Canute your mother's brother did.'

"The King replied: 'So much smaller a man am I than Canute the Great, that I can with difficulty defend my own Danish dominions against the Northmen. King Canute, on the other hand, got the Danish kingdom in heritage, took England by slash and blow, and sometimes was near losing his life in the contest; and Norway he took without slash or blow. Now, it suits me much better to be guided by my own slender ability, than to imitate my relation, King Canute's lucky hits.'

"Then the Earl Tosty said: 'The result of my errand here is less fortunate than I expected of thee,—who art so gallant a man, seeing that thy relation is in so great need. It may be that I will seek friendly help where it could be less expected; and that I may find a chief who is less afraid, King, than thou art of a great enterprise.'

"Then the King and the Earl parted not just the best friends."
 LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. pp. 78, 79.
Ferd Tosta til Danmerkr, in JOHNSTONE'S *Antiq. Celt. Scand.*
 pp. 193, 194. Harald Hardradas Saga, c. 81. SNORRO. vol. ii.
 pp. 154, 155.

In the *Heimskringla*, there is also to be found a statement of circumstances, which are not mentioned in any English authority. We must, therefore, have recourse to that work as if it were an historical document, although it will be seen, that it is marred by many frivolities, and defaced by many superstitions. In quoting from it, we use the admirable translation of Mr. Laing, in which the only change we have made is in the spelling of the proper names, and that for the sake of uniformity and clearness:—

"Earl Tosty turned away then, and went to Norway, where he presented himself to King Harald Hardrada, who was at that time in Viken. When they met, the earl explained his errand to

this year, Harold had not only a fleet at the Isle of Wight,

the King. He told him all his proceedings since he left England, and asked his aid to recover his dominions in England.

"The King replied: 'That the Northmen had no great desire for a campaign in England, and to have English chiefs over them there. People say,' added he, 'that the English are not to be trusted!'

"The earl replied: 'Is it true what I have heard people tell in England, that thy relative, King Magnus, sent men to King Edward, with the message that King Magnus had right to England as well as to Denmark, and had got that heritage after Hardicanute, in consequence of a regular agreement?'

"The King replied: 'How came it that he did not get it, if he had right to it?'

"'Why,' replied the earl, 'hast thou not Denmark, as King Magnus thy predecessor had it?'

"The King replied: 'The Danes have nothing to brag of over us Northmen; for many a place have we laid in ashes to thy relations.'

"Then said the earl: 'If thou wilt not tell me, I will tell thee. Magnus subdued Denmark, because all the chiefs of the country helped him; and thou hast not done it, because all the people of the country were against thee. Therefore, also, King Magnus did not strive for England, because all the nation would have Edward for King. Wilt thou take England now? I will bring the matter so far, that most of the principal men in England shall be thy friends, and assist thee, for nothing is wanting to place me at the side of my brother Harold but the King's name. All men allow that there never was such a warrior in the Northern lands as thou art; as it appears to me extraordinary that thou hast been fighting for fifteen years for Denmark, and will not take England that lies open to thee.'

"King Harald Hardrada weighed carefully the earl's words, and perceived at once that there was truth in much of what he said; and he himself had also a great desire to acquire dominions. Then King Harald Hardrada and the earl talked long and frequently together; and at last he took the resolution to proceed in the summer to England, and conquer the country. King Harald Hardrada sent a message—taken through all Norway, and ordered out a levy of one half of all the men in Norway able to carry arms. When this became generally known, there were many guesses about what might be the end of this expedition. Some reckoned up

but also a land force drawn up all along the sea-coast—

King Harald Hardrada's great achievements, and thought he was also the man who could accomplish this.

"Earl Tosty sailed in spring west to Flanders, to meet the people who had left England with him, and others besides, who had gathered to him both out of England and Flanders.

"King Harald Hardrada's fleet assembled in Solundir (the Sulen islands, at the mouth of Sogne fiord). While they lay in Solundir, a man called Gyrder, on board the King's ship, had a dream. He thought he was standing in the King's ship, and saw a great witch-wife standing on the island, with a fork in one hand, and a trough in the other. He thought also that he saw over all the fleet, and that a fowl was sitting upon every ship's stern, and that these fowls were all ravens or ernes; and the witch-wife sang this song:—

"From the west I'll tice the king,
To the west the king I'll bring;
Many a noble bone will be
In battle left for me.
Ravens o'er Ginke's ships are flitting,
Eyeing the prey they think most fitting;
Upon the stern I'll sail with them!
Upon the stern I'll sail with them!"

"There was also a man called Thord, in a ship which lay not far from the king's. He dreamt one night that he saw King Harald Hardrada's fleet coming to land, and he knew the land to be England. He saw a great battle-array on the land; and he thought both sides began to fight, and had many banners flapping in the air. And before the army of the people of the country was riding a huge witch-wife upon a wolf; and the wolf had a man's carcass in his mouth, and the blood was dropping from his jaws; and when he had eaten up one body, she threw another into his mouth, and so one after another, and he swallowed them all. And she sang thus:—

"Skade's eagle eyes
The king's ill-luck espies;
Though the glancing shields
Hide the green fields,
The king's ill-luck she spies.
To bode the doom of this great king,
The flesh of bleeding men I fling

precautions that ultimately proved to be of no advantage, for upon the nativity of St. Mary (the 8th of September) it was found impossible, from the want of provisions, to keep the men together.* Permission was then given by King Harold to each and all to return to their homes.

To hairy jaw and hungry maw !

To hairy jaw and hungry maw !

“ King Harald Hardrada also dreamt one night that he was in Nidaros, and met his brother, King Olaf, who sang to him these verses :—

“ In many a fight
My name was bright ;
Men weep, and tell
How Olaf fell.
Thy death is near,
Thy corpse I fear ;
The crow will feed
The witch-wife's steed.”

“ Many other dreams and forebodings were then told of, and most of them gloomy. Before King Harald Hardrada left Drontheim, he let his son Magnus be proclaimed King, and set him as King over Norway, while he was absent. Thora, the daughter of Thorberg, also remained behind ; but he took with him Queen Elisof and her two daughters, Maria and Ingigerd. Olaf, King Harold Hardrada's son, also accompanied his father abroad.

“ When King Harald Hardrada was clear for sea, and the wind became favourable, he sailed out into the ocean ; and he himself landed in Shetland, and put a part of his fleet in the Orkney islands. King Harald Hardrada stopped but a short time in Shetland before sailing to Orkney, from whence he took with him a great armed force, and the Earls Paul and Erling, the sons of Earl Thorfinn ; but he left behind him here, the Queen Elisof, and her daughters Maria and Ingigerd. Then he sailed, leaving Scotland and England westward of him, and landed at Cleveland (Kliflënd).” LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. pp. 79—83. Ferd Tosta til Noregs ; draumr Gyrdar ; draumr Haralldz Konungs ; Orrosta vid Skardaborg, in Johnstone's *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 195—201. Harold Hardradas Saga. c. 82, 83, 84, 85, 86. SNORRO. vol. ii. pp. 155—161.

* *Sax. Chron.* (INGRAM.) p. 269.

The King himself rode away ; and the ships were steered towards London, but many were wrecked before they reached their destined port.*

It was in Scotland that Tosty was joined by Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, with three hundred ships ; and there it was that Tosty submitted to him and became his man.†

No sooner, then, had King Harold's fleet returned to port, than Harald Hardrada arrived in the river Tyne. He came there unlooked for and upthought of, with an immense sea force, and more than three hundred ships ; ‡ for Tosty now co-operated with him, with all the ships that he had, and all the aid he had previously promised.§

The combined fleets, then making a rapid voyage,

* *Sax. Chron.*

† " And Tostig him to beah and his man wearth." *Sax. Chron.* " Et Tosti gavisus valde subditus est ei." H. HUNT. p. 367.

‡ " Mid threo hund scyrum oththe ma." *Sax. Chron.* " Cum classica manu pervalida scilicet plus quingentis magnis navibus." F. WIDORN. vol. i. pp. 225, 226. The difference between " the three hundred ships or more " of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and " the five hundred large ships " stated by Florence of Worcester, may be accounted for by including amongst the latter the ships of the volunteer vikings, the " tres res " alluded to by Lambert of Aschaffenburg, a. 1066. PISTORIUS. vol. i. p. 176. In seeking the crown of England for himself, it is stated by Marianus Scotus, that Harald Hardrada invaded England with a thousand ships. " Araldus rex Normannorum mille navibus venit in Angliam, mense Septembri, regnaturus." a. 1066. PISTORIUS. vol. i. p. 453.

§ *Sax. Chron.* pp. 259, 260. (Ingram.)

entered the Humber, sailed up against the stream of the river Ouse, and then landed at a place called Riccal.*

No sooner was intelligence of his invasion received by the English King, Harold, than he got ready, with all possible expedition, an army, and advanced with it towards Northumbria.† Before his arrival, however, the two brother-earls, Edwin and Morcar, at the head of a large army, encountered upon a Wednesday, the vigil of St. Matthew the Apostle (the 20th of September), the army of the Norwegians at Fulford, on the northern bank of the Ouse.

In the first shock of the two armies, the English, who fought valiantly, slew a great many of the enemy. The battle continued for a long time, but finally the English, no longer able to withstand an impetuous attack of the

* F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 226.

† S. DUNELM. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* p. 194. This author describes the Norwegians as having previous to the battle of Fulford obtained possession of York. In *Harald Hardrada Saga*, c. 86, a more detailed account is given of the proceedings of the Norwegians than in any of the English historians. According to this authority, Harald Hardrada first landed his men at Cleveland, which he plundered and brought the people in subjection to him. He next attacked Scarborough, and took it in this manner—"He went up a hill which is there, and made a great pile upon it, which he set on fire; and when the pile was in clear flame, his men took large forks and pitched the burning wood down into the town, so that one house caught fire after the other, and the town surrendered." (This statement resembles another told of this warrior, see c. 6. same saga, as to his capturing a town in Sicily.) After killing many people, and taking all the booty he could lay his hands on, Harald Hardrada is stated next to have sailed to Holderness, and then going up the river Humber." LAING'S *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 83. ORROSTA vid Skardaborg, JOHNSTON'S *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 200, 201. SNORRO. vol. ii. p. 161.

Norwegians, had to retreat with an immense loss, and in their flight far more men were drowned in the river Ouse than were struck down by the swords of the enemy in the combat.*

The Norwegians were completely victorious in this

* S. DUNKLM. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 226. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. vol. i. p. 386.

Henry of Huntingdon adds with respect to this battle: "Cujus locus pugnae in Australi parte urbis adhuc ostenditur." p. 367.

In *Harald Hardradus Saga*, c. 87, 88. the particulars of the battle are given. They are interesting, as shewing the superior generalship of the Norwegian King.

"While the army of the English Earls," it is said in the Saga, "were coming down from the upper part of the country, King Harald Hardrada lay in the Ouse.

"King Harald Hardrada now went on the land and drew up his men. The one arm of his line stood at the outer edge of the river, the other turned up towards the land along a ditch, and there was also a morass, deep, broad, and full of water.

"The English Earls let their army proceed slowly down along the river, with all their troops in line.

"The King's banner was next the river where the line was thickest. It was thinnest at the ditch, where also the weakest of the men were.

"When the English Earls advanced downwards along the ditch, the arm of the Northmen's line which was at the ditch gave way, and the Englishmen followed, thinking the Northmen would fly. The banner of Earl Morcar advanced then bravely.

"When King Harald Hardrada saw that the English array had come to the ditch against him, he ordered the charge to be sounded, and urged on his men.

"He ordered the banner which was called the 'land-ravager,' to be carried before him, and made so severe an assault that all had to give way before it; and there was a great loss among the men of the English Earls, and they soon broke into flight, some running up the river, some down, and the most leaping into the ditch, which was so filled with the dead that the Norsemen could go dry-foot over the fen." LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 84. "Fra Fylking Jarlanna; orrosta vid Humbro." JOHNSTON'S *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 201, 202, 203. SNORRO, vol. ii. p. 362, 363.

battle, and then taking five hundred hostages from York, they repaired to their ships, leaving at the same time one hundred and fifty of their own men as hostages in York.*

It was at the time that the Norwegians had won this great victory, and that Harold was collecting together an immense army from all parts of England, that on a certain night a very religious man, the Abbot of Ramsey monastery, named Alxi, saw in a vision the sanctified King Edward.†

The wise abbot was greatly terrified with the majesty of the vision, but the saint, by his bland discourse, soon restored Alxi to his usual composed state of mind :

“ Go,” said the saint, “ to Harold, and tell him that he “ can with confidence attack these men who, contrary to “ justice and to law, have invaded this kingdom—tell him

* S. DUNELM. p. 194. F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 226, states, that the number of hostages taken from and left in York were 150 on each side. See R. HOVEDEN. p. 448.

William of Malmesbury mentions that the result of this defeat was, that Edwin and Morcar had to shut themselves up in York, where they were besieged by the Norwegians, “ Victos intra Eboracum includunt.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 386. The *Saxon Chronicle* states, that “ After the fight went Harald, King of Norway, and Earl Tosty into York, with as many followers as they thought fit ; and having procured hostages and provisions from the city, they proceeded to their ships, and proclaimed full friendship, on condition that all would go southward with them, and gain this land.” p. 261. (Ingram.) Marianus Scotus says, that Harald Hardrada put to death in York more than eleven hundred English priests, “ Ultra 1100 Sacerdotes Anglos occidit.” a. 1066. Sigebert, that “ he slew more than a thousand laymen and a hundred priests.” “ In urbe Eboraca plus quam mille laicos, centum presbyteros de Anglis occidit.” a. 1066. PISTORIUS. vol. i. pp. 453, 600. See also as to the number of priests and laymen slain in York by Hardrada, KNIGHTON. p. 2340.

† AILRED. *Vit. Mirac. Edward. Con.* p. 404.

“ so to do, as I shall be the leader and the protector of
 “ his army ; for in this quarrel justice is on his side, and
 “ on this occasion a rightful victory shall be won by him.
 “ And lest his faith should be not fully given to thy words,
 “ tell to him a secret which he has shut up in his own
 “ heart, and the disclosure of which will prove to him that
 “ thy visit is not to be ascribed to thy fancy, but to make
 “ known to him my promise. This is his secret. During
 “ the past night, he was afflicted with a malady that placed
 “ his life in danger, and yet which he concealed, lest a
 “ knowledge of it being noised abroad might subject him
 “ to the derision and, perchance, the contempt of his ene-
 “ mies. A sudden cure has been effected, and his health
 “ is now restored. Bid him, then, go on with this justifi-
 “ able war against ruthless barbarians, and thus save his
 “ countrymen from the danger that now impends over
 “ them.”

The venerable man who had this vision awoke from his sleep, proceeded to Harold, told to him the oracle as it had been spoken, and then, lest the King should feel any doubt respecting it, he disclosed, to the great amazement of Harold, the secret, as the saint had so desired him to do.

This promise from heaven inspired Harold with fresh courage, and he marched forward to the province of York with a valiant army.*

Having collected together all the military strength of

* AILRED. *Vit. Mirac. Edward. Con.* pp. 404, 405. “ Sanctus Edwardus prædictum Abbatem Ailsium * * * per visum admonuit, ut regem Haraldum ad invadendas hostes ab eo missus animaret, triumphum ei victoriæ certissime compromittens.” *Hist. Ramesiens.* c. 120. p. 461.

his kingdom,* Harold arrived with his army on the Sunday at Tadcaster, where his fleet had been collected ;† and the day following, Monday, the 25th of September—that is five days after (the battle of Fulford)—he marched upon York.‡

Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, and Earl Tosty, had that day departed from their ships stationed beyond York, and had gone to Standford bridge, as they had been induced to believe that in that place hostages would be brought to them from all parts of the shire.

Whilst they were occupying this position, the English King, Harold, came upon them at a moment when they were neither suspecting his approach, nor apprised of his advance against them. He was, however, seen marching against them on the opposite side of the bridge.§

Here then, and on this spot was commenced, a battle, one of the greatest and most desperate, perhaps, that ever yet was fought.|| Meeting in mortal conflict at the early dawn of morning, they continued on both sides to make desperate and repeated charges on each other, until mid-day. The slaughter was horrible, but the soldiers on both sides were dauntless. The English, by the superiority of their numbers, forced the Norwegians back from the positions they originally occupied, but could not compel them to fly ; and when the latter were driven beyond

* “Cunctis viribus regni eo contendit.” W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 386.

† *Sax. Chron.* p. 261. (Ingram.)

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 226.

§ *Sax. Chron.* p. 261.

|| H. HUNT. *Hist.* lib. vi. p. 367.

the river, yet the living stood upon the bodies of their dead companions, resisted still, and still refused to yield.*

At last the English gained a decided superiority and forced the Norwegians to retreat, and then there occurred an incident that future ages may find it difficult to credit, namely, that one man alone, a Norwegian, should have been able for many hours to interpose between a great army, and the full and complete victory on which it had calculated.† It is said of this man, that standing at the entrance of the passage over Standford Bridge, he first slew one Englishman, then a second, and then several, and so prevented all from crossing.‡ More than forty of the best and bravest of the English warriors were struck down by his battle-axe.§ He was invited by the English to surrender, and the promise was given to him that a man who had afforded such proofs of his extraordinary prowess, should experience a generous clemency on the part of the English.||

These invitations first provoked a smile from the Norwegian, and then he scowled upon those who made such offers, reproached them as men in appearance, but cowards in fact, when they were not able to resist one single, solitary, and unsupported soldier. And while he so contemned them, no one ventured to come near to him, as each regarded it as a species of madness to encounter one who in his desperation had flung away from himself

* H. HUNT. pp. 367, 368.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 386.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228.

§ H. HUNT. p. 365.

|| W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228.

all chance of retreat, and every hope of safety. At length, one of King Harold's body-guards discharged from a distance an iron lance against him; and at the moment when he was boasting of his exploits, and defying his foes, and in the intoxication of his triumph, less cautious and watchful, he was by that javelin transpierced, and in his fall secured a victory to the English, which whilst living he had impeded.*

Harold, King of the English, then came over the bridge, followed by his army.† The Norwegians were pursued in their flight and put to death.‡ There a great slaughter was made of Norwegians and of Flemings.§

There was slain Harold, the fair-haired King of Norway, and Earl Tosty, and a multitude of people with them, both Normans and English;|| and the Normans who were left fled from the English, who slew them hotly behind, until some came to their ships, some were drowned, some

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. pp. 386, 387. The English writers do full justice to the bravery of this Norwegian. The *Saxon Chronicle* says of him: "But there was one of the Norwegians who withstood the English folk, so that they could not pass over the bridge, nor complete the victory. An Englishman aimed at him with a javelin, but it availed nothing. *Then came another under the bridge, and pierced him terribly inwards, under the coat of mail.*" p. 252. This mode of slaying the Norwegian is confirmed by other authorities, see H. HUNT. p. 368. KNYGHTON. pp. 2339, 2340.

† "Tha com Harold Engla chinge ofer there brigge. and hys furde forth mid hine." *Sax. Chron.*

‡ "Noricos palantes a tergo cecidit." W. MALMSB. *Gst. Reg. Ang.* § 228.

§ *Sax. Chron.* p. 262.

|| *Sax. Chron.* p. 261. INGRAM'S translation. We thus see that Tosty's invading army, like William's, was composed of foreign adventurers.

burned to death,* and thus variously destroyed, so that there was little left, and the English gained possession of the field.† In this frightful and doleful engagement, the King of the Anglo-Saxons killed on the field of battle three kings, and completely annihilated an immense army.‡

The place where this battle occurred was easily recognizable for many a long year afterwards, by all who travelled through the country in which it had been fought; for there lay immense mounds of dead men's bones, the terrible testimony of the manifold destruction which two races of men, arrayed in conflict with each other, had accomplished.§

Harold let the King's son Edmund go home to Norway with all the ships.|| He also gave quarter to Olave, the Norwegian King's son, and to their bishop, and to the

* "And sume eac forbaernde." *Sax. Chron.* That is, we suppose, the ships in which the fugitives sought for safety, were set on fire before they could put to sea, and thus those on board burned alive. The expressions of Henry of Huntingdon are very strong in describing this annihilation of the Norwegian invaders: "totam Norwagensium aciem vel armis straverunt vel igne deprehensos combusserunt." lib. vi. p. 368.

† *Sax. Chron.* pp. 261, 262. INGRAM'S translation.

‡ LAMBERT SCHAFNABURG. *Reb. Ger.* a. 1066. p. 176. (Pistorius). The names of "the three kings" are specified by Adam of Bremen—"occisus est ipse Tosti, et rex Hiberniæ, et Haroldus." The same author adds, that there were "nearly a hundred thousand Englishmen slain"—"Ex Anglis fere centum milia." ADAM. *Gest. Hammaburg. Eccles. Pont.* lib. iii. § 51. PERTZ, vol. vii. p. 355.

§ "Locus etiam belli pertranseuntibus evidenter patet, ubi magna congeries ossium mortuorum usque hodie jacet, et indicium ruinæ multiplicis utriusque gentis exhibet." ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. p. 144.

|| *Sax. Chron.* p. 252.

Earl of the Orkneys,* and to all those who were left in the ships; who then went up to our King (Harold), and took oaths they would ever maintain faith and friendship unto this land. Whereupon the King let them go home with twenty-four ships.†

These two general battles were fought within five nights of each other.‡

Harold, too much elated with the victory he had gained upon this occasion, would not condescend to divide the spoil which he had won with the men who had fought for him.§ For this reason, many of the nobles, and even of the plebeians, were offended with him, and, as it will be hereafter seen, deserted from him when he was hastening to encounter William.||

* *Sax. Chron.* "Et comitem de Orcada insula, Paulam nomine."

† *Sax. Chron.* "Cum xx navibus." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227. "Cum omnibus navibus." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228.

‡ *Sax. Chron.* pp. 252, 253. INGRAM'S translation.

§ KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. i. c. 16. p. 2340. See W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 228. vol. i. p. 387. In thus acting, Harold violated one of the ancient conditions which bound his military adherents to the sovereign. "A portion of the booty taken in war naturally became the property of the *gesithas*," KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, c. vii. vol. i. p. 168. It is observed by Herr Lappenberg, that the treasure of Tosty formed no portion of the booty gained on this occasion. It had been "left at Bruges in the custody of his consort Judith. Her hand and wealth were afterwards (1071) obtained by Welf the Fourth, the son of Ayo and Kunigunde, the founder of the younger line of Welf, whose sons, Welf the Fifth and Henry the Black, possessed successively the Duchy of Bavaria, from which illustrious stock the present royal race of England derives its descent." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 281.

|| KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. i. c. 16. p. 2340. See also

Whilst the English were occupied with war in the district of York, and had abandoned, as we may believe, in

with reference to the battle, S. DUNELM. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 15. p. 38. *Gest. Reg.* p. 134. R. DICET. p. 479. INGULPH. p. 69. *Roman de Rou.* vol. ii. pp. 155, 156. W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 34. p. 665.

A long and a very minute account of the battle of Standford Bridge, as well as of the events that preceded it, is to be found in the *Heimskringla*. The translation of Mr. Laing presents that account in the most attractive aspect, and, notwithstanding its length, we give insertion to it; first, because supplying many particulars not otherwise obtainable, and next, as constituting a contrast between the mode of narrating events adopted by the monkish annalists and the Scandinavian scalds.

“On Monday (says the Icelandic Saga-writer), when King Harold Hardrada had taken breakfast, he ordered the trumpets to sound for going on shore. The army accordingly got ready, and he divided the men into the parties who should go, and who should stay behind. In every division he allowed two men to land, and one to remain behind. Earl Tosty and his retinue prepared to land with King Harold; and for watching the ships, remained behind, the King’s son, Olaf; the Earls of Orkney, Paul and Erland; and also Eystein Orre, a son of Thorberg Arneson, who was the most able and best beloved by the King of all the lenders, and to whom the King had promised his daughter Maria. The weather was uncommingly fine, and it was hot sunshine. The men, therefore, laid aside their armour, and went on the land only with their shields, helmets, and spears, and girt with swords; and many had also arrows and bows, and all were very merry. Now as they came near the castle, a great army seemed coming against them, and they saw a cloud of dust as from horses’ feet, and under it shining shields and bright armour. The King halted his people, and called to him Earl Tosty, and asked him what army this could be. The earl replied, that he thought it most likely to be a hostile army; but possibly it might be some of his relations who were seeking for mercy and friendship, in order to obtain certain peace and safety from the King. Then the King said, ‘We must all halt, to discover what kind of a force this is.’ They did so; and the nearer this force came the greater it appeared, and their shining arms were to the sight like dancing ice.

“Then said King Harold, ‘Let us now fall upon some good

accordance with the will of God, the guardianship of the sea, the fleet of the Normans, which for more than the

sensible counsel ; for it is not to be concealed that this is an hostile army, and the King himself without doubt is here.'

"Then said the earl, 'The first counsel is to turn about as fast as we can to our ships, to get our men and our weapons, and then we will make a defence according to our ability, or, otherwise, let our ships defend us, for there these horsemen have no power over us.'

"Then King Harold said, 'I have another counsel. Put three of our best horses under three of our briskest lads, and let them ride with all speed to tell our people to come quickly to our relief. The Englishmen shall have a hard fray of it before we give ourselves up for lost.'

"The earl said the King must order in this, as in all things, as he thought best; adding, at the same time, it was by no means his wish to fly. Then King Harold ordered his banner Land-ravager to be set up; and Frirék was the name of him who bore the banner.

"Then King Harold arranged his army, and made the line of battle long, but not deep. He bent both wings of it back, so that they met together; and formed a wide ring equally thick all round, shield to shield, both in the front and rear ranks. The King himself and his retinue were within the circle; and there was the banner and a body of chosen men. Earl Tosty, with his retinue, was at another place, and had a different banner. The army was arranged in this way, because the King knew that horsemen were accustomed to ride forwards with great vigour, but to turn back immediately. Now the King ordered that his own and the earl's attendants should ride forwards where it was most required. 'And our bowmen,' said he, 'shall be near to us; and they who stand in the first rank shall set the spear-shaft on the ground, and the spear-point against the horsemen's breasts if he rides at them; and those who stand in the second rank shall set the spear-point against the horses' breast.'

"King Harold Godwins-son had come with an immense army, both of cavalry and infantry. Now King Harold Hardrada rode around his array, to see how every part was drawn up. He was upon a black horse, and the horse stumbled under him, so that the King fell off. He got up in haste, and said, 'A fall is lucky for a traveller.'

"The English King, Harold, said to the northmen who were with

space of a month had been waiting for a favourable wind in the mouth of the river Dive and the neighbouring ports,

him, 'Do you know the stout man who fell from his horse, with the blue kirtle and the beautiful helmet?'

"'That is the King himself,' said they. The English King said, 'A great man, and of stately appearance is he, but I think his luck has left him.'

"Twenty horsemen rode forward from the Thingmen's troops, against the Northmen's array; and all of them, and likewise their horses, were clothed in armour.

"One of the horsemen said, 'Is Earl Tosty in this army?'

"The earl answered, 'It is not to be denied that you will find him here.'

"The horseman says, 'Thy brother, King Harold, sends thee salutation, with the message that thou shalt have the whole of Northumberland; and rather than thou shouldst not submit to him, he will give thee the third part of his kingdom, to rule over along with himself.'

"The earl replies, 'This is something different from the enmity and scorn he offered last winter; and if this had been offered then, it would have saved many a man's life, who now is dead, and it would have been better for the kingdom of England. But if I accept of this offer, what will he give King Harold Hardrada for his trouble?'

"The horseman replied, 'He has also spoken of this; and will give him seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men.'

"'Then,' said the earl, 'go now and tell King Harold to get ready for battle; for never shall the Northmen say with truth, that Earl Tosty left King Harold Hardrada to join his enemy's troops, when he came to fight west here in England. We shall rather all take the resolution to die with honour, or to gain England with a victory.'

"Then the horseman rode back. King Harold Hardrada said to the earl, 'Who was the man who spoke so well?'

"The earl replied, 'That was King Harold Godwins-son.'

"Then said King Harold Hardrada, 'That was by far too long concealed from me; for they had come so near to our army, that this Harold should never have carried back the tidings of our men's slaughter.'

"Then said the earl, 'It was certainly imprudent for such chiefs, and it may be as you say; but I saw he was going to offer me

was at length borne by the breeze to its appointed station at Saint-Valeri-sur-Somme.* Here it was that William

peace and a great dominion, and that, on the other hand, I would be his murderer if I betrayed him; and I would rather he should be my murderer, than I his, if one of us two be to die.'

"King Harold Hardrada observed to his men, 'That was but a little man, yet he sat firmly in his stirrups.'

"It is said that Harold made these verses at the time :—

" 'Advance! advance!
No helmet's glance,
But blue swords play,
In our array.
Advance! advance!
No mail coats glance,
But hearts are here
That ne'er knew fear."

His coat of mail was called Emma; and it was so long that it reached almost to the middle of his leg, and so strong that no weapon ever pierced it. Then said King Harold Hardrada, 'These verses are but ill composed; I must try to make better;' and he composed the following :—

" 'In battle storm we seek no lee,
With skulking head and bending knee,
Behind the hollow shield.
With eye and hand we find the head;
Courage and skill stand in the stead
Of panzer, helm, and shield,
In Hilda's bloody field.'

Thereupon Thiredolf sang :—

" 'And should our King in battle fall,
A fate that God may give to all,
His sons will vengeance take;
And never shone the sun upon
Two nobler eaglets in his run,
And them will ne'er forsake."

Now the battle began. The Englishmen made a hot assault upon the Northmen, who sustained it bravely. It was no easy

* ORDERIC. VITALIS. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 144.

proved that no delays could dishearten, no adverse wind appal, and no awful shipwrecks daunt him ; nor even the

matter for the English to ride against the Northmen, on account of their spears ; therefore they rode in a circle around them. And the fight at first was but loose and light, as long as the Northmen kept their order of battle ; for although the English rode hard against the Northmen, they gave way again immediately, as they could do nothing against them. Now when the Northmen thought they perceived that the enemy were making but weak assaults, they set after them, and would drive them into flight ; but when they had broken their shield-rampart, the Englishmen rode up from all sides, and threw arrows and spears on them. Now when King Harold Hardrada saw this, he went into the fray where the greatest crash of weapons was, and there was a sharp conflict, in which many people fell on both sides. King Harold then was in a rage, and ran out in front of the array, and hewed down with both hands, so that neither helmet nor armour could withstand him : and all who were nearest gave way before him. It was then very near with the English that they had taken to flight. So says Arnor, the earl's scald :—

“ ‘ Where battle-storm was ringing,
Where arrow-cloud was singing,
Harold stood there,
Of armour bare,
His deadly sword still swinging.
The foemen felt its bite ;
His horsemen rush to fight,
Danger to share,
With Harold there,
Where steel on steel was ringing.’ ”

“ King Harold Hardrada was hit by an arrow in the windpipe, and that was his death wound. He fell, and all who had advanced with him, except those who had retired with the banner. There was afterwards the warmest conflict, and Earl Tosty had taken charge of the King's banner. They began on both sides to form their array again, and for a long time there was a pause in fighting. Then Thirldolf sang these verses :—

“ ‘ The army stands in hushed dismay,
Stilled is the clamour of the fray,

timidity, and desertion of numbers who had promised their assistance abate his courage, or mar his predetermined

Harold is dead, and with him goes,
The spirit to withstand our foes.

“ A bloody scatt the folk must pay,
For their King's folly on this day.
He fell ; and now without disguise,
We say this business was not wise.”

“ But before the battle began again, Harold Godwins-son offered his brother, Earl Tosty, peace, and also quarter to the Northmen who were still alive ; but the Northmen called out all of them together, that they would rather fall, one across the other, than accept of quarter from the Englishmen. Then each side set up a war shout, and the battle began again. So says Arnor, the earl's scald :—

“ ‘ The King, whose name would ill-doers scare,
The gold-tipped arrow would not spare.
Unhelmed, unpanzered, without shield,
He fell among us in the field.
The gallant men who saw him fall
Would take no quarter ; one and all
Resolved to die with their lov'd King,
Around his corpse in a corpse-ring.’ ”

“ Eystein Orre came up at this moment from the ships with the men who followed him, and all were clad in armour. Then Eystein got King Harold's banner, Land-ravager ; and now was, for the third time, one of the sharpest of conflicts, in which many Englishmen fell, and they were near to taking flight. This conflict is called Orre's storm. Eystein and his men had hastened so fast from the ships, that they were quite exhausted, and scarcely fit to fight before they came into the battle ; but afterwards they became so furious, that they did not guard themselves with their shields as long as they could stand upright. At last, they threw off their coats of ring mail, and then the Englishmen could easily lay their blows at them ; and many fell from weariness, and died without a wound. Thus almost all the chief men fell amongst the Norway people. This happened towards evening ; and then it went, as one might expect, that all had not the same fate, for many fled, and were lucky enough to escape in various ways ; and darkness fell before the slaughter was alto-

purpose; for, confident in the goodness of his cause, and relying upon the protection of heaven, he sought to render it favourable by his prayers, his gifts, and his religious vows.* By his wisdom, the adversities to which he was exposed were nullified, the death of those who had been shipwrecked as far as possible concealed by the private interment of their bodies, and want, otherwise inevitable, prevented by an abundant and daily increasing supply of food; whilst his eloquent discourses restored to the brave their wonted courage, and inspired the timid with an ardent resolution of which they had previously been unconscious.†

It was at the time that William had received a standard from the Pope, that he had assembled a parliament of his nobles at Lillebourne, to ascertain their sentiments upon his projected expedition, and that finding them all then to approve of it, he had incited them to persevere by his magnificent promises, and had determined, according to the extent of the possessions of each, what were the supplies to be expected towards the equipment of the fleet.‡ It was in accordance with the decision that had then been come to, that all were now united together in the port of Saint-Valery-sur-Somme.§

gether ended." LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. pp. 86—93. Uphganga Haralldz Konungs; Rad Tosta Tarls; Fra Fylking Haralldz Konungs; Fra Haralldi Gudinasyni; Fra Tali Höfdingia; Upphaf Orrostonnor; Fall Haralldz Konungs Gurdarsonar; Orra-hrid, in JOHNSTONE'S *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 205—215. SNORRO. c. 90—97. vol. ii. pp. 165—173.

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Nor.* p. 108. (Maseres.)

† W. PICT. p. 108.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 410.

§ W. MALMSB. lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 410. He adds that

William was perfectly conscious that every day Harold remained on the throne his power was thereby the more consolidated and his strength the more increased, and, therefore, had he fitted up with all possible speed, but at the same time with every due care, a fleet of three thousand vessels, and which then lay at anchor at Saint-Valery, in Ponthieu.* Thus was there an immense fleet in a perfect state of preparation, and with it many earls, many nobles, many illustrious warriors, and many barons and other men of exalted rank who were not subjected to

they arrived in St. Valery in the month of August. According to the Norman authorities, the combined Norman fleet was not detained more than five days in this port before it sailed for England. See note by M. Le Prevost to Ordericus Vitalis, vol. ii. p. 145. The words used by Ingulphus would lead to the conclusion that the delay was for a longer period. See *Hist.* pp. 74, 75.

* W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib. vi. c. 34. p. 665. "I well remember," says Robert Wace, "to have heard, when I was a boy, my father say, that the number of ships that sailed from Saint Valery were seven hundred all but four."

"Maiz jo oï dire à mon pere,
 Bien m'en sovint, maiz varlet ere
 Ke set cenz nés, quatre meins, furent,
 Quant de Saint-Valeri s'esmarent."

Roman de Rou, v. 11563—6.

"Nothing is less certain," observes M. Pluquet, in his note upon this passage, "than the number of vessels composing the fleet of the Duke. William of Poitiers and William of Jumieges mention three thousand, whilst the list of those ships that were furnished by the principal Norman lords, presents a sum total nearly similar to that of the father of Wace. The *Chronique de Normandie* states that there were nine hundred great ships, without including the minor craft"—"neuf cent sept grandes nefes, sans li menu vaisselin." PLUQUET, note on *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 145. See *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 189. LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 286, note 1.

William's jurisdiction, but who came in countless crowds from the circumjacent countries, and who were induced to adopt him as their commander from his character of possessing a generous and gracious disposition.* His army so assembled, was an immense force, composed of Normans, of Flemings, of French, and of Bretons, and when his ships were prepared for sea, he filled them with good horses, with robust soldiers, well protected with cuirasses and helmets.†

All the forces of William were now mustered, and all were waiting for a favourable wind that might waft them to the place of their destination.‡ Many days passed away in vain expectation, and then the rabble soldiery were heard giving utterance to such words as these in their drinking booths—words such as may always be expected from the vulgar, when crossed in their wishes—"Here," they said, "is a man evidently stricken with madness, for he fancies he can take from another his immense jurisdiction and make it all his own. God is against him, and will not let a blast of wind blow in his favour. What he wishes for, his father also wanted, and was by the same means baffled. The fatality of this family is to strive ever for what is beyond its power to attain, and to find that its ambition has excited against it the anger of heaven."

Thus were sayings and observations diffused amongst all there assembled, that were well calculated to unnerve the courage of the bravest and best men in the

* *Historia Fundationis Monasterii de Bello*, p. 2. (Ang. Christ.)

† W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norman.* lib. vi. c. 34. p. 665.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 411.

army. The Duke being aware of this, held counsel with the wise and noble of his followers, and then he ordered the body of Saint Valery to be removed from the church in which it lay, and to be carried in procession in the open air, whilst prayers were offered up for a favourable wind;* and in this pious act of Christian humility assisted all who were to accompany William to England.†

The favourable wind so much desired, and so prayed for by such numbers of persons, on a sudden began to blow.‡ The prayer had not ceased until the ships' canvass sails swelled forth with a gale that promised a happy voyage.§ In gratitude, and from joy, the hands and voices of all were uplifted to heaven.|| And then there arose a mighty tumult from men mutually inciting each other to speed away—for there seemed to be but one thing thought of—how the land on which they were might be most quickly forsaken: and how that perilous, long-hoped for, and long-looked voyage might be most rapidly undertaken. But one motive seemed to animate them all, how they might hurry onward with their voyage; and thus there were to be heard on every side the voices of

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. §. 238. vol. ii. p. 411.

† "Concurrente in eadem humilitatis arma concione profectorum cum ipso." W. PICT. p. 108. (Maseres.) See ALBERIC. *Chron. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 360. *Roman de Rou*, v. 11580. "Tunc ibi dux Willermus et omnis exercitus precibus et donis ac votis Deo se commendaverunt, et corpus sancti Galerici confessoris Christi pro secundo flatu extra basilicam detulerunt." ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. p. 144.

‡ ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 144.

§ "Nec mora intercessit quin prosper flatus carbasa impleret." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. p. 411. "Spirante dein aura expectatu." W. PICT. p. 109.

|| W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Duc. Nor.* p. 190. (Maseres.)

warriors, one calling for his squire, another for his armour, and many forgetful of their followers, their companions, and even their indispensable accoutrements—and so demonstrating by their ardour that their greatest fear, or most urgent anxiety, was that they should not be left behind.* There also were many vows made by men for themselves or for their friends; and there, too, were tears shed in abundance; for there were loved companions and fond relations parting from each other; and there those who had to remain in their own homes had to bear in mind that there were fifty thousand warriors, with a large supply of foot-soldiers, about to commit themselves, first to the dreaded sea, and then to fight against an unknown nation in their own land—and with these reflections there came sighs and tears, apprehensions and forebodings, such as ever arise, in similar circumstances, from the anxiety of friends, and the tender thoughts of kindred.† The vehement ardour of the Duke urged on, however, to their ships any persons that might be observed by him as delaying unnecessarily their departure.‡

William was fearful that his followers, in their desire to reach the opposite shore, might, by landing there before daylight, run the risk of encountering some disaster, either

* W. PICT. p. 109. (Maseres.)

† ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 144.

‡ W. PICT. p. 109. The embarkation took place without any confusion, and was completed before the night of the same day.

“ D' entrer es nefz e de charger
Ne sorst esmai ne destorbier;
Kar l' aure venta duce e queie
Eissi que li mers trop n' ondeie.
Eng l'anuitant furent tuit enz.”

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 37026—30.

by pushing for a part of the coast that was dangerous, that had not been examined, or on which a hostile foe might be encountered. To avoid these perils, he sent forth a general order by the mouth of one of his heralds, that as soon as the fleet had got out in the deep sea, all the ships should for a time rest on their anchors at a short distance from his own—that they should so remain until a lighted lamp was seen on the topmost mast-head of his vessel, and that with that light would burst forth the clangour of his trumpets—that such should be the signal for departure, and that all then should speed them on their way.*

It was at night, and after some repose had been taken by the men, that the ships were loosed from their anchors, and then the swift vessel that bore the Duke, by its quick sailing left all the rest far behind—it seemed as if it would by its velocity obey the impulse of its chief, and correspond with his ardour, by carrying him fastly on to that victory he was so desirous to obtain.† The night on which the Norman army crossed the sea was the third of the calends of October, the night that ushers in the day the Catholic Church has dedicated as a joyful festival to the memory of St. Michael the Archangel.‡

Early in the morning, one of his rowers was ordered by the Duke to look from the top of the mast, and “see

* W. Pict. p. 109.

† W. Pict. p. 109.

‡ ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 144, 145. The festival of Michaelmas is one that ancient customs have preserved in this country, notwithstanding its “reformation” in religion, and its alteration in manners. See BRAND’s *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 353—356, 367—373. (Ellis’s Edition.)

“ whether there was coming onward any of his followers.”* The man did so, and declared that there presented itself to his sight nought else but the sky and the sea. The Duke, on the instant, ordered his men to cast anchor, lest fear or grief as to his being missed should take possession of his army; and then this truly valiant commander partook with great hilarity, as jocund in his manner as if he was in his own home, of a rich repast, at which he was also served with spiced wine. It was whilst he was so engaged, that he openly declared to the standers-by, that all would, with the will of God, under whose protection he had placed himself, come to pass in the very manner that he desired.

The Mantuan prince of poets, he who has sung the praises of the Trojan Æneas, and of Rome in the olden time, would not have deemed it beneath his glory to depict the serenity, the calmness, and the confidence of Duke William at this repast on board. At length, however, the man on the look-out made a second announcement—it was that four ships were in sight; and then as his last announcement on the watch, he exclaimed, “ that “ so numerous and so dense were the sail-bearing masts of “ the approaching fleet, that they looked like a forest “ rising up out of the sea.” And thus were the confident hopes of the Duke converted into a realised happiness, and we must leave to our readers to conjecture, with what intense piety he must, from the bottom of his heart, have given thanks to, and glorified God.†

All the vessels of the fleet now gathered around the

* W. Pict. p. 109.

† W. Pict. pp. 109, 110.

crimson-coloured sails of their commander's ship. Food was then partaken of, and then over a placid sea,* and with a favouring breeze, the fleet proceeded onwards to Pevensey; and there, with no enemy to oppose them, an unmolested debarcation of the forces was effected.†

There was no enemy to oppose to them; for at that time Harold had withdrawn from the coast and proceeded to York, to encounter there in battle his brother Tosty, and Harold, King of the Norwegians.

To us it should not be a matter of wonder that the brother of the English Harold, provoked by the injuries he had received, and indignant at seeing Harold assume a title to which he had no right, should have sought for foreign aid against him. Dissimilar in disposition, repugnant to him in morals, and unequal to him in military strength, Tosty had sought in the good-will, advice, and support of others, the means whereby he might assail a man debased by the indulgence of low vices, begrimed by murder, dishonoured by rapine, and detestable, because the malignant foe of virtue, goodness, and equity.

* "Omnibus itaque ad prætorix puppis vermiculatum velum convolantibus, post cibum sumptum placido cursu—" W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238, vol. ii. p. 411.

† W. PIER. p. 110. In the *Roman de Rou*, a very particular account is given of this debarcation. The first to land were the archers—then came the chevaliers with their horses:—

"Tuit armé è tuit haubergié
Escu al col, healme lacié
Ensemble vindrent al gravier,
Chescun armé sor son destrier." v. 11640—3.

The last to land were the carpenters (pioneers), who were at once set to work, and before evening closed had constructed an encampment with entrenchments, and protected by wooden palisades:

That which Tosty wished, was also desired by a woman of manly understanding; by her who was not merely cognizant of what real virtue is, but every act of whose life was devoted to its practice, and who, conscious that her husband, King Edward, had determined that William should reign over the English, had adopted him as if he were his son. She, Edgitha, now desired to see William successful, because he was a wise man, a just man, and a brave man.*

No sooner had the Norman fleet touched on the land of Pevensey, than some of the men, bounding out of the ships, scattered themselves along the shore, delighted to think that they were thus standing on the soil of England.† At that moment, it so happened, that the Duke himself, in descending from his ship upon the shore, fell upon his face, that blood poured from his wounded nose, and reddened the earth around him, whilst his extended hands were filled with clay. Many who witnessed this circumstance regarded it with manifest discontent, and whispered to each other their fears, that it was a circumstance of evil omen. There chanced, how-

“Ainz ke il fust bein avespré
En ont un chastelet fermé.” v. 11663—4.

* W. PICT. p. 110. The reader will bear in mind that this denunciation of Harold, and panegyric upon William, comes from a Norman author; a contemporary, writing at a moment when the passions were strongly excited. The most curious statement, however, in this extract, is, that Queen Edgitha, the widow of Edward, was in favour of William, and opposed to her brother Harold. The statement seems founded in fact, for Edgitha is nowhere traced amongst the friends or advisers of Harold, when other members of his family shared his misfortunes, or lamented his downfall.

† *Historia Foundationis Monasterii de Bello*, p. 2. (Ang. Christ.)

ever, to be then present, the seneschal of the Duke, William Fitz-Osbern, a man of great probity, and of wondrous talent, who instantly raised the thoughts of the dejected, and cheered the spirits of the timid, by these remarks:—

“Soldiers,” said he, “do not regard that as a mischance, which is in itself an auspicious indication of our future triumph. He holds England, which now lies beneath him, with both his hands, and he has with his own blood dedicated as an inheritance to his children, what through the disposition of Providence he has thus, with such a power to sustain him, obtained.”*

Affairs having so far succeeded in accordance with his wishes, the duke made no long delay at Pevensey, but marched his men to a port at a short distance from it,

* *Hist. Fund. Monast. de Bello.* pp. 2, 3. This story is told in a different manner by others. Knyghton says, “that William, in jumping out of a boat, in his hurry to reach the land, slipped, and in his fall his mouth was filled with sand, when William instantly said—‘God is my helper, the land is mine.’ A soldier standing by, hearing this observation, replied: ‘Duke, thou now holdest the land, but thou shalt yet be its King.’” *Event. Ang.* lib. ii. c. 1. p. 2341. Malmesbury’s account is more brief, but to the same effect:—“In egressu navis pede lapsus, eventum in melius commutavit, acclamante sibi proximo milite. ‘Tenes’ inquit, ‘Angliam, comes, rex futurus.’” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. “This was said,” observes the Rev. Mr. Sharpe, in his translation of Malmesbury, “in allusion to the feudal investiture, or formal act of taking possession of an estate by the delivery of certain symbols.” p. 315.

“This story,” it is remarked by Mr. Hardy, “is, however, rendered a little suspicious, by these words being in exact conformity with those of Cæsar, when he stumbled and fell at his landing in Africa, ‘Teneo te, Africa.’ The silence of William of Poictou, who was the duke’s chaplain, and with him at his landing, makes the truth of it still more doubtful.” HARDY, note on William of Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 411. (E. H. S.) See *Roman de Rou*, v. 11711—11730.

called Hastings, and there finding a position suited for his purpose, he had run up in haste a wooden fortification, which he took care should be well garrisoned and supplied.*

The Normans now were in full possession of the coast on which they had landed; they held on the one side the fortification of Pevensey, and on the other that of Hastings, and in these they had secure places on which they might retreat, as well as the means of protecting their shipping.†

* *Hist. Fund. Monast. de Bello.* p. 3. Upon constructing a castle at Pevensey, and garrisoning it, we are then told as to Hastings :—

“Après, ce conte li escriz,
Vint à Hastings senz demore,
On maintenant e en poi d' ore
En r'a un autre fait fermer.
Tant entendirent al ovrer
Que li mur i furent si haut
De nule part ne dote assaut.
La remist gardes seguraines,
E de lui fei porter certaines.”

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 37041—9.

“Earl William,” says the *Saxon Chronicle*, “came up from Normandy into Pevensey, on the eve of St. Michael’s mass; and soon after his landing was effected, they constructed a castle at the port of Hastings. This was then told to King Harold, and he gathered a large force, and came to meet him at the estuary of Appledore.” *Sax. Chron.* p. 263. It was in the attempt to revenge the insult of a foreigner erecting a fortification at an important place like Hastings, that Harold fell, and hence the name of this place was given to the fatal battle which occurred in its neighbourhood. See note by M. Francisque Michel upon *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 192. (Documents inédits sur L’Hist. de France.)

† W. PICT. p. 111. The “Chronicle of Battle Abbey” (of which an excellent translation has been published by Mr. M. A. Lower, London, 1851) states, that the greatest portion of the shipping was burnt by William’s order, lest men, with the hope of returning to

Marius and Pompey the Great were both illustrious generals, and both by their skill, their address, and their perseverance, were entitled to the triumphs they had gained; the first, because he brought Jugurtha, bound in chains, to Rome; the other, because he forced Mithridates to destroy himself by poison; and yet of both it must be said that once they entered into a hostile country, even though it was at the head of an army, they were slow, they were even fearful, albeit guarded by a legion, to expose themselves to danger at a distance from their head-quarters. It was the custom with them, as well as with other generals, to send out scouts, and not to act in that capacity themselves—more careful, in so acting, of their own lives, than of providing for the safety and security of their own troops. William did not, upon this occasion, imitate their example; for with a guard of not more than five-and-twenty men, he, a prompt and ever-ready general, reconnoitred all the places around him, and made acquaintance with their inhabitants.

It was in returning from such an exploring expedition, and when, by reason of the roughness of the path, he had to march on foot, that a circumstance occurred that excited laughter at the time, and the narration of which may make the reader, perchance, still smile, although it affords a theme for expatiating upon the glory of William. It was, that the duke was then seen to relieve of the weight of iron he carried, William Fitz-Osbern, a man

their country, should be induced to relax in their exertions: "Ne scilicet repatriandi spe aliqui forsitan negligentius cœptis instarent." p. 3. (Ang. Christ.) The *Roman de Rou* says that William ordered the ships to be drawn on shore, dismantled, and holes pierced in their bottoms. v. 11733—7.

renowned for his bodily strength and mental vigour; and the duke did this, by bearing upon his shoulders, along with his own hauberk, the hauberk of his follower.*

And here we deem it to be right not to pass by in silence a strange circumstance that occurred; namely, that the first night which William passed in this country, and whilst he lay in his tent, there came to him a voice, saying: "William, William, be thou a good man, be-
" cause the crown of this kingdom shall be won by thee,
" and thou shalt be monarch over all England; and when
" thy foes shall be overcome by thee, build thou in the
" place of their defeat a church in honour of my name,
" and let it be as many hundred feet in length, as shall
" be in number the years, that those who spring from thy
" blood shall possess the sceptre in England, and rule as
" Kings over this land."†

William was particular in restraining his army from plundering the country, observing to his followers that they should spare that property which was yet destined to be their own; and so for fifteen days in succession did he keep them so quiet, that no one could suppose that war was on the point of being carried on in the land.‡

* W. PICT. p. 111: The circumstance here stated gives an insight into the manners of the times. The incident may have occurred on the first day of William's arrival, though it is more probable it did not happen until two or three days afterwards. The *Roman de Rou* is particular in specifying the grand banquet of which William and his followers partook the moment they had completed their fortifications. v. 11665—70.

† KNYGHTON. *Event. Ang.* lib. ii. c. 1. p. 2341.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 238. vol. ii. pp. 411,

Whilst these events were occurring in one part of the country, and at the very moment that the King, Harold,

412. Upon this passage, the following note is appended by Mr. Hardy, the editor of William of Malmsbury:—

“Whatever may have been the Conqueror’s orders to restrain his army from plundering, it is conclusive, from the Domesday Survey, that they were of no avail. The whole of the country in the neighbourhood of Hastings appears to have been laid waste. Sir Henry Ellis, in the last edition of his General Introduction to Domesday, observes that the destruction occasioned by the Conqueror’s army on its first arrival, is apparent more particularly under Hollington, Bexhill, &c. The value of each manor is given as it stood in the reign of the Confessor; afterwards, it is said, ‘vastatum fuit;’ and then follows the value at the time of the survey. The situation of those manors evidently shows their devastated state, owing to the army marching over it; and this clearly evinces another circumstance relating to the invasion, which is, that William did not land his army at one particular spot;—at Bulverhithe, or Hastings, as is supposed, but at all the several proper places for landing along the coast from Bexhill to Winchelsea.” HARDY, note to W. Malmsb. vol. i. p. 412. (E. H. S.)

In this note, the learned editor of Malmsbury impugns the fact as stated by Malmsbury, and then having, as he supposes, disposed of the fact, he draws an inference from his own hypothesis. The fact as stated by Malmsbury, is, that “prior to the battle of Hastings, William prevented his men from plundering the country.” How is that fact disproved? By shewing that the country was laid waste *sometime* between the death of Edward the Confessor, and the making out the Returns for the Domesday Survey. At what particular time then did this waste and spoliation occur? Malmsbury says positively it did not happen *before* the battle of Hastings; but another and a high authority states *when* it did happen, and *wherefore* such a barbarity was resorted to.

“This battle (of Hastings),” says the *Saxon Chronicle*, “was fought on the day of Pope Calixtus; and Earl William returned to Hastings, and waited there to know if the people would submit to him. But when he found that they would not come to him, he went up with all his force that was left, and *that came since to him from over sea, and ravaged all the country that he overran until he came to Birkhamstead.*” INGRAM’S translation, p. 264. See also R. DICT. p. 480. The words, “and him

supposed that all his enemies had been crushed, it was announced to him,* "that William, the Duke of the

syththan fram ofer sæ com," show that William's auxiliaries might have considered themselves safe in landing at other ports than Pevensey or Hastings, when a victory had been gained, and so far lessen the value that might be attached to Mr. Hardy's inference, if there were not also opposed to it the strong argument that William was too good a general, in the invasion of this country, to cast away his soldiers upon the English—a hostile coast—so widely separated from each other, that they might be cut off in detail. The account of his proceedings, as they are given in the monkish writers, prove him to have acted as an able general, and a sagacious statesman; first occupying a strong position with his whole force, and then having that position flanked by two fortresses, and then restraining his soldiers from plundering, so as not to give to Harold the benefit that he must derive from having enlisted on his side the sympathies and resentment of the people whose lands had been laid waste, and whose property had been wantonly despoiled. It was his policy to make it appear to the people that he came only to England to inflict punishment upon a perjurer, to dispossess an usurper, to claim merely what was his own, and to act as one on whom the pontifical blessing had been bestowed. Had he pursued a different course, then Harold would have fought not with a few adherents, but with an entire nation at his back, and the crown of England never could have been won in a single battle. It is with diffidence we differ from Mr. Hardy, or Sir H. Ellis,—but in this case we are bound to do so, as we think they have unjustly disparaged the authority of Malmsbury.

For a curious treatise upon the "usages of war," when a military force is operating in a hostile country, see *Dublin Review*, No. 41. pp. 59—137.

* F. WIGORN. Henry of Huntingdon describes Harold as receiving this intelligence at York, and when he was in the full enjoyment of a grand banquet in honour of the victory he had gained over the Norwegians and his brother Tosty. The message he says then received by Harold was this: "William, the Duke of Normandy, now holds the southern coast, and has built a castle at Hastings." *Hist.* lib. vi. p. 368. Ordericus Vitalis says, "that the intelligence of William's arrival was conveyed to Harold when he was in London, and to which place he had returned from the north in great triumph." *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 145.

" Norman nation, had, with an innumerable multitude of
 " knights, of slingers, of archers, and of infantry, arrived
 " in England; that the duke had brought with him as
 " his auxiliaries the bravest and the best men to be found
 " in France, and that all had been landed from his fleet,
 " at the place called Pevensey."* No sooner did King
 Harold hear this intelligence, than he moved all the troops
 he could command by forced marches to London, and
 then, although he was fully aware that the very bravest of
 his soldiers had fallen in the two battles that had been so
 recently fought, and that the half of the military array had
 not yet been mustered, still no thought of fear prevented
 him from determining to proceed in all speed to Sussex,
 in order that he might there encounter the enemy.†

The manner of his returning to London, previous to his hearing of
 William's arrival, is thus described by Benoit :

" S'en vint à Londres glorios
 Od son empire, si joios
 Que ja ne quide mais trover
 Riens qui lui puisse contrestre."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 37104—7. vol. iii. p. 194.

In the *Roman de Rou*, a most interesting and life-like picture is
 given of an English knight seeing the Norman fleet reaching the
 coast—the debarkation of the troops, and the construction of the
 first fortress—and his seeing, with great grief, all these circum-
 stances occur. Then girding on his sword, and taking his lance,
 and hurrying off to King Harold to tell the news, and not finding
 him until he had crossed the Humber, and then breaking in upon
 him with the sad intelligence in the midst of a banquet, v. 11755
 —11782.

* F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 227.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227. See *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 101.
 vol. i. p. 222. W. DE HEMINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 9. IN-
 GULPH. p. 69.

Whilst Duke William was at Hastings, there was sent to him a message from a certain rich man in the neighbourhood, a Norman, named Robert, the son of a noble lady, called Guimare.* The message of Robert to him, who was his liege lord and his relative, was conveyed in these words :—

“ King Harold has fought a battle with his own brother, and with the King of the Norwegians—the latter fained as the greatest warrior under heaven. In that single battle Harold has slain them both, and utterly annihilated the immense armies they commanded. Animated with success, he now returns in all speed to assail thee, and he does so, bringing with him a most numerous and valiant nation. Opposed to him, I calculate that thou and thine will be nothing more than so many craven curs. Hitherto thou hast been regarded as a man gifted with much prudence, conducting thy affairs at home and abroad with caution and with wisdom. This, however, is the moment beyond all others when it behoves thee to take counsel—to look to what is coming—to toil in mind and in body as to the present, lest thou shouldst rashly so far commit thyself in a dangerous position, that thou mayest not be able either to maintain it, or to escape from it. My advice to thee, if thou wilt be persuaded by me, is to remain within thy fortifications, and, for the present at least, avoid coming in close conflict with Harold.”

To this message the duke thus replied :—

“ For the information thus given me, and the direction thus afforded to me, as to the necessity of my being

* W. PICT. *Gest. Guil. Nor.* p. 111 (Maseres).

"cautious, although the latter might well have been
"couched in terms that conveyed no insult, still I am
"thankful, and bear you back the expression of my
"thanks. Say too, at the same time, I will seek for no
"shelter behind fosse or rampart. From no foe shall I
"conceal myself. On the contrary, I am determined, the
"first opportunity that is afforded to me, of meeting Ha-
"rold in the field. Opposed to him and his adherents, I
"would, the Divine Will not being adverse to my so
"doing, feel no distrust in the superior bravery of my
"soldiers—ay, though I had but ten thousand such men
"as now make up my army of sixty thousand warriors—
"I would lead them on to the charge against Harold and
"his followers."*

Harold well knew how dreadful were the enemies of whom he had heard as presenting themselves in opposition to him on another coast of England (different from that at which Tosty and the Norwegians had arrived); and hearing this, he prepared with equal spirit and alacrity to encounter them.† Harold was exceedingly brave, open in his bearing, in face and person remarkable for his beauty, gifted with great eloquence, and in his manners affable to all classes of individuals.

In the present state of his affairs, his mother,‡ as well as his most faithful and attached friends, sought to dis-

* W. Pict. *Gest. Guil. Nor.* pp. 111, 112.

† W. GEMITICENS. *Duc. Norm.* lib. vi. c. 35. p. 665.

‡ His mother, Githa, who at that time was in deep grief for the death of her son, Tosty. *ORDER. VITAL.* lib. iii. p. 145.

suade him from going to the battle-field. It was upon this occasion, that his brother Gurth addressed him in these terms :—

“ My dearest brother, and my lord, it is indispensable
“ that thy valour should be placed under the restraint of
“ prudence. Thou art but now returned wearied and
“ jaded from fighting with the Norwegians, and thou
“ shouldst not therefore hurry away to a second conflict
“ with the Normans. I beseech thee then to be quiescent.
“ Be pleased calmly and deliberately thyself to consider
“ what it is thou didst promise, and that too upon oath, to
“ the Duke of the Normans. Take care that thou hast
“ not incurred the crime of perjury ; and that, as a punishment for so awful a crime, thou dost not bring destruction upon thyself and upon this nation—and in so doing, render thyself an object of everlasting infamy to all our race. I am free from every oath—I am under no obligation to Duke William. I am ready bravely and boldly to fight against him in defence of our native land. Do thou, meanwhile, my brother, remain at peace, in whatever place thou wishest, and await there the event of the conflict. Act thus, lest by thy ruin, should also be for ever obscured and lost the shining light of English liberty.”*

* W. GEMITIGENS. The place where this appeal was made to Harold by his brother Gurth is stated by Ordericus Vitalis (who copies the speech addressed to Harold from William of Jumieges) to have occurred at London. This agrees with the *Roman de Rou*, v. 12039—41, and the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 194, 195. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury ascribes a similar speech to Gurth, upon the return of Harold's spies from the camp of the Normans. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 239. vol. ii. p. 413. It is not improbable that Gurth more

Upon hearing himself addressed in such words as these, Harold became exceedingly indignant. That advice which his friends had tendered to him as being for his own safety and advantage, he treated with scorn—his brother, who had with such loyalty advised and warned him, he covered with reproaches; and even his mother, when she endeavoured to retain him by her side, he shamefully spurned from him with his foot! ”*

than once so appealed to his brother, and we therefore give in the text the speeches ascribed to him, at the several periods mentioned by the Norman and English writers.

* “ — matremque suam quæ nimis ipsum retinere secum satagebat pede procaciter percussit.” W. GEMITICENS. The same statement is adopted by Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 146; and the incident is thus described in the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* :—

“ Vers sa mere fu mult eschis,
 Qui chèrement fust a plaisir
 Deu remaindre deu retenir,
 E tant l'en fist longe preiere
 Qu' enverse la bota ariere :
 Tel li dona del pié el ventre.”—v. 37197—37202.

In the *Roman de Rou* no such barbarity is ascribed to Harold. It is probable that no such circumstance ever occurred, although it is curious, that conduct similar to this is ascribed to William, when about to proceed on his expedition to England—the object of his brutality being said to be his own wife. In *Harold Hardradas Saga*, c. 99, it is stated of William: “The day that he rode out of the castle to his ships, and had mounted his horse, his wife came to him, and wanted to speak to him; but when he saw her *he struck at her with his heel*, and set his spurs so deep into her breast that she fell down dead; and the earl rode on to his ships, and went with his ships over to England.” LAING'S *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 94. SNORRO. vol. ii. p. 175. *Fra Vilhjalmi Bastardi*, in JOHNSTONE'S *Antiq. Celt. Scand.* pp. 216, 217. See especially note b, p. 217, for an interesting note respecting William's jealousy, and his suspicions respecting his wife Matilda and Harold.

He then for six days successively collected together an immense number of the English, making his preparations with all possible speed, so that he might take Duke William by surprise.*

One day, whilst Duke William was visiting the guard to whom was confided the wardship of his vessels, and at the moment that he was walking near to the place where the ships were stationed, he was informed that a monk who acted as the herald of Harold was approaching.† This monk was immediately addressed by William with the following ingenious discourse:—

“I am,” said he, “the dearest and most intimate friend of William, Duke of Normandy. *I assist him every time he sits down to table. Unless you speak to me, it is impossible for you to address yourself to him. Tell then to me, what message you have for him. He willingly listens, when I am disposed to hear. He loves no one better than the individual who tells you this. With my aid you can afterwards openly repeat, should you so desire it, that which you now say to me.*”

The message that had been confided to the monk by Harold was then disclosed; and the moment William had become acquainted with its purport, he directed that the monk should be received as an ambassador, and that the most scrupulous care and hospitality should be bestowed upon him. Meanwhile the duke retired, first to reflect by

* W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 35. pp. 665, 666.

† W. PICT. *Gest. Guil. Nor.* p. 112.

himself, and then to consult with his friends as to the answer that should be made to the embassy so delivered.

Upon the following day the duke took his seat in the midst of his nobles, and then directing the monk to be summoned before him, he thus addressed him :—

“ I am William, by the grace of God, the Prince of the Normans. Repeat now, in presence of these persons, that which thou didst say to myself yesterday.”

The ambassador then spoke in these terms :—

“ These words King Harold addresses to thee :—

“ Thou hast intruded thyself upon his land ; but by what hope impelled, or by what rash confidence urged, he knoweth not.

“ He bears in mind that King Edward had long ago determined that thou shouldst be the inheritor of the English crown ; and even he himself, whilst in Normandy, had assured to thee a sure and certain succession to the throne. But he also knows this, that the kingdom now is justly his own, bestowed upon him by a competent giver, by the self-same King Edward his lord, who bestowed it as a gift, and who, when *in extremis*, conceded it to him ; for, you must be aware that from the time blessed Augustin came to this land, it has been held as a common custom of the nation, that a donation made by any one, at the close of his life, is held to be a full, complete and perfect bestowal away of that which is to be given. Hence it is that he with justice demands that thou and thine withdraw from his land.

“ Shouldst thou refuse this demand, then that friendship which he felt for thee is now and for evermore re-

“nounced, and all the compacts into which he entered
“with thee in Normandy repudiated and dissolved.”

Upon this message from Harold being delivered, the duke asked the monk whether he was willing to conduct in safety his ambassador to Harold? The monk promised that he would take as much care of any such person as of his own life.

The duke then gave his instructions to a certain monk of Fecamp,* who brought them in these terms with all speed to Harold :—

“No rash impulse, and no unjust motive have brought
“me to this land. Deliberately, and in pursuit of justice,
“I have come here. My lord, and my kinsman, King
“Edward, as Harold himself admits, appointed me as his
“heir, and this because of the great honours yielded to,
“and the many benefits conferred by me and my parents
“upon him, his brother, and their followers; and also,
“because of all who belonged to his race, he believed me
“to be the most illustrious; the one who was the most
“capable to aid, support, and assist him, whilst he lived,
“and the best fitted, after his decease, to govern his
“kingdom.

“Assuredly he did not this without the consent of the
“great men of his kingdom. On the contrary, he did it
“with the counsel of Stigand, the Archbishop, of Earl
“Godwiu, of Earl Leofric, and of Earl Siward; men who
“even confirmed with an oath, under their own hands,
“that after the decease of Edward, they would receive me
“as their lord, and that they would never, during his life,

* This monk of Fecamp, we may presume, was “Huon Margot.” See *Roman de Rou*, v. 11896—7.

"seek by any impediment to prevent my obtaining possession of the country.*

"As hostages for the fulfilment of these things, the King gave me the son and the nephew of Godwin.†

"Finally, the King sent Harold himself to me in Normandy, in order that he, there present, might swear to me, that which his own father and the persons before-named had sworn to, here, in my absence.

"Now Harold, whilst on his way to me, fell into captivity, from which by my prudence and valour I released him.

"Harold there and then placed his hands in mine; with his own hand he plighted to me the secure possession of the kingdom of England.‡

"At this moment I am prepared to plead my cause against him, and to seek for judgment, whether it please him to have it determined by the law of the Normans, or, if he prefer it, by that of the English; and, if in

* W. PICR. Mr. Maseres, the editor of the "*Historiæ Anglicanæ Selecta Monumenta*," has a long and elaborate commentary upon this passage, for the purpose of showing that these assertions of William are "absolutely false." It would be to repeat what is already stated in preceding notes, to enter into this question anew. We only refer to it for the purpose of showing what were the arguments that must have been employed by William at Rome, to induce the Pope to believe that his was the cause of justice and of truth; for it is admitted by Mr. Maseres, that if what William said were true, "it would be a very considerable argument in support of the justice of Duke William's claim to the crown of England." note, p. 113. See also pp. 114, 115, 116.

† See, on this passage, MASERES. *Hist. Antiq. Sel. Mon.* pp. 116, 117, 118.

‡ Upon Harold's visit to Normandy, see MASERES. *Hist. Antiq. Sel. Mon.* pp. 118—126.

"accordance with truth and equity, Normans or English decree that he rightfully should possess this kingdom, then, I say, let him peacefully hold it. If, on the other hand, they declare that it is justly mine, then let it be resigned to me.

"But if Harold should repudiate this offer, then I say, that I do not deem it to be just, that his men or that mine should destroy each other in war, since neither are inculpated in a quarrel that is peculiarly and personally confined to us two.

"Here then I am prepared to assert upon the peril of my own life, as opposed to his life, that the kingdom of England is far more rightfully mine than his."

These sentences, containing the precise words of the duke, we have been desirous to place before the eyes of all, so that they may be regarded not as words composed by us, but as given expression to by him;* and this we have been the more anxious to impress upon our readers, because we wish that the world should ever regard William with favour, and repeat his name with praises. The conclusion to be drawn from these words redound to his honour. They show that William was really and truly prudent, just, pious, and brave.† The power of reasoning contained in these words is so plain, so cogent, and so

* "Hanc verborum Ducis diligenter compertam sententiam magis quam dictatum nostrum in oculos plurimorum venire volumus." W. PICT. p. 126. These words are of importance, because they give to the speech of William all the value that should be attached to a political document attested by a personal witness.

† "— quia plurimorum perpetuo favore eum desideramus laudari." W. PICT. p. 126. This is the honest admission of a candid partisan.

striking, that not even Tully, that mighty master of Roman eloquence, could weaken it; whilst as to Harold's poor arguments, they were completely shattered by it. In fine, we see by William's propositions that he was perfectly willing and ready to submit his claim to that Judgment by which the laws of nations are finally determined; that he was unwilling that the English, though arrayed against him as foes, should lose their lives in what was his quarrel: that what he wished for was, that his cause might be determined at the risk of his life alone, in combat.*

Upon the monk, to whom had been confided the delivery of William's message to Harold, appearing before the latter, and repeating it to him, he became pale with stupefaction, and remained for a long time like to one who never had been gifted with the faculty of speech.

Again and again had the messenger to ask him for an answer. The first time, the only words uttered by Harold were: "Let us about it instantly;" and the second time, he merely said: "Onward to the battle-field!"

The monk-ambassador pressed him to give some other reply, and repeatedly remarked to him,—“That what “ was wished for by the Norman Duke was not the de-

* W. PICT. In *Malmsbury, Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 240. vol. ii. pp. 413, 414, an abstract will be found of the message of William: his proposal for single combat, and the grounds on which he claimed the crown. The latter is worthy of being transcribed, as it differs somewhat from the terms used by William of Poitiers:—"Calumniabatur enim Willelmus regnum, quod rex illi Edwardus concesserat, consilio Stigandi Archiepiscopi, et Godwini et Siwardi comitum; ejusque doni obsides filium et nepotem Godwini Normanniam miserat. Si id negare velit Haroldus, judicio se sedis apostolicæ vel prælio acturum." p. 414.

"struction of armies, but a combat between two men alone. And this," he said, "because a valiant and a good man, he knew, like the Duke, would neither be willing to renounce that which was just and desirable, nor to see many lose their lives in fighting for it, whilst he was confident, that in a single combat, Harold must lose his head: because on his side there was less of personal prowess combined with not one particle of equity."

Harold being so pressed, raised up his head, and looking towards to heaven, said, "Let God this day decide that which is just between me and William!"

Blinded by the desire to reign as a King, whilst he was at the same time rendered, by the commotion of his apprehensions, oblivious of the injuries he had committed, he invoked upon himself that which his own conscience must have told him was a just judgment and a rightful condemnation.*

The Duke, he who was in so short a time afterwards to be King, was solicitously engaged in rendering all the lands that lay around him completely subject to his power.† This circumstance was known to Harold, the usurper of the throne, who had now hastily mustered an army, and who, therefore, made a hurried march to that place which is now called "Battle," confident in his own rash and unabated courage, that he should be able, not merely to drive William out of the land, but utterly to destroy him and all his adherents.‡ Harold's wish was to surprise

* *W. Pict. Gest. Guill. Nor.* pp. 112—126. (Maseres.)

† *Hist. Fund. Monast. de Bello.* p. 3.

‡ *Hist. Fund. Monast. de Bello.* p. 3. (Ang. Christ.)

and attack the Duke when unprepared to receive him, and with this intention he rode all the night, so as to be able to present himself in complete battle array on the following morning.*

Meanwhile the Duke had sent out horsemen—soldiers long experienced in the practice of war—to scour the country round as scouts; and these returned now in all haste to him, announcing the advance of his enemies, and, also, that King Harold was filled with a rage amounting to a fury, because he had been informed that all the places in the vicinity of the Norman encampments had been laid waste—that Harold, too, was concocting either a night attack, or a sudden charge upon them, if they were to be carelessly watched, or unprepared for combat—and, moreover, that Harold had, lest the Normans should attempt to make their escape by sea, placed an armed fleet of seven hundred ships, in secure but secret stations, to intercept them.†

Duke William, upon hearing this intelligence, instantly ordered all the soldiers that were in his encampments to be armed. His entire army was not there at the moment, as several soldiers had, in the course of the same day, been sent out on foraging parties.‡

Harold had come from his battle with the Norwegians, in his own estimation, a happy man, because he had been conqueror, but in our judgment he was to be regarded the very opposite of happy, because the victory he won

* W. GEMITICENS. lib. iv. c. 35. p. 666.

† W. PICT. p. 127. See ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. iii. p. 146.

‡ W. PICT. *Gest. Guill. Nor.* p. 127. (Maseres.)

had stained his name with the sin of fratricide.* So stained with blood in war, the news of the arrival of the Normans urged him onward to Hastings, although supported by a very small force of warriors.† In thus acting, the fates seemed to drive him headlong to his destruction, so that he either would not wait until a sufficient military aid might be mustered, or, if he had been disposed to wait, he would not have found many willing to obey his summons; and this for the reason we have already mentioned, which had rendered all military men hostile towards him, namely, that he had pounced upon, and reserved exclusively for himself, all the spoil that had been taken in the northern battles.

In advancing towards Hastings, Harold sent before him spies, for the purpose of ascertaining the number and strength of his foes. Those spies were apprehended within the encampment of William, and they were, in accordance with the Duke's orders, conducted around the tents, and then, being abundantly supplied with food, they were sent back in safety to their master.

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 239, vol ii. p. 412.

† "Paucissimo stipatus milite." W. MALMSB. This appears inconsistent with the statements of William of Jumieges and Ordericus Vitalis, that Harold had "collected together an immense multitude of the English"—"*Innumeram multitudinem Anglorum contraxit.*" Their apparent inconsistency is, however, easily explained. Malmsbury alludes to soldiers practised in war. Of these Harold might and probably had but few, whilst there were gathered under his standard a large but undisciplined population. The words of Ingulphus are consistent with such an interpretation of both statements. He says of Harold: "*Nec de toto exercitu, præter paucissimos, eum aliquis concomitatur. Perveniens, igitur Hastingas, collecta illic popularium aliqua turba, confectaque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimis et tenera, exercitum non expectat.*" INGULPH. *Hist.* p. 69.

Upon their return they were interrogated by Harold as to the intelligence they had obtained. They, in the first instance, expatiated in very laudatory terms upon the great confidence in the state of his affairs exhibited by William, and then they added, as if they seriously believed it to be a fact, that almost all the persons in his army appeared to be priests, because the entire of their face and both lips were closely shaven. This remark was made by them because the English, leaving the upper lip unshaven and unclipped, wore long and pendant moustachios—a custom which Julius Cæsar, in his book upon “the War in Gaul,” remarks upon as prevailing amongst the Ancient British people.*

The King could not avoid smiling at the simplicity of those who made such a remark, and he observed to them with a good-humoured, but still sarcastic laugh—“These were not priests, but soldiers, men as skilled in arms as they are dauntless in spirit.”

No sooner had Harold given utterance to these words, than his brother Gurth, little more than a boy in years, but distinguished by a valour and judgment that were far beyond his age, caught at the expressions of the King, and thus addressed him:—“Since,” he said, “you yourself make no secret of the great military strength of the Norman, I cannot but regard it as ill-advised in you to

* W. MALMSB. “Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem; atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna adspectu; capilloque sunt promisso; atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius.” CÆSAR. *Bell. Gall.* lib. v. c. 10. It is curious that Malmsbury even applies to the Saxons the ancient custom here described by Cæsar, of the British painting their skins—“Picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti.” *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 245. vol. ii. p. 419.

“ fight with him, to whom you deem yourself to be inferior
 “ in the power at your command, as well in the justice of
 “ your cause; for you cannot deny that you are now about
 “ to encounter a man to whom, whether coerced or wil-
 “ lingly, you yet have plighted your oath. Under such cir-
 “ cumstances, you would assuredly act more wisely by with-
 “ drawing from the danger that now threatens us all, and
 “ thus trying what may be the result of a combat fought
 “ at our risk alone—a risk we may readily encounter, for
 “ we are free from the responsibility of every oath; and
 “ the swords that we grasp, we can justly wield, because
 “ we use them in defence of our country. That which
 “ we have to fear is, that if you take part in the battle,
 “ flight or death will overtake you; whereas, with us
 “ alone fighting, your cause will ride at safety in a secure
 “ harbour; because in case of a defeat it will then be in
 “ your power to give new courage to the fugitives,
 “ and to avenge the dead.”

The unbridled rashness of Harold would not induce him
 to give a patient hearing to this warning; because he
 deemed it would be a blot upon his fame, and an oppro-
 brium upon all his past deeds, if he were to turn his back
 upon that or any other danger, no matter how great or
 how urgent it might be.*

The courageous leaders of the armies on both sides
 having now determined upon battle, prepared their sol-
 diers for the coming encounter, and resolved upon fight-
 ing, each in accordance with his national customs.† The

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 239. See p. 625. in
 this volume. *Roman de Rou.* v. 12043—12091.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 241.

English, as we have been informed, remained the entire night without sleeping—passing away the hours in songs and drinking, and so marching from the banquet to the field.*

Duke William, on the other hand, kept a strict watch, lest any night attack might be made by his foes; and no sooner had the shades of night began to fall, than he ordered his entire army under arms, and so to remain until the return of the clear light of day.†

William assisted at the mystery of the Mass with the most marked devotion, and strengthened both body and soul by partaking of the Communion of the Body and Blood of Our Lord.‡ He humbly then appended to his neck the relics of those saints, of whose intercession Harold had deprived himself, when he violated by his perjury that oath, to which he had invoked their sanction.§

Upon this occasion William had with his army two

* W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 241. vol. ii. p. 414. The prevalence of the sin of drunkenness at this period in England, is strongly remarked upon by Malmsbury in another part of his history. He states that the Anglo-Saxons used to pass whole nights and days at the table: "potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus;" and to the prevalence of this vice he attributes the facility with which, as a nation, they were conquered. "Hinc factum est, ut magis temeritate et furore præcipiti quam scientia militari Willelmo congressi, uno prælio, et ipso perfacili, servituti se patriamque pessundederint." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 245. vol. ii. p. 418.

† W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666.

‡ "Ipse mysterio Missæ quam maxima cum devotione assistens, corporis ac sanguinis Dominici communicatione suum et corpus et animam munivit." W. PICT. p. 127.

§ "Appendit etiam humili collo suo reliquias, quarum favorem Heraldus abalienaverat sibi, violata fide quam super eas jurando sanxerat." W. PICT. p. 127.

bishops from Normandy, Odo of Bayeux, and Godfrey of Coutances; and with these a great many clergymen and a few monks. This sacred congregation he had with him, in order that they might battle for him with their prayers.* Thus the Normans passed their night in a far different manner from the English; for they devoted all of it to the confession of their sins, so that in the morning they were able to receive in communion the Body of the Lord.†

The Duke William, escorted by bodies of horse, ad-

* W. Pict. p. 127. See as to Odo of Bayeux, PLUQUET, note on *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 185.

† "Contra Normanni, nocte tota confessioni peccatorum vacantes, mane Dominico corpore communicarunt." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 242. vol. ii. p. 415.

"There were in the army of the Normans, priests, and a great many monks, and yet, perchance, the same thing occurred in several cases which is mentioned in the poem of Ernest, viz :—

"Alter in alterius aurem commissa loquuntur."

Or, as it is stated by Ditmar: 'Ernestus Alemanix Dux. quia presbyterum cui sua confiteretur peccata, non habuit, unum ea militibus hujus vice proprius accedere jussit' (*Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. x. p. 131). Joinville, in the Life of St. Louis, mentions a similar circumstance as occurring long afterwards. He says, 'profligato a Sarracenis exercitu, se Guidonis de Belino Magistri Equitum regni Cypri excepisse confessionem.' Formerly, not only priests, but even laymen, that is in case of necessity, heard the confession of penitents, as is proved by Martene, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.* c. 6. art. 1. § 8." BOUQUET, note on Chron. Alberic. Trium-Font. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 361. See *Roman de Rou*, v. 12478—12490. A German author states, that on this occasion the Normans made a vow, that if they escaped from the danger in which they were placed, neither they nor any of their posterity would ever eat meat on Saturday: "Voto perpetuo se suamque posteritatem obligaverunt, quod in perpetuum carnibus die Sabbathi abstinerent, si de manu fortiorum liberati." Gervas. Tilberiens. *Otiis Imperialibus*, as quoted in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 318. See note a in same page by Bouquet.

vanced to a hilly place, which is one side of Hastings, called "Hechèlands," and whilst there, the men on all sides were perceived to be busily arraying themselves for battle.* Here it was that his hauberk was required by William, and being suddenly handed to him, was presented to him to be put on, turned upside down. Those who were present took notice of this awkward accident, and exclaimed against it is an omen of some coming disaster; but the duke's chamberlain (Fitz-Osbert), to whom reference has been already made, by his cleverness and quickness quieted the minds of all, by declaring that this was to be regarded as an indication of their triumph, because it shewed that they could have matters turned in whatsoever way they wished them.†

* *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello.* p. 3.

† "Quod scilicet, ea quæ restabant, ut proposita securiter illi cessura forent." *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello.* The observation is neither so good nor so witty as that ascribed to William himself by Malmsbury, who says, that "when, through the hurry of his attendants, he put on his hauberk with the hind part before, he turned the accident to account by a joke, in exclaiming, 'Thus shall my dukedom be changed into a kingdom.'" *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 242. vol. ii. p. 415. We have, however, preferred the more dull, because it appears to be the more authentic narrative contained in the "Chronicle of Battle Abbey," for with this incident is connected the foundation of the celebrated "Battle Abbey." The incident of the inverted hauberk is thus alluded to by the grave William of Poitiers: "terrere alium lorice, dum vestiretur, sinistra conversio. Hanc conversionem risit ille ut casum, non. ut mali prodigium, expavit." *Gest. Guil. Nor.* p. 127.

It is stated by Wace, that on the morning of the battle, Harold and his brother Gurth went forth to reconnoitre the forces of the Normans, and that Harold discovering them to be so much greater than he supposed, became frightened, and wished to retreat back to London; that upon this Gurth reproached him with his cowardice; that a quarrel then ensued between the brothers, in the course of which, Gurth was on the point of striking his brother.

Duke William was, however, in no wise moved by this incident, but with a placid countenance arrayed himself with his hauberk, and then addressed those present in words that are worthy of being remembered for ever :—

“ I am well aware, my dearest friends, that if I were to attach the slightest importance to omens, I ought, on no account, this day to engage in a combat. In every affair, however, I commit myself with confidence to my Creator—I place no trust in omens, and I never have liked divinations. Relying with security in the aid that God may choose to give me, and grateful to you, who for my sake have entered into this contest, and who have given to it the support of your hands and hearts, I now make a vow, that in that place in which the coming conflict shall take place, I will have founded a monastery for the souls’ sake of all, and by name for those who may fall there—that monastery devoted to God, and to the honour of all His saints, I will have supplied with those consecrated to God’s service, and, as far as I can, so freely and fully endowed, that it may be a welcome asylum for all in need.”

Amongst the persons who heard the Norman Duke give expression to these words, was one, a monk of the monastery of Marmoutier, William, surnamed Faber. The way in which the monk had obtained the surname was this. He had formerly been one of the personal attendants upon the Duke, and having, on one occasion, gone out with his companions to enjoy the sport of shooting at wild animals, it

“ E ke Guert volt Heraut ferir.” *Roman de Rou*, v. 12120—12189. No credit can, we think, be attached to this statement of Wace.

so chanced that all their store of arrows was exhausted. In this dilemma, they went to the house of a smith (faber); but the man being utterly unable to make what was required, William laid hold of the smith's hammers, and in a moment fabricated in such a workmanlike manner an arrow, that he was named Faber. This William Faber afterwards changed his vocation in life, and therefore repaired to the monastery of Marmoutier, which was at the time famous for its great sanctity. From thence, upon the intelligence spreading abroad of Duke William's proceeding to England, he, for the sake of the church, attached himself with other monks to the army; and upon this occasion, no sooner had the duke given utterance to his vow, than he suggested, in order that the duke might the better ensure the accomplishment of all he desired, that the same monastery should be founded in honour of the blessed St. Martin.*

The request of William Faber coincided with the wishes as well as the vow of the devout duke, and he therefore graciously promised that it should be carried into effect.†

Upon this occasion, William made a brief address to his soldiers, which we have no doubt was admirably well calculated to give a new impulse to their courage, and a fresh excitement to their ardour.‡ We are not, however, able to give more than the following version of it, which

* "As patron of the Norman and French soldiers." *Note by Editor of the Chronicle of Battle Abbey.* See LOWER'S *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, vol. i. p. 5. note 10.

† *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello.* pp. 3, 4. (Ang. Christ.) See KNIGHTON. p. 2341.

‡ W. PICT. *Gest. Guil. Nor.* p. 127.

we are conscious, does not correspond with the grace and dignity of the original.*

“ He reminded the Normans that in the many and
“ great dangers to which they had hitherto been ex-
“ posed, they had ever been, with him as their leader, vic-
“ torious. He bade them also to bear in mind, the coun-
“ try of which they were natives, the noble deeds of its
“ people, and the glorious fame both had acquired.

“ He told them that the moment had now arrived, when
“ by their own right hands they should give the proofs of
“ their prowess, and of the dauntless bravery that ani-
“ mated them.

“ This was the time when the question to be decided
“ was not merely who should reign as a conqueror, but
“ who could escape with his life, and in safety, from a
“ danger that was imminent. If they fought as heroes,
“ then they would with victory win also for themselves
“ glory and riches; and if they would not do so, then
“ they would be sure to be overtaken with a speedy and
“ certain massacre, or as captives made the sport of re-
“ morseless foes, whilst their very names would be doomed
“ to everlasting infamy. They were now placed in such
“ a position, that there was neither left to them the possi-
“ bility of escape nor of retreat; but on this side there
“ were opposed to them arms, and a country alike un-
“ known and hostile; and on the other side, the sea; and
“ on the sea, an armed force against them.

* “Etsi nobis non ex tota dignitate sua relatam.” W. PICT.
Another and a longer version of this speech will be found in
Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist.* lib. vii. p. 368; but it is repudiated
by Bouquet, as being the composition of Huntingdon alone, or of
some other writer. See the valuable notes of Bouquet, in *Rer.*
Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. xi. p. 208.

"As men—as soldiers, it was not for them to be dismayed by a multitude. Frequently, before now, had the English been overcome by a hostile force—frequently had they, as a conquered people, submitted to their foes; and never, at any time, had they rendered themselves renowned by a purely military glory.* Those who are not practised in war are easily overcome by the stern and steady valour of a few soldiers—and especially so, when heaven does not withhold its protection from a just cause.

"Let them then be but bold and daring—let them resolve never to yield; and they must speedily rejoice in a perfect and glorious triumph."†

From all parts of England numbers of the English flocked together towards that place, which in the olden time was called Senlac.‡ Some were there because they were attached to Harold—but more, and in this the sentiment of all was the same, because they were attached to their country, and desired to defend it from foreigners.§

* "Nunquam gloria militiæ laudatos." W. PICT. "These words, I imagine, mean 'that the English were not famous for military discipline,' and not 'that they were not a brave people.' For they had never been thought to be deficient in courage." MASSES' note on W. PICT. p. 127.

† W. PICT. pp. 127, 128. For another version of the speech of William, see *Roman de Rou*, v. 12531—12624. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, v. 37240—37285. BROMTON. p. 959.

‡ The reader will bear in mind that the ancient "Senlac" is now called "Battle"—the position covered by the abbey—"collem quo nunc ecclesia constitit." *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello*, p. 4.

§ ORDERIC. VITAL. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 147 (Soc. Hist. France). According to the *Roman de Rou*, there were in Harold's army, men from London, Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Stamford, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, York, Notting-

Harold, previous to the battle, summoned his friends together, and then addressed them in the following manner :—*

“ Soldiers, you are doubtless well aware that our ancestors did not win this great and glorious kingdom without being obliged, from the first, to expend upon it much toil, much trouble, and much blood—that they were harassed with incessant wars in protecting it from the attacks of adjoining nations ; and that at last, by their valour, they were so far successful, that some feared its people because of their power, and others envied them on account of their wealth.

“ Neighbouring nations so feared us, that they daily supplicated us to be at peace with them. Nations of barbarians envied us, because, suffering from want and misery at home, they longed for that which others possessed ; and therefore they acted like robbers, and not men who are engaged in a just war, when they took up arms and exposed themselves to danger. So acted the Dane, who for many years proved himself to be our deadly foe ; and so lately I may say—not to speak of others—acted the Norwegians when they invaded us, and when

ham, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, v. 12848—12870.

* POLYDOR VERGIL. *Ang. Hist.* lib. viii. p. 147. The authenticity of the speech here ascribed to Harold may well be doubted. We find no reference to it in the more ancient monkish writers ; and there is internal evidence—especially in the allusions that will be found in it to the Danes—that it could not have been ever delivered as it is here set down. However, it is worthy of perusal, as shewing what was at one time *believed* to be the opinions of an Anglo-Saxon monarch. See, as to the observations made and orders given by Harold previous to the battle of Hastings, *Roman de Rou*, v. 12879—12912 ; 12948—12965.

“ your bravery utterly annihilated them on the battle-field ; and so, too, now acts the Norman before us, and who comes to battle with us—the Norman, the descendant of the Danes, overcome by us in so many conflicts, and who are deemed by us to be so brutalised and so base, that we endure them only to exist amongst us, as so many slaves.

“ Now, I say, comes here this William ! the offspring of a concubine ! and having gathered together a gang of robbers, he attempts to despoil us of our property, to dishonour our kingdom, and to take from us our nobility !

“ Therefore, do I call upon you to be brave, bold, and resolute : that once the battle begins, you may, with God as your Helper, remember that in your own hands are placed not only your own safety, but the security and salvation of all the people of England. If the victory shall be with us, then we shall free our country for ever from the attacks of her foes ; if, on the other hand, we shall be overcome ; and God grant it may not be so ;—but then, even then, we shall have died for our country, and ours shall be a glorious and a noble death.”

Harold having so spoken, every man who heard him individually promised that once the signal for battle was given, he would present an intrepid front to the enemy.*

It was upon a Saturday, and the fourteenth day of October (1066), that Harold fought with the Normans, and this, too, before the third part of his army was under his orders ; and when, from the closeness of the position, and

* POLYDOR. VERGIL. *Ang. Hist.* lib. viii. p. 147.

the narrowness of the space in which the English were placed, many withdrew themselves from the conflict; and a few, very few, of dauntless courage remained by his side.* All the English were on foot, and armed with battle-axes; they stood with their shields before them, shield lapping over shield, so as to form a species of shell, and so constituting in themselves an impenetrable wedge: an order of battle that would that day have proved their safety, had not the Normans, as is their custom, simulated a flight, and thus induced the English to break up their close-serried ranks.†

As to King Harold, he also was on foot, so that no one might think of flying when they saw their sovereign exposed to the same danger as that which was encountered by every man in the army. Harold stood with his brothers

* "Priusquam tertia pars sui exercitus ordinaretur, xi. Kal. Novembris, Sabbato, cum eis prælium commisit: sed quia arto in loco constitui fuerant Angli, de acie se multi subtraxere, et cum eo perpauci constantes corde remansere." F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 227. Amongst those whose conduct amounted to treachery on such an occasion, were Harold's own brothers-in-law, Edwin and Morcar: "Comites Edwinus et Morkarus qui se cum suis certamini subtraxere." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228. The Danes also were in force at the battle of Hastings, nominally in support of Harold, but it is admitted by William of Poitiers, that during the engagement they never made a hostile movement against the Normans. See W. PICT. p. 128. Thus William "the Conqueror," like William "the Deliverer," (!) had not only a superior military force of foreigners to sustain him in his invasion, and secure to him the victory, but he appears, like "the Deliverer," to have been assisted by the treachery of the English King's relatives, friends, and military commanders.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 241. vol. ii. p. 414. The English had themselves protected not only by shields but also by palisades: "D' escuz e d' aiz s' avironerent." *Roman de Rou.* v. 12937.

by the side of the standard. This standard was sent by William, when he had obtained the victory, to the Pope. It contained the figure of a man in the act of fighting, and was magnificently, and with consummate skill, embroidered with gold, and enriched with jewels.*

Harold was not content upon this occasion to discharge the mere duties of a general who encourages others to display the bravery of soldiers; but he untiringly acted as if he were himself nothing more than a soldier; for he frequently placed himself in personal conflict with the attacking foe, and not one of them ever with impunity came within his reach; for by a single blow of his, both horse and horsemen were prostrated on the earth.†

The following was the admirable and well-arranged order of battle in which William advanced to the attack.‡

The entire body of his forces was preceded by the standard which the Pope had transmitted to him.§ It was Toustain, the son of Rollo, who bore that day the standard of the Normans. ||

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 241. vol. ii. pp. 414, 415.

“ Le fist porter à l' Apostoile,
Por mostrer è metre en mémoire
Sun grant cunqust è sa grant gloire.”

Roman de Rou. v. 12978—80.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 243. vol. ii. p. 416.

‡ W. PICT. *Gest. Guil. Nor.* p. 128.

§ W. PICT. p. 128.

|| ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 147. See as to the dispute respecting the persons who should bear the standard of the Pope, *Roman de Rou.* v. 12713—12782. “The name of Toustain,” observes M. Pluquet, in his valuable notes on the *Roman de Rou*, “was borne by many persons of different families as that

In the front there were placed footmen armed with arrows and cross-bows;* the second body of the army was also composed of infantry, but much more heavily armed, and covered with coats of ringed-mail;† and the last body was composed of squadrons of horse,‡ in the midst of which rode William himself, confident in his unconquerable courage; and in such a position that he might by his

given to them in baptism. It afterwards became the family name of a noble and distinguished house in la Haute-Normandie, who, in memory of this circumstance at the battle of Hastings, have adopted as the supporters of their arms, two angels, each holding a banner." *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 198. According to the *Roman de Rou*, the standard of the Pope was borne not in front of the army, but with the third division, or cavalry, and it is added that Duke William rode by its side.

"Joste l' ensuigne ala li Dus." v. 13069.

Perchance, it was this very ensign that was afterwards displayed amongst the crusaders, and the exhibition of which, by Robert of Normandy, saved them from destruction: "Jam vero nostri Turcis irruentibus semel terga dederunt, nisi cito comes Normannus aureum vexillum in dextra vibrans equum convertisset, et geminatis vocibus militare signum 'Deus Vult' exclamassit—'Nostris illis dies nimis exitiabilis esset.'" *ROB. MONACH. Hist.* lib. iii. p. 229. (Reuben. Vet. Script. Germ.)

* The first body of William's army was composed of Picards and paid volunteers, and commanded by William Fitz-Osbern, the seneschal, and Roger Montgomeri, Count of Alençon, and Bel-lème, who was, in reward for his services, endowed with lands in Shropshire, the city of Chester, and Arundel castle. See *Roman de Rou*, with M. Pluquet's notes, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.

† The second body was composed of Bretons, Manceaux and Poitevins. It was commanded by Alain Fergant, and Aimery, fourth viscount of Thouars. *PLUQUET. Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 199.

‡ As to the overwhelming force of horse possessed by William, it is stated in the *Roman de Rou*, that Harold was not merely terrified in beholding it, but he openly complained that he had been betrayed by Baldwin of Flanders, who wrote to him to say

personal exertions and commanding voice, bear aid and succour to whatever part of the field might be required.*

An ancient writer, if describing the bands which Harold had gathered together in opposition to the Normans, would say that they were so numerous, that in their march rivers had been drunk dry by them, and forests pressed down by their weight into level plains.†

In addition to the men of England, that were under the command of Harold, the kindred and sympathizing land of the Danes had sent to his support a large auxiliary force.‡ These Danish warriors, however, did not venture to come in conflict with William upon the level ground. They feared him far more than the King of the

that it was impossible for William to have a large force of cavalry in England.

“ Li quens de Flandres m’a traï,
Mult fis ke fol ke jel creï,
Kar par son brief m’ aveit mandé,
E par massaige asséuré
Ke Willame ne porreit mie
Aveir si grant chevalerie.”—V. 13093—8.

* W. PICT. This author is followed by all subsequent writers, with the exception of Henry of Huntingdon, in describing the army of William as being divided into three bodies. Huntingdon affirms it was formed into five divisions of cavalry :—“ Willielmus vero 5 catervas equitum splendide promovit in hostem.” *Hist.* lib. vii. p. 368.

† “ Scribens Heraldī agmen illud veterum aliquis, in ejus transitu flumina epotata, silvas in planum redactas fuisse memoraret.” W. PICT. p. 128. This is manifestly—undisguisedly—an exaggeration, and especially so, if it could be understood, as at all applicable to experienced warriors in the service of Harold. It is merely afterwards explained by the words of the author, which were adopted by Ordericus Vitalis, and will be found translated in the text.

‡ W. PICT. p. 128.

Norwegians; and, therefore, planted themselves upon a steep high place—a mountain near to the scene of battle, and to which they had made their way through a forest.*

Onward, then, came the Normans, until the cavalry could no longer be a support to the infantry, and then, on the instant, all the infantry stood in a close compact mass together.† Neither the duke nor one of his followers was disheartened by the rugged and difficult way that lay before them, but all began with slow and deliberate steps to clamber up the steep declivities.

Then rang forth the terrible clangour of trumpets from both armies, as the signal that the strife was commencing.‡ The battle itself began with the exhibition of the ardent and eager prowess of the Normans. As when orators are engaged in a court of justice in disputing about some rapine that has been committed, he who is the accuser is the first to begin, and to wound his adversary with the imputation of having conducted himself criminally.§

* W. PICT. p. 128. We strongly suspect that those who are called "Danes" by this author were, in point of fact, the *Northumbrians*, under Edwin and Morcar, and who were dissatisfied with Harold for refusing to share with them the spoils gained at Stanford Bridge. The *Northumbrians* were, if not by birth, at least, in manners and habits, as by descent—for the most part Northmen, or Danes.

† "Protinus, equorum ope relicta, cuncti pedites constitere densius conglobati." W. PICT. The Normans assailed Harold's position upon three different points; see *Roman de Rou.* v. 13125—13132.

‡ W. PICT. The English cried out as they looked upon the Normans, their old religious invocation—"Holy Cross!" and "God Almighty!"

"Olicrosse sovent crioent
E Godemite reclamoent."

Roman de Rou. v. 13119—13120.

§ W. PICT. p. 128.

There was amongst the Normans a certain person named Taillefer, who, long before the warriors in either army could come in close conflict with each other, went in front of the English line, and, as if in sport, began tossing swords about; and whilst the English looked in amazement upon his feats, he slew one of their standard-bearers.* He despatched a second in the same manner, and as he was in the act of slaying a third, he was himself put to death.†

* H. HUNT. *Hist. lib. vii.* p. 368.

† H. HUNT. p. 368. The *Roman de Rou* describes this Taillefer as preceding the Norman Duke, upon a charger, and singing about "Charlemagne and Roland, and Oliver and his vassals, who fell at Roncevalles;" and then obtaining permission to strike down the first Englishman. v. 13149—13170. "It may," observes Mr. Thorpe, in his note on Lappenberg, "perhaps, be regarded as a proof of Wace's general veracity, that he admits the sleight-of-hand feats of Taillefer to be found in Gaimar, who (v. 5271. sq.) relates, that after having thrown his lance on high three times, catching it each time by the point, he cast it the fourth time among the English, of whom he wounded one in the body. He then drew his sword, receded a few paces, threw that up also three times, then rushed at full speed amid the English, wounded many, but at length fell under a shower of missiles. Bénéot de Ste More also mentions that he was slain." THORPE, note on LAPPENBERG'S *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 297, 298. Compare this note with PLUQUET, *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 215.

"Taillefer is also referred to in the poem upon the battle of Hastings, by Guy, Bishop of Amiens, who thus describes him:—

"Incisor-ferri mimus cognomine dictus."

"The same author had previously given Taillefer the designation of *histrion*, and without saying a word, to what he might have sung or spoken, he thus describes the part he played in these words:—

"Hortatur Gallos verbis et territat Anglos,
Alte projiciens ludit et ense suo."

An Anglo Saxon is then described as rushing out of the ranks to combat with him, but he is slain by Taillefer, who thus—

Then was the song of Roland begun to be sung by the Normans, so that their military ardour might be inflamed by the recital of the achievements of a great champion.*

“Belli principium monstrat et esse suum.”

Like Wace, Guy does not say anything of the death of Taillefer. See *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, vol. iii. pp. 18, 19. v. 391, 393, 394, 399. F. MICHEL, note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 210. The exploits of Taillefer are thus put in verse by an old English rhymist:—

“A sueyn, that bet Taylefer, smot vorth byuore there,
And slou anon a Englysse man, that a baner bere,
And efsone another baneur, and the thrydde almost al so,
Ac hym sulf he was aslawe, ar the dede were ydo.”

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S *Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 361. (Hearne). Robert the monk, in his account of the first crusade, describes the Saracens, when seeking to provoke the Christians to combat, practising the same juggling feats as Taillefer: “Lanceas et gladios in altum ejiciebant, et in manibus recipiebant, ludentes et luxuriantes.” ROB. MONACH. *Hist.* lib. vi. p. 246. (Reuber. Vit. Script. Germ.)

In an incursion made for the purposes of pillage by the Burgundians, upon Châtillon-Sur-Loire, about the close of the eleventh century, the armed spoliators were, it appears, preceded by a species of Taillefer, or buffoon:—

“Interjectis aliquantis annorum curriculis, confederati de vicinæ partibus Burgundiæ adversus eosdem Castellionenses, quidam prædones glomeraverunt non infirmam inanum satellitum, equitum et peditum. Transito autem amne Ligerico, diffuderunt, se per rura ad ipsum prædium pertinentia. Tanta vero erat illis securitas confidentibus in sua multitudine, et tanta arrogantia de robore et aptitudine suæ juventutis, ut scurrant se præcedere facerent, qui musico instrumento res fortiter gestas et priorum bella præcineret: quatinus his acriùs incitarentur ad ea peragenda, quæ maligno conceperant animo.” MIRAC. S. BENDICT. Abb. c. 38, as quoted in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 489.

* W. MALMESB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* § 241. vol. ii. p. 415. The song of Roland, *Cantilena Rolandi*. “It is supposed to be a metrical romance, commemorating the heroic achievements of the Paladin, Roland, and other peers of Charlemagne, who fell at Roncevaux. Rivet (*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 72) infers from this passage that *la langue Romane* was in use at that period.” HARDY, note on W. Malmesb. vol. ii. p. 415.

The Norman infantry advanced closer and closer to the English, and as they did so, provoked them to the fight—by inflicting on them with their missiles ghastly wounds and death.*

The English withstood the attack bravely, and each man according to his strength, and the duty assigned to him acted with zeal and spirit.†

The English assailed the Normans with javelins, and various other kinds of weapons. From their hands came forth the pitiless sheer cutting battle axes, and through their means there thundered down from wooden machinery huge heaps of stones,‡ that burst forth from their stockades as enor-

* Notwithstanding the conjectures of Paulmy, Tressan, Laravallière, and the learned researches of M. l'Abbé de La Rue, we may consider the song of Roland as lost." PLUQUET, note on *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 215. Specimens of a very ancient German poem respecting Charlemagne and Orlando will be found in KOLLARIUS, *Analecta Monumentorum omnis ævi Vindobonensia*, vol. i. pp. 587—594. (Vienna, 1761.) See also FERRARIO, *Storia ad Analisi degli Antichi Romanzi de Cavalleria e dei poemi romaneschi d' Italia*, vol. i. p. 20. (Milan, 1828.) PANIZZI's *Boiardo ed Ariosto*, vol. i. pp. 54, 102. (London, 1830.) DUCANGE, in verb. *Cantilena Rolandi*. BOUQUET, *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. cxciv. (Præf.) and 184. n. a. L. VILET, "Le Chanson de Roland," in *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. xiv. pp. 817—864. "The song of Roland" referred to by Vilet, has been translated into English.

* W. PICT. p. 128.

† W. PICT. The men of Kent bore the first brunt of the battle, whilst those of London, as of right, "par dreite fei," protected the King and standard, and of both it could be said, "Chescune desfende bien sa place." *Roman de Rou*. See v. 12955—12965.

‡ "Lignis imposita saxa." W. PICT. "This probably means—that the English rolled down large and heavy stones on the heads of the Normans from high scaffolds of wood, which were erected for the purpose; and that by these great stones the Norman infantry were much annoyed, and seemed, as it were, to be

mous mounds, bringing with them death and destruction in their descent, and in such vast quantities that they seemed sufficient to bury every Norman beneath their superincumbent weight.*

The Norman knights now came up to the aid of the infantry, and thus those who had been in the rearmost rank occupied the foremost line in the fight. These were warriors who scorned to assail their foes by weapons that should be cast from afar. They grasped their swords, and dashed in upon the English, to combat them man against man.†

Then there was heard an awful war-cry, here given utterance to by the Normans; there, by the English.‡ High it rose in the air on both sides, but was soon rendered indistinct by the clash and clatter of weapons; and then absorbed in the heavy moans of dying soldiers.§

With death-laden clouds of arrows the battle had been begun, and now followed heavy blows that fell like thunderbolts, whilst the sparking fire jetted forth as sword crossed sword, or struck the helmets of warriors.||

And thus did the battle rage for some time, and thus

overwhelmed, as they were endeavouring to ascend the hill on the top of which the English army was posted." MASERES, note on W. Pict. p. 128.

* W. Pict. p. 128.

† W. Pict. p. 128.

‡ "Altissimus clamor, hinc Normannicus, illinc barbaricus." W. Pict.

"Normanz escrient: *Dex aïe*;

La gent englesche: *Ut s'escrie*."

Roman de Rou, v. 13193—4.

§ W. Pict. p. 128.

|| H. Hunt. *Hist.* lib. vii. p. 368.

was it fought with equal energy, courage, and vigour on both sides.*

The English, however, derived very great advantage from the position they occupied—they were on the higher ground—they were not under the necessity of breaking their ranks to maintain it—they were able to keep themselves in a close compact body upon it—they were in immense numbers, and they were, too, men possessed of great bodily strength—and besides this, the very weapons of warfare which they could, so placed, make use of, were such as must smash in pieces the shields, and rive asunder, and render of no avail, the defensive armour of the Normans.†

* W. Pict. p. 128.

† W. Pict. pp. 128, 129. "These weapons, with which the English cut through the defensive armour of the Normans, were battle-axes, called by William of Malmesbury, *bipennes*." MASKERES, note on W. Pict. p. 129.

"The peasantry had English hatchets, and battle-axes (*gisarmes*) that hewed right well."

"Geldons Engleiz haches portoent
E gisarme ki bien trenchoint."

Roman de Rou, v. 12927—8

By the same author reference is made to an English warrior, who was armed with the battle-axe of the Northmen. "*Hache noresche*." v. 13391.

"Wace mentions the *gisarme* as an exceedingly destructive weapon, used by the Saxons at the battle of Hastings; but by the *gisarme* he evidently means the *byl*, to which he gives a Norman name." Knight's History of British Costume. p. 33. "The *byl* was a hatchet with a long handle, such as may be seen in the tapestry of Bayeux. The Saxons also made use of the *try-byl*, or a hatchet with two blades. In the *Roman de Rou*, the relations and nobles of Harold are described as being thus armed:—

'Chescun out son haubert vestu,
Espée ceinte, el col l' escu;

The English held their ground most valiantly. They withstood with courage and repelled with valour all who attempted to drive them from their position, by attacking them in close combat with the sword, whilst they at the same time inflicted wounds upon those who discharged javelins against them from a distance.*

The English thus occupying the higher ground drove back the Normans, though eagerly and bravely struggling to make their way up to them—they not merely drove them back into the valley below, but they were able by hurling their weapons, and (it was an easy task for them to perform) by rolling stones down upon them, to destroy to a man all who were in the hollow beneath.† Besides this, there lay close to their position a precipitous fosse, well known to the English and accessible to them by a short path; and into that they drove back the Normans. There the English so overwhelmed such numbers of their foes, that the hollow became filled up with the bodies of the dead, and that which before had been a valley, was made to appear level with the plain.‡

*Granz haches tindrent en lor cols.
Dunt il kudent ferir grans cols.'"*

V. 13109—13112. MICHEL, note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 202.

* W. PICT. p. 129.

† W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 242. vol. ii. p. 416.

‡ W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 242. Much confusion has arisen in the description of the battle of Hastings by the statement of the destruction caused by the fosses, or natural hollows to be found in the field where it was fought, and in the adjoining country. "Les fosses," observes M. Michel, in his notes on the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, "du champ de bataille de

The Breton infantry and cavalry were alike appalled by this dire slaughter—they as well as the whole of the auxiliary forces constituting the left wing of the Norman army, fled back in confusion.*

The entire army of the Duke, almost to a man, then retreated†—a fact that must be admitted, and that may well be told without disparagement to the glory of a people so un-

Hastings étaient de deux sortes, naturels et artificiels." It is not improbable, that it was into one of the latter the Normans were driven upon their first repulse, and which is thus described in the Cottonian manuscript, as quoted by M. Pluquet in his notes on the *Roman de Rou*. "Fecerant autem Angli foveam quandam caute et ingeniose, quam ipsi ex obliquo curantes maximam multitudinem Normannorum in ea præcipitaverant. Et plures etiam ex eis insequentes et tracti aliis in eadem perierunt." See *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 218. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 212, 213. The words of Malmesbury lead to the inference that the disaster occurred more than once during the battle:—"Valuit hæc vicissitudo, modo illis, modo istis vincentibus, quantum Haroldi vita moram fecit." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 242.

* W. Pict. p. 129.

† Wace, in the *Roman de Rou*, admits that the carnage made by the English of the Normans in the fosse, produced such a panic, that even those who had care of the baggage would have fled, but for the courage manifested by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the uterine brother of William. The dress and bearing of this warlike bishop are thus described by Wace:—

"Un haubergeon aveit vestu,
De sor une chemise blanche,
Le fut li cors, juste la manche;
Sor un cheval tot blanc séeit,
Tote la gent le congnoisseit.
Un baston teneit en son poing;
Là ù veoit li grant besoing,
Faseit li chevaliers torner,
E là les faseit arrester;
Sovent les faseit assailir,
E sovent les faseit férir."

Roman de Rou, v. 13231—13264.

conquerable as the Normans. Even the army of Imperial Rome, in whose ranks were to be found the legions of Kings, and though long accustomed to conquer by sea and by land, had been known on occasions to fly before a foe, and especially so when it had either been apprised or believed that its general had fallen.*

The Normans were at this moment persuaded, that he who was both their commander, and their liege lord had been slain. Believing this they fled—their flight should not be mentioned to their dishonour, when its motive was grief—excessive grief for him, whom by their valour they most desired to aid.†

An immense number of the English now burst out of their entrenchments, and pursued the flying Normans.‡ This circumstance came under the observation of William, who faced his fugitive soldiers, and who either by striking

* W. Pict. p. 129.

† “Credidere Normanni Ducem ac Dominum suum cecidisse. Non ergo nimis pudenda fuga cessere; minime vero dolenda, cum plurimum juverit.” W. Pict. p. 129. This admission of the panic flight into which the Normans were betrayed is, notwithstanding the explanation and excuse offered for it, an important fact—and proves how near the Anglo-Saxons were to victory, despite the superiority of numbers of regular fighting men, both infantry and cavalry, that were arrayed against them. It proves that Harold, considering the force he had to command, had chosen his position with consummate skill, and it would lead to the conclusion, that he had been killed at an early period of the day, as stated by Ordericus Vitalis — “In primo militum congressu.” (see lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 149); and that, therefore, the disasters of the English army were to be attributed to the loss of their commander. The words used by William of Jumieges will also bear the interpretation that Harold fell shortly after the battle had commenced; “Heraldus etiam ipse in primo militum progressu vulneribus lætaliter confossus occubuit.” lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666.

‡ W. Pict. p. 130.

or threatening them with his lance, compelled them to stop in their flight.* Removing then his helmet, he stood before them bare-headed, and thus in a loud voice addressed them :—

“ Look, all ye who are around me, look I say upon me. “ I am alive, and with God’s help, I will this day win the “ battle. What madness has urged you thus to fly from “ the field? What road for escape or retreat is open for “ you? What! shall those whom you might slay as so “ many sheep, now drive *you* before them, and slaughter “ you? You are running away from victory and everlasting renown; and you are speeding on to death, and “ never-ending infamy. Continue then to fly, and there “ is not one of you that can escape destruction.”†

With these words of their leader the spirits of the soldiers revived, and their courage was reanimated. He dashed on before them—he was the first man that brought them back to the charge—he preceded them, wielding in his hand his sword, which dazzled the beholders like the lightning’s flash, and like the lightning killed where it struck; and thus went he onward, prostrating upon the earth his foes, and who, as rebels to him, their rightful lord, had merited the death that was inflicted upon them.‡

The Normans were fired with a raging courage, and surrounding some thousands of the English who had pursued them, they in a single moment so completely annihili-

* “ *Princeps namque prospiciens multam partem adversæ stationis prosiluisse, et insequi terga suorum; fugientibus occurrit et obstitit, verberans aut minans hasta.*” W. PICT. p. 130.

† W. PICT. p. 130.

‡ W. PICT. p. 130.

lated them, that of those thousands not one single man was left alive. Their courage was reinvigorated by this success, and they pushed forward with fresh vehemence, determined upon attacking the entire body of the English, who, though they had thus suffered a great loss in men, did not appear to be diminished in numbers.*

The English resolutely put forth all their strength in defending their position. Their great object seemed to be not to leave a single opening to those who were struggling to break through their ranks; and so closely did they, for this purpose, hold together, so firmly wedged as one mass did they stand, that even those amongst them who were slain had scarcely sufficient space left to them to fall to the earth as lifeless bodies.†

Despite of the dogged resolution of the English, there were in various parts of the compact body they formed, an opening, hewed by the swords of the bravest of their foes.‡

Thus stood the English, assailed by the Manceaux, the French, the Bretons, the Aquitains, and the Normans, the most illustrious of all for valour.§

* W. Pict. p. 130.

† W. Pict. p. 130.

‡ W. Pict. p. 130.

§ W. Pict. p. 130. " Here we see the different nations of which the Norman was composed. They were the inhabitants of the country called *Le Maine*, of which the city of *Mans* is the capital; the inhabitants of the *Isle of France*, or country round the city of Paris; the inhabitants of the western portion of France, called *Brittany*; the inhabitants of the south-western province of France, called *Guienne*; and the Normans. It is probable, from other authorities, that there were also some troops from *Anjou* and *Poitou*, and likewise from *Flanders*, in the Norman army.

A certain Norman youth, Robert, the son of Roger de Ballamonte, and the nephew and heir, by his sister Adeline, of Hugh, Count of Meulan, was this day for the first time present at a battle, and there bore himself so gallantly, and did such a deed, as justly entitled him to an undying renown; for with the legion under his command upon the right wing of the army, he rushed upon the English with such dauntless and irresistible courage, that he completely rode down those opposed to him. But we are not competent, even if we had the intention (which we have not), to describe in terms suitable to their merits all the brave achievements that were performed by individuals on that occasion. Even one who was endowed beyond his fellow-men with a copious diction, and a wondrous eloquence, though he should have been a witness with his own eyes to all that occurred in the battle, would yet find it most difficult to pourtray it by words, and thus give an accurate idea of each act of heroism he had looked upon.*

But I do not recollect any testimony that there were any troops in it from *Champagne*, or *Burgundy*, or *Dauphiny*, or *Provence*, or *Languedoc*." MASERES, note on W. PICT. p. 130. With respect to the Bretons in the army of William, we find the following remarks made by M. de Courson the historian of Brittany:—"Allan, dit le Roux, fils du Comte Eudon de Penthievre, et une foule de chevaliers et d'écuyers breton se rangèrent sous la bannière du bâtard de Normandie, contre lequel, la veille, ils se disposaient à tirer l'épée. La guerre contre les odieux Sazons (Saxons) était toujours populaire parmi les descendants des anciens émigrés de l'île." DE COURSON. *Histoire des Peuples Bretons*, vol. i. p. 144.

* W. PICT. pp. 130, 131. The author then adds—"As for us, we hasten onward to describe that moment, when we shall cease to praise *Duke William*, in order that we may recount the glories of *William the King*."—"At hoc nos illo properamus, ut

The entire army of Harold placed by him in a close compact, single and united body, stood still and firm like a fortress, and as impenetrable too as a fortress to their foes.*

The Normans and their allies became conscious that they could not, without an enormous loss to themselves, be ever able to overcome a foe that thus resisted them in one mighty mass together.†

The command was then given by William to his soldiers to simulate a flight.‡

The Normans presented their backs to their foes; and they cunningly pretended to fly before them; for they well remembered what an opportunity of gaining a great and wished-for advantage over their foes their former flight had obtained for them.§

This seeming flight inspired the English with the hope of victory, and there was great joy amongst them. An exulting shout arose amid their ranks, and as it filled the air, gave to them fresh courage. Curses from their lips followed the Normans, and they even threatened, one and all, to rush down upon them. Some thousands, as on the former occasion, even ventured to do this, and speeded away after those they supposed were flying from them.||

finita Guillelmi Comitis laude, Guillelmi Regis gloriam scribamus."

* H. HUNT. *Hist.* lib. vii. p. 368.

† W. PICT. p. 131.

‡ H. HUNT. p. 368. "Strenuissimus Bononiæ comes Eustachius clam callida præmeditata arte, fugam cum exercitu duce simulante." *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello*, p. 4. See Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 412.

§ W. PICT. p. 131.

|| W. PICT. p. 131. This incident is fully described in the

The Normans in running away came upon a fosse that had been cunningly covered over,* and many of them falling into it were killed.†

The English, however, kept hurrying onward in pursuit of the Normans, and as they did so, the main body of the Normans drove into the midst of them and cut their line in two. The English, who had formed the pursuing party, upon perceiving this, were compelled to try and make their way back by the same fosse, and there a great number of them were killed.‡

The Normans, now suddenly wheeling round their horses, cut off the retreat of the English, and then surrounding, slaughtered every man of them. They did not leave even one alive. Twice then had the same stratagem been employed with a similar result; and hence they became emboldened to attack with greater eagerness the English force that still remained: still, however, a formidable force to assail, and still one that it was most difficult to overcome.§

Roman de Rou, v. 13311, 13366. Wace places this manœuvre on the part of the Normans, and its success, as occurring subsequent to Harold being shot in the eye by an arrow. There is probability in the supposition, although it is at variance with the statement of the English writers.

* "Fugientes autem ad quamdam foveam magnam dolose protectam devenerunt." H. HUNT. p. 368. This is, from the circumstances described by our author, not the fosse alluded to by Malmesbury, and to which reference has been already made. And neither is it, as will hereafter be shewn, as supposed by Mr. Turner (vol. ii. p. 412), that which was afterwards called "Mal-fossed." This was manifestly an artificial fosse, "dolose protectain."

† H. HUNT. p. 368.

‡ H. HUNT. p. 368.

§ W. PICT. p. 131.

Duke William now commanded his archers that they should no longer shoot point blank at their opponents, but that elevating their weapons upwards, they should discharge them in such a manner as that they might fall upon and blind the English soldiers.*

By this manœuvre a frightful damage was done to the English, and a great loss inflicted upon them †

A conflict, such as seldom occurs upon a field of battle, now took place. The one party was in incessant motion, and constantly rushing in, charge after charge, at its adversary; the other remained as if it were rooted to the ground, and bore up against the repeated charges made upon it.‡

There was tepidity in the ranks of the English, and, as if there were guilt in their want of success, they suffered punishment for it. The Normans discharged against them arrows; they struck them with their swords; they pierced them with their lances: the English dead in falling, appeared to have more motion in their limbs than the English living who stood as soldiers together. Even those amongst them who were slightly wounded did not escape death, for they fell smothered amid the dense body

* H. HUNT. p. 368.

† H. HUNT. p. 368. See *Roman de Rou*, v. 13275—13296.

‡ “Fit deinde insoliti generis pugna, quam altera pars incursibus et diversis motibus agit, altera, velut humo affixa, tolerat.” W. PICT. p. 131. The words here used, might be applied to the most celebrated engagement in modern times—the battle of Waterloo. The result marks the distinction between them, although the characteristics of the respective nations were similarly displayed—on one side, the gallant, untiring daring of the French in their incessant attacks—and on the other, the unflinching, passive courage of the Anglo-Saxons.

of their associates—so closely were the English pressed one to the other. And thus did the good fortune of William make events hurry onward to his ultimate triumph.*

There were present and took part in this conflict, Eustace, Count of Boulogne; William, the son of Richard, Count of Evreux; Geoffrey, the son of Rotrou, Count of Mortain; William, the son of Osbern; Aimeri, governor of Thouars; Walter Giffard; Hugh of Montfort; Rodolph of Toëni; Hugh of Grandmenil; William de Warrenne, and a great many other generals, most famous even then for their surpassing military skill, and whose names are truly worthy to be inscribed with praise in volumes appropriated to the history of warriors and warlike achievements.† William, however, who was their commander, so far surpassed them, both in fortitude and sagacity, that he might be compared, if not preferred, to those ancient Greek and Roman generals most lauded in books. How nobly, for instance, did he act, when his soldiers had betaken themselves to flight? Stopping them in their retreat—inspiring them with courage—making himself their comrade when they were in peril—far more frequently calling upon them to follow him to danger, than commanding them to go onward and encounter it, and as he did so, plainly proving to all who beheld him, that his courage was

* W. PICT. p. 131. Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, mentions more than one instance of the gallantry of the English at this period of the battle, v. 13388—13460.

† W. PICT. p. 132. For a list of the leading Normans present at the battle of Hastings, see BROMTON, pp. 963, 964, 965, MASERES, *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.* pp. 367—380. See *Roman de Rou*, with the valuable notes of M. Pluquet, vol. ii. pp. 234—270. MICHEL, note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 227—228.

the precursor of his soldiers' bravery—that they but trod a path on which his valorous spirit had preceded them. No small portion of his foes unwounded lost their courage as they looked upon this wondrous and terrible knight. Three horses were that day stabbed to death as he rode them through the fight, and three times did he, as an intrepid champion, bound to the earth, and left for no long time the death of any one of his steeds unavenged. It was upon such occasions as these, that might be most readily discerned how quick was his spirit, and how great his bodily strength. Shields, helmets, hauberks, shivered away as they came in contact with his sword-blade, that seemed to be animated with an angry spirit, if it encountered the slightest opposition. Some enemies he crushed by the mere dash of his shield. And then, when his own soldiers beheld him so fighting and on foot, they felt, many of them, though covered with wounds, their courage renewed and their strength revived. Nay—there were even some, whose blood was exhausted, and their energies so lost, that they had to lean on their shields to keep them in an erect position, and who still fought bravely on—whilst others there were, so wasted away and so helpless, that they could not lift their hands, and yet—as they were able to do nought else—they, with their weak voices and nodding heads, urged their comrades onward to the combat, bade them be no timid followers of such a general, and never permit victory to escape from their hands. To many such soldiers William that day brought assistance, and secured their safety.*

Not less anxious was William that day to meet with

* W. PICT. p. 132.

Harold and encounter him in single combat, than Achilles, or Æneas, as described in the epic poems, were to fight, the one with Hector, and the other with Turnus.* Tydeus, when assailed by fifty assassins, sought for aid and support by having recourse to a rock; but William, his equal in respect, and, when placed in danger, certainly not his inferior, alone was not afraid to face a thousand combatants.†

From the third hour of the day, even until the first shades of the coming night had begun to fall, Harold had in the most valiant manner resisted all the attacks of his enemies.‡ So bravely, so stoutly, and so well had he by his own gallant deeds in arms defended his forces, that it seemed to be scarcely possible they ever could be destroyed by the Normans.§

There were, however, twenty of the most valiant of the Norman knights, who now co-operated together in one body, and each of whom had pledged his faith to the other, that they would burst into and break through the close ranks of the English, and seize upon the royal banner of King Harold—namely, that which was called his “standard.”||

In the attempt to carry this project into effect, several

* W. PICT. p. 132. See *Roman de Rou*, where a description is also given of William's combat with an English champion, v. 13833—13874.

† W. PICT. p. 132.

‡ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227.

§ F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227.

|| H. HUNT. p. 368. See *Roman de Rou*, v. 13750—13763, as to the death of the Norman, Robert Tesson, in seeking to gain possession of the royal standard. See also v. 13930—13959.

of these knights were slain. A portion of them did, however, effect their purpose; for clearing the way before them with their swords, they seized upon the standard and carried it off.*

And whilst they were combating their way to it, an entire shower of arrows, discharged by the Normans,† fell around King Harold. Harold himself was struck in the eye by one of them, and fell to the earth!‡

At that moment a crowd of horsemen burst through the English line, slew the wounded King, and at the same time put to death his brothers, the Earl Gurth, and the Earl Leofwin.§

* H. HUNT. p. 368, 369. Where the standard of Harold had fallen, the high altar of Battle Abbey was afterwards erected:—"Altare majus in eodem loco quo regis Haraldi signum, quod standard vocant, corruisse visum est, provide statuunt." *Hist. Fund. Mon. Bell.* p. 8.

† "Interea totus imber sagittariorum cecedit circa regem Haraldum." H. HUNT. p. 369. "Sagittarii Ducis multum prævaluerunt." HIGDEN. *Polychron.* lib. vi. p. 286.

‡ H. HUNT. p. 369. "Violato cerebro sive oculo." HIGDEN. p. 285. Wace describes Harold as being wounded in the eye long previous to the desperate battle that took place respecting the standard. v. 13932—13945.

§ H. HUNT. p. 369. Wace states that Gurth was struck down by William, although he will not venture to affirm that he was killed by the blow.

"Ne sai se de cel colp morut
Maiz ço fu dit ke pose jut." v. 13954—5.

"Guerth, the brother of Harold, was undoubtedly slain at the battle of Hastings; but in the Harleian MS., fol. 21. b., there is a legend that Guerth escaped alive, and was seen in extreme age by King Henry the Second." HARDY. note on W. Malsb. vol. ii. p. 413. See in same vol. p. 420. note 3. (E. H. S.)

It was by an arrow shot from a distance that Harold was struck ; and whilst his body was lying on the earth, one of William's knights gashed the thigh of the fallen King with his sword—an act which William regarded as

The legend referred to by Mr. Hardy is well worth the telling, we conceive, as a translation can render it. The legend is entitled :—

" What Harold's brother Gurth told to the Abbot Walter and others, in answer to their questions respecting the remains and burial place of his brother."

The legend then proceeds in these words :—

" In the days of King Henry the Second, Gurth, the brother of Harold, was seen by that King himself, as well as by the great men of the land, and the people. The historian in his work mentions that at the time when the Normans arrived in this country, Gurth was in years little more than a boy, although in wisdom and in bravery he might be compared to a man. He had lived to become very old, and, as we have heard from many who saw him at that time, he was a man of very venerable aspect, of handsome features, and somewhat tall in figure. He was seen by a man of pious memory, the lord Walter, the first Abbot of Regular Canons at Waltham. This Walter, in company with his brethren, meeting Gurth at Woodstock, earnestly endeavoured to ascertain from him the real fact as to whether or not his brother's remains were, as it was then believed, lying in Waltham monastery. The answer which Gurth gave to this question was—' It is the body of some boor that you have there, and not Harold's.' Upon one occasion, Gurth went by himself there for the purpose of offering up his adorations before the Holy Cross ; and being then shewn ' the tomb of his brother,' as it was called, he looked upon it askant, and said that he did not know who was there, but there Harold certainly did not lie. He lived long, and long may he live with Christ. Sir Michael, the Canon, a man of proved piety, and the sacristan of Waltham church, constantly used to asseverate in the presence of many persons, who are now living, that the words here mentioned he heard spoken by Gurth himself." *Harleian MS. 3776. fol. 21. b. quoted in SIR H. ELLIS's Introduction and Indexes to Domesday Book, vol. ii. pp. 134, 135. See Rev. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. xi. p. 168. note b.*

infamous, and drove away its perpetrator from his ranks, as a man guilty of a deed alike base and cowardly.*

It was not until many men had been slain, Normans as well as English, that Harold himself, alas! was also killed, and that was at the moment when the first shades of night were beginning to fall. With him were then also cut down his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, and nearly every one of the noblest and best men then to be found in all England.†

The day was fast hastening to a close, and the English army could now entertain no doubt that it was impossible for them, much longer, to resist the Normans.‡ They knew that their numbers were diminished by the destruction of entire companies of their forces; that the King himself, and his brothers, as well as several of the leading men of the nation, were amongst the dead; that they themselves who still remained living were nearly exhausted by their exertions; and that there was no longer any hope of being sustained by those auxiliary forces, which they

* W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 243, vol. ii. p. 416. We doubt the accuracy of this anecdote. The incident is told by Wace, and in such a manner as to shew, that the "Chevalier" who so wounded the King was regarded as a brave soldier:

"E quant k'il (Heraut) se volt redrecier
Un chevalier le rebati,
Ki en la cuisse le feri,
En la cuisse parmi le gros,
Le plaie fu de si en l'os

Roman de Rou, v. 13940—4.

A generous compassion for the unfortunate was not one of the virtues of which William could boast.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227.

‡ W. PICT. p. 133.

had been the entire day expecting. They saw, too, before them the Normans, apparently not diminished in numbers by the loss in killed that they had suffered, and that their vigour seemed to be refreshed, and their energies increased by the fatigue of fighting; for they felt the Norman soldiers pressing on them with greater ardour at the close of the battle than they had done at its commencement. They were also witnesses to the cruel courage of Duke William, who spared no opponent that ventured to stand before him; and they recognized in him that indomitable energy and valour, that would manifestly know no repose until the victory had been securely won.*

The English then turned their faces from their foes and fled! They fled with all the speed they could. Some seized upon horses, and rode off; some ran away on foot. A part of them retreated by the open road, and vast numbers of them along bye-paths. Men who lay wounded and weltering in their blood, attempted to imitate the example of their companions. Some of these rose up from the earth on which they had been lying—they could, however, but stand, and had not the strength to walk—whilst to others the eager desire for life, gave them the strength to move. Many such were afterwards discovered stretched as corpses in the dark recesses of the woods, and more were found by their pursuers to have fallen dead upon the road.†

The Normans, although unacquainted with the nature of the country over which they were speeding, hotly pursued the English, slaughtering them as they came up with

* W. PICT. p. 133.

† W. PICT. pp. 133, 134.

them, and thus seeking to make complete the triumph they had gained.*

The English fugitives, however, in their flight, reached a broken and rugged valley filled with a great many fosses, and perceiving that it afforded them a most favourable opportunity for renewing the combat, confidence and courage were alike restored to them. Of the English as a people, this must be admitted, that they have ever proved themselves to be ready for battle, and willing for war—thus shewing that they are true descendants from the ancient stock of the Saxons—a most fierce and ferocious race of men. As soldiers, the English have always proved they could not be driven from whatever position they occupied, except by the utmost energies of an overwhelming force. And they who now stood to fight were the same men who had with facility defeated the King of the Norwegians, although backed by an immense and well-disciplined army.†

The Normans upon perceiving the English flying before them, had determined upon pursuing them during the whole of the Sabbath-night.‡ It was a resolution which they persisted in to their own great loss. The high-growing grass had concealed from them an ancient fosse, and

* W. PICT. p. 134.

† W. PICT. p. 134.

‡ W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666. The reader will bear in mind that the Sabbath was regarded in those times as beginning on the Saturday. "A vespera usque ad vesperam dies Dominica servetur." Theodore Pœnitent. c. 38. § 8. "And let the festival of every Sunday be kept, from noontide of the Saturday till the dawn of Monday." Laws of King Edgar, c. 1. § 5. THORPE'S *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 112, 298. (Folio Ed.)

into that the Normans, rushing along with furious speed, tumbled headlong—men, horses, arms, all came falling suddenly down one upon the other, and in their struggles to release themselves the men destroyed each other.

There, too, the English, by their bravery, inflicted a frightful slaughter upon the Normans.* There fell Engenulf, the lord of Laigle, and there, too, many others were killed with him, and (as it has been stated by those who were present on the occasion) nearly fifteen thousand of the Normans perished.†

The ravine into which the Normans fell upon that occasion, was, on account of the disaster that occurred, designated “Malfossed”—a name that it retains to this very day.‡

And thus it was that the Almighty God, upon the fourteenth day of October, punished in divers ways a great number of sinners to be found in the ranks of both armies.§ By means of the raging fury of the Normans, He had, upon the Saturday, slaughtered many thousands of the English; and amongst them those who had long before unjustly put to death the innocent Alfred, as

* ORDERIC. VITALIS. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 150. We follow the arrangement of events by this author, in placing together the last stand made by the English army, with the disaster that befel the Normans in falling into the fosse or ravine. See also note by the Editor, M. Le Prevost, vol. ii. p. 150. note 1.

† ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 150. “Ibi nimirum, ut ferunt, ferme 15 millia perierunt.” W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666.

‡ “Quod quidem baratrum, sortito ex accidenti vocabulo, *Malfosse* hodieque nuncupatur.” *Hist. Fund. Mon. de Bello*. p. 5. (Ang. Christ.)

§ W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666.

well as those who, upon the preceding Saturday,* had, without mercy, massacred the King Harald Hadrada, the Earl Tosty, and many more. The self-same Judge, in the night of the same Saturday, avenged the English, by driving headlong the furious Normans into a yawning and concealed abyss; and this He did, because, contrary to the commands contained in His law, they had unduly coveted the property of others; and because, as the Psalmist says, "Their feet were swift to shed blood." They did, therefore, find "destruction and unhappiness in "their ways"†

William, the leader, whose standards were now crowned with success, no sooner observed that which* was an unexpected incident occur,—namely, the English forces rallying, and holding together—than he determined to push onward, not to budge even an inch out of his road, even though he was under the impression, that what he looked upon was a fresh army come up to the support of his enemies.‡ At that moment, the appearance of William, as he shook and grasped his broken lance, was more terrible to look upon than that of other men who brandish before they discharge their javelins.§

At that moment, Count Eustace, with fifty knights, had

* "The author here falls into a great error. The battle of Stamford Bridge had not taken place on the preceding Saturday, but on Monday, 25th September." PREVOST, note on Ordericus Vitalis, vol. ii. p. 150. (Soc. Hist. France.)

† W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666. This passage is quoted by Ordericus Vitalis, who collocates it with quotations from William of Poitiers, as we have done in the text. See *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 150, 151.

‡ W. PIER. p. 134.

§ W. PIER. p. 134.

withdrawn from the conflict, and he had done so with the intention of making the Norman trumpets sound a retreat. The manly voice of William, however, reached him with the command that he should not retire. This command Eustace wished to have withdrawn. As a friend he addressed himself to the duke, and coming up by his side, he was whispering in William's ear, and predicting to him, that if he advanced another step, he could only do so, to meet a speedy and violent death; and whilst Eustace was in the act of doing this, he was struck such a blow between his two shoulders, that the noise could be heard afar off, and how serious and how dangerous that blow had been, was on the instant shewn by the Count's blood bursting out both of his mouth and nostrils.*

Eustace, apparently half dead, was then carried away by his comrades.†

Duke William, who felt the same absolute contempt of fear, as of the thought of a dishonourable action, dashed in upon and annihilated his adversaries. In that conflict some of the bravest of the Normans met with death; for the difficulty of the position they had to take was a sore obstacle to the full display of their valour.‡

There the victory was full and complete § That victory God was pleased to concede to the Normans upon the festival of the holy Pope, St. Callistus.||

* W. PICT. p. 134.

† W. PICT. p. 134.

‡ W. PICT. p. 134.

§ "Sic victoria consummata." W. PICT. p. 134.

|| R. DICET. p. 480. "This gefeoht waes gedon on thone daeg Calesti papæ." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066. "Die ipsa, qua

This fact was testified by Frenchmen, who were engaged in the battle, that so many calamities befel the Normans during the day, and so completely routed had they been, that the victory, which was finally won by them, must really, truly, and beyond all doubt, be ascribed to the just judgment of God, Who, by so punishing the crime of perjury, shewed that He was not a God to favour iniquity.*

The English army was now completely and utterly de-

sancti Callisti Papæ et martyris anniversaria dies agitur in Ecclesia: ut innotesceret cunctis, quod sicut Romani Pontificis regnantis in cælo favore tanta esset obtenta victoria." BARONIUS. a. 1066. § 8. vol. xvii. p. 288.

* W. DE HEMINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 9. See BROMTON. p. 960. "The Frenchmen gained the field of battle, as God granted them, for the sins of the nation." *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066. p. 263. (Ingram.) See with respect to the battle of Hastings, INGULPHUS. p. 69. *Chron. Mailros.* p. 160. *Annal. Mon. Burton.* p. 247. HIGDEN. pp. 285, 286. *Hist. Rames.* c. 120. p. 462. (Gale.) R. DE WEND. vol. i. pp. 519, 520, 521. R. HOVEDEN. p. 449. *Ypodig. Neust.* p. 436. W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 36. p. 666. (Camden.) S. DUNELM. p. 197. R. DICET. pp. 479, 480. BROMTON. pp. 959, 960. KNYGHTON. pp. 2341, 2342. (Twysden.) *Chron. Andegav.* a. 1067. *Chron. Virdunens.* a. 1066. *Epit. MS. Hist. W. Gemet. Hist. Andagin. Mon.* a. 1066. *Hist. Franc. Frag. Access. R. de Mont. ad Siebert;* *Chron. S. Petri vivi Senon;* *Chron. Ottom. Frising;* *Chron. W. Godell;* *Chron. Alberic. Trium. Font. Mon. Chron. Lyrens,* as quoted in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. pp. 30, 147, 148, 150, 162, 167, 168, 198, 263, 284, 360, 361, 366. *Konung Harald Hardradas Saga,* c. 100. SNORRO. vol. ii. pp. 175, 176. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER's *Chronicle*, vol. i. pp. 360, 363. PETER LANGTOFT's *Chronicle*, vol. i. pp. 70, 71. (Hearne.) RUDBORNE. *Hist. Mag.* lib. iv. c. 5. *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 242. LINGARD's *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 309—313. TURNER's *Hist. of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. pp. 406—416. LAPPENBERG's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 294—303. See also LOWER's valuable notes to *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, pp. 6, 7.

stroyed.* William marched back to the place where the battle had been fought, and there a scene of carnage presented itself to his eyes, on which he could not look without compassion.† Doleful, in sooth, and most miserable was that spectacle, for all the lands around were covered with the bodies of the dead; and there was no one spot, far as the sight could reach, that was not red with the blood of human beings.‡ The valleys were dripping with blood; and the streams that ran through them, when regarded from a distance, appeared to have their waters changed into liquid gore. How awful, we may suppose, must have been the carnage of the conquered, when the victors themselves estimated their loss as beyond ten thousand men! Oh! how frightful must have been the quantity of blood shed there that day, when those who had fallen seemed not so much to have sunk in the sanguinary tide, as to have been smothered by it! What crashing of arms there must have been that day! how dire the din of blows as warriors fought with warriors! and then how harrowing must have been the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the wounded, and the vain cries of men in their last agonies! Ah! who is there that can duly estimate what were all the terrible incidents of that day? Alas! alas! for the stupendous and repulsive condition of our poor, pitiable, and common humanity.§

Everywhere there was to be seen, both far and wide on the earth, the flower of the English youth and nobility

* H. HUNT. p. 369.

† W. PICT. p. 134.

‡ *Hist. Fund. Mond. Bell.* p. 5.

§ *Hist. Fund. Mond. Bell.* p. 5.

lying begrimed in blood.* Close to King Harold were found his two brothers. Harold himself lay deprived of every decoration that could distinguish him, and being no longer recognizable by his face, he was identified by some marks on his body.†

* W. Pict. p. 134.

† "If any faith is to be placed in the Legend of Waltham, the discovery of the body of Harold occurred in the following manner:—The author of the Legend having stated that Osegod Cnoppe and Ailric Childemaister, monks of Waltham, were sent by their superior to assist in the battle, and to bring back, in case of need, the body of the King, as well as the remains of those who might have been protectors of their church; and that these monks having obtained permission to search for it,—the Legend then uses these words:—

"The monks were upon this filled with an inexpressible joy, and hastening to where the dead bodies lay, they commenced turning them over and over, but yet were not able to recognize the body of their lord the King; and this because it frequently happens, that the dead body of a person from which all the blood has flowed does not bear the same appearance, as when the individual had been alive. To remove then their doubt and difficulty, there was but one remedy; it was for Osegod to return to his home and to bring back a woman who had been beloved by Harold before he was elevated to the throne. This female, Editha, and surnamed 'Swanneshal,' that is, 'Swan-neck,' was one who was sure to know, by the marks upon it, the person of Harold, as she had been on such intimate terms with him; for by any exterior indications it was impossible to identify him, as the moment his death-wound had been inflicted, whatever emblems of royalty he had about him were at once carried away and presented to the duke. Upon this woman, then, being conducted by Osegod amongst the bodies of the dead, she was, by several marks, able to point out the corpse of King Harold, which was then placed upon a bier.' The legend then proceeds to say, 'that every mark of respect for the remains of the fallen King were manifested on the part of the bravest knights of the Norman army, and that from Battle were brought to Waltham; and,' says the author, 'no matter what vile stories men may tell about Harold having remained at the rock of Canterbury, and lately of his having died,

No sooner was the body of Harold recognized, than it was carried into the camp of the duke, and by him given to a person named William Mallet,* to be consigned to the earth.† This was done by William, although the mother of Harold tendered for the body of her dearly beloved son its full weight in gold.‡ The offer was re-

and been buried in Chester, it is in Waltham that Harold's body was interred, and there it still lies." MICHEL, note on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. pp. 216, 217.

"The Editha here alluded to was 'Edith the Fair,' 'Editha Pulchra,' to whom such frequent reference is made in *Domesday Book*." PLUQUET, note on *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 286. "She was no other than the daughter of Earl Ælgar, and widow of Griffith, Prince of Wales, after whose death she became, as we have seen, the wife of Harold." THORPE, note on Lappenberg's *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 302. See ELLIS, *Introduction and Indexes to Domesday*, vol. ii. p. 78. The Queen, Harold's wife, did not go in search of Harold's body is certain; for she was, upon the death of Harold, immediately removed by her brothers from London to Chester. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228. BROMTON. p. 961.

The reason for Harold's devotion to the Holy Cross at Waltham, is stated to have been: that he was at one time miraculously cured there. See DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 102. At the dissolution, Waltham was valued at £1,079 12s. 1d. yearly; "now worth £21,592 1s. 8d.: granted, 1 Edward VI. to Sir Antony Denny." COBBETT. "Exclusive of the nave of the Abbey Church, the remains of this abbey are few. They consist of a gateway of entrance across an arm of the river, some walls, and a few vaulted arches in a garden belonging to the abbey farm." DUGDALE's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. part i. p. 60.

* This William Mallet was the father of Robert Mallet, the founder of the priory of Eye, and the person from whom sprang the Norman house of Mallet de Granville. See M. PLUQUET. *Roman de Rou*, vol. ii. p. 285. MICHEL. *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 216.

† W. PICT. p. 134.

‡ "Non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri pondus offerente." W. PICT. pp. 134, 135. "The quantity of gold which Harold's

fused, because William deemed it to be indecorous to barter such a thing for gold ; and also, because he regarded it as unfitting, that to gratify the desires of a mere mother, a sepulchre should be bestowed upon him, by whose cupidity the bodies of such numberless persons remained unburied—and that too, for an individual, of whom it had been sarcastically observed, that the most fitting place to leave him was upon the sea-shore, in order that dead he might remain there, where he madly thought when living he could remain, and defend it by force of arms.*

There was, we may state, the notion entertained by some persons, that though King Harold had received several desperate wounds, and had lost his left eye in the battle of Hastings, yet that he had, unknown to his enemies, escaped alive from the field, and retired to the neighbourhood of Chester, where he afterwards passed his days in piety ; living, it is believed, as a hermit in a cell near to St. John's church.† It was added, that as a hermit he died the death of the just ; and that his real state and condition were disclosed when making his last confession ; and his tomb is constantly shewn in the church of St. John at Chester, as lying in the middle of the aisle behind the cross. There are some even, who affirm, that King Henry the First, when returning upon one occasion from Wales, had a conversation with Harold, who was then living.

mother is here related to have offered to the victorious Duke of Normandy for her son's dead body may be reasonably estimated at about 110,000 guineas." MASERES' note on W. Pict. pp. 134, 135.

* W. Pict. pp. 134, 135.

† BROMTON. p. 961.

This last statement is, however, so very generally disbelieved, that it may be contemned as a mere idle story.*

* BROMTON. p. 961. See KNIGHTON. lib. ii. c. i. pp. 2342, 2343. This author refers to Giraldus Cambrensis as his authority. The material portion of the statement of Giraldus in reference to Harold will be found in the following words:—

“—— ad partes istas victus evasit, ubi sancta conversatione cujusdam urbis ecclesiæ jugis et assiduus contemplator adhærens, vitamque tanquam Anachoriticam ducens, viæ cursum (*ut creditur*) feliciter consummavit. Ex utriusque (*ut fertur*) ultimi articuli confessione, veritas antea non comperta, demum prodiiit publicata.” GIRALD. CAMBRENS. *Itin. Camb.* lib. ii. c. xi. “De fluvio Deva transcurso et Cestria.” p. 874 (Camden). As to Chester monastery, see DUGDALE’s *Monasticon*, vol. ii. pp. 370—400. The words of St. Ailred, in his account of St. Edward, which have been already quoted, shew that in his day the escape of Harold had many believers.

“In point of fact,” observes M. Michel, “there did prevail from a very early period of time, the rumour that Harold had escaped from the massacre of Hastings, that he had been conducted to Winchester by two English franklins, by whom he had been recognized, and who saved him; that he lay concealed in an obscure retreat in Winchester, where he was cured of the wounds he had received by a Saracen lady, who was well skilled in surgery. These statements, as well as an account of the adventures of Harold, from the time he was cured until his death, are to be found in the legend entitled ‘*Vita viri venerabilis Haroldi, quondam Anglorum regis*,’” and published in the *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, vol. ii. pp. 173—222. M. Michel next refers to the observations of Mr. Stephenson, published in *COCHRANE’S Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. ii. (June, 1835), p. 327, shewing that rumours similar to those respecting Harold’s surviving his defeat, are to be found in English history—such as Edward II. being supposed to be living in France; and Richard living in Scotland, although his body was exposed in Cheapside; and James IV. of Scotland, who had fallen at Flodden Field, to have gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. M. Michel adds to these, the story long prevalent in France, respecting Antoine de Bourbon, who was slain in the combat at Castelnauudray in 1632, and yet was believed to have died in 1692, as a hermit, near Saumur, under the designation of “brother John-Baptist.” MICHEL. note

There is, however, an opinion entertained, far different from this, and one that is much more probable, viz. that Harold had been shot through the brain by an arrow, and was thus slain in the battle of Hastings; and that his body was afterwards sent to his mother by William, at her request, and that she had it interred in the church at Waltham, which church Harold had himself erected in honour of the Holy Cross.*

on *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*. See TURNER'S *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 419. (Sixth ed.)

"In this tradition," observes Herr Lappenberg, "we can perceive nothing more than the ardent desire of an oppressed people to find again and recognise their native king; a desire which, in similar cases, has often been productive of the most extraordinary delusions, as instances of which, it is hardly necessary to cite Sebastian of Portugal, the German emperor Frederic, and the Greek emperor, Baldwin of Flanders." *Anglo Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 303, 304.

An anonymous author states that the body of Harold was subjected by William to the indignity of decapitation.

"Et caput a scapulis Regis mucrone revulsit."

Chron. Senon. S. Columbæ. in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. xi. p. 293.

* BROMTON. p. 961. Malmsbury affirms, that William acted in a very generous manner on this occasion—giving up the body of Harold to his mother, and at the same time, refusing to take any ransom for it, although urged to accept a large sum—"sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset." *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. ii. § 247. vol. ii. p. 420. He adds, that Harold had placed not monks, but canons in Waltham, "canonicis impleverat." Wace states positively, that Harold was interred at Waltham, but he adds, that he does not know who conveyed the body thither, nor who they were who took upon themselves the trouble of consigning it to the earth.

"Li Reis Heraut fu emportez,
E à Varham fu enterrez;
Maiz jo ne sai ki l'emporta,
Ne jo ne sai ki l'enterra." v. 14093—6.

Calculating Harold's reign from the festival of our Lord's Epiphany to the festival of St. Callistus, we find that it did not extend beyond a period of forty weeks.*

It was not until midnight, that the valiant Duke William, having then completely destroyed all his enemies, returned to the place where the battle of the day had been fought.† There, wearied out with his victory, and with anxiety, he betook himself to his couch and to sleep, when he heard a voice addressing him in these words:—

“ William, thou hast conquered, and thou shalt possess
“ the kingdom thou hast won—for thou and thy posterity
“ shalt reign as sovereigns for the space of one hundred
“ and fifty years.”

These words the duke remembered to have distinctly

M. Pluquet, in his note on this passage, suggests, that the charge of consigning Harold's remains to the earth was confided to Mallet, vol. ii. p. 285. In his apostrophe to Harold, William of Poitiers distinctly states, that the body of the fallen king was buried on the sea-shore: “ et in cruore jacuisti, et in littoreo tumulo jaces.” p. 135. A statement confirmed by Ordericus Vitalis, lib. ii. p. 151. (Soc. Hist. France.)

* BROMTON. p. 961. “ Regnavit Haroldus mensibus ix et diebus totidem.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. pp. 227, 228.

† W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 37. p. 666. “ Willelmus vero comes cum suis Heastingam rediit.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 227. The *Roman de Rou* describes William as returning to the field of battle, and then “ par fierte” having his own standard erected on the very spot on which Harold's had been struck down in the conflict; and also, despite the remonstrances of Walter Giffard, having his tent pitched in the midst of the dead:—

“ Entre li morz fist son tref tendre.” v. 14408—14049.

heard, and he gave God thanks for what Divine Providence had ordained respecting him.*

Upon the morning of the following day—the Sunday—the spoils of his enemies were borne away by the order of William, and the bodies of his friends who had fallen interred.† In the performance of this office, an extreme care was manifested by the duke, he at the same time conceding to all the English, who wished to discharge that duty, free and full license to bury their countrymen.‡

Duke William returned then to Hastings, and there he waited,§ for the purpose of ascertaining whether the people of England would submit to his commands.|| And when he became assured that they would not come to him, he proceeded with all the forces that remained after the battle, as well as with those that had subse-

* BROMTON. p. 960.

† W. GEMITICENS. lib. vi. c. 37. p. 666.

‡ ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 153. See W. PICT. p. 137. W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 247. vol. ii. p. 420.

The picture presented by Wace of the noble dames of England seeking amongst the dead for the bodies of their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, is one that cannot even now be regarded but with interest.

“ Li nobles dames de la terre
Sunt alées lor maris querre ;
Li unes vunt quérant lor peres,
U lor espos u filz u freres ;
A lor villes les emporterent,
Et as mostiers les enterrent.”

Roman de Rou, v. 14083—8.

§ “ Guy of Amiens states that William remained five days in his camp at Hastings.” PREVOST, note on Orderic. Vital. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 153. (Soc. Hist. France.)

|| *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066.

quently crossed the sea to co-operate with him, and so ravaged the entire country that he passed over.*

William having left in Hastings a strong guard, under the command of a valiant general,† he marched to Romney, on which place he inflicted a heavy vengeance for the massacre of his countrymen, who having by mistake landed there, were attacked as enemies by its fierce inhabitants, and after a severe conflict, in which many on both sides were killed, had been, at last, routed by the Romney people, with a severe loss.‡

Duke William next proceeded to Dover, where he had

* *Sax. Chron.* a. 1066. p. 264. (Ingram).

† "The *Domesday Book* gives us the name of the person to whom William confided the castle of Hastings: 'Rex Willelmus dedit comiti (de Oio) castellarium de Hastings.' Introduction to *Domesday*, vol. i. p. 18." MICHEL, note to *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii. p. 219.

‡ W. PICT. pp. 137, 138. "By this passage, it appears that the Battle of Hastings was *not the first battle* that had been fought between the English and the Normans, but that a body of Norman troops, that had landed on the coast of Kent, near Romney, had been attacked by the people of the country, and been overcome and destroyed by them, after an obstinate resistance." MASERES, note on W. Pict. p. 138. There is, we conceive, nothing in the text to lead to the inference that there was a conflict at Romney prior to the battle of Hastings. It might have occurred as well *after* as *before* the battle,—and not improbably did occur subsequent to it. The defeated Normans on that occasion being, perchance, some of those who had come to supply the losses in William's ranks, occasioned by the battle of Hastings, and to whom reference is made in the Saxon Chronicle. "And him *syththan* fram ofer sae com." The march of William against Romney is thus described by Benoit:—

"D'iloc ala à Romenel
Por lui destruire finement;
Qu' arivé i out de sa gent,
Je ne sai par quel achaisôn;

heard an immense number of persons had collected together, confiding in the strength of a position which seemed to be impregnable.* The English, however, terrified by his approach, no longer had confidence in themselves, nor in a fortification that art and nature had alike rendered formidable to an assailant; for the castle of Dover is built upon a rock close to the sea, and that rock, naturally steep, has been rendered by instruments still more steep, so that it rises up on the sea-side like a wall straight into the air, and high as the flight of an arrow.†

At the moment that those who held the castle were, as suppliants, in the act of surrendering it to William, the squires in his army, anxious for plunder, flung flaming brands inside the walls. The flying fires soon seized upon the several buildings, and, as generally happens in such cases, speedily destroyed them.‡

The Duke, unwilling that those who were treating with him for the purposes of surrendering to his command, should suffer any wrong, bestowed upon them a sum of

Mais li Engleis pesme e felon
Les li ocistrent par pecchie."

Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 37680—37685. See also note by MICHEL, vol. iii. p. 219.

Could the severe vengeance inflicted by William upon the Romney people have any thing to do with this incident, related in the *Heimskringla*, as being connected with the battle of Hastings?

"Harold's brother, Earl Walthiof, escaped by flight, and towards evening fell in with a division of William's people, consisting of one hundred men, and when they saw Earl Walthiof's troop, they fled to a wood. Earl Walthiof set fire to the wood, and they were all burnt." LAING's *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, vol. iii. p. 95. SNORRO, vol. ii. p. 176.

* W. PICT. p. 138.

† W. PICT. p. 138.

‡ W. PICT. p. 138.

money, sufficient to repair the damage that had been done to the buildings, and to compensate them for whatever private losses they might have sustained. At the same time he ordered that a severe punishment should be inflicted on those by whom the conflagration had been caused. The safety of these persons, however, consisted in the meanness of their position, and their numbers.*

Having obtained possession of the castle, William remained for eight days at Dover, in repairing the fortification wherever it was insecure, and rendering it still more strong than it had ever been before. At this place the soldiers, in consequence of the water with which they were supplied, and using meat 'freshly killed, were attacked with dysentery, of which many died, and still more were near losing their lives. The brave spirit of the duke was not to be broken by any such disaster; for leaving a guard at Dover, even though that was one debilitated by sickness, he proceeded on his march to fight against and conquer the country.†

William had not proceeded far from Dover, when the men of Kent voluntarily presented themselves before him, took the oaths of fealty to him, and gave him hostages.‡ Even the potent metropolis of Kent, Canter-

* W. Pict. p. 138.

† W. Pict. p. 138.

‡ W. Pict. p. 138. This is a far different statement from that which is to be found in "Thorn's Chronicle," respecting the manner in which the men of Kent secured for themselves their ancient rights, privileges, liberties, and immunities. Thorn's story, probably, is not true, but it is well and graphically told, and we shall, therefore, endeavour to translate a portion of it.

Thorn says, "That upon Stigand, the Archbishop, and Edgwin,

bury, trembled with fear; and lest it should by its resistance entail upon itself utter annihilation, it eagerly sought by its submission to secure its safety.*

the Abbot, and all the great men of Kent, perceiving the woful plight to which their country had been reduced by the victory of William at Hastings, they determined rather to die as freemen, than to live as slaves, and therefore resolved to intercept him in his march *from London to Dover*." The narrative then proceeds in the following manner :—

"Upon an appointed day, the entire population of Kent gathered together at a place called Swanescomp, for the purpose of concealing themselves in the recesses of the woods, until the Duke should come there; and in order that they might the more securely remain unobserved, and so encompass the duke and his followers on all sides, that there should not be the slightest chance of escape for him or any one of the Normans, it was resolved (and this out of the abundance of their caution), that every Kentish man, be he knight or foot-soldier, should carry a branch of a tree in his hand.

"Upon the following morning the duke marched into the country where the ambush had been laid for him, and as he got near to the spot, he was surprised to find that all the country around him presented the appearance of a 'moving wood.' He, therefore, proceeded with cautious steps, at the same time astonished and fearful at what he beheld. No sooner had the leaders of the Kentish men ascertained that they had William in the midst of them, and completely surrounded, than the preconcerted signal was given. The blast of a trumpet was heard, and in an instant the branches of trees were flung to the ground, and the men of Kent were to be seen in all their numbers, and strength;—their banners raised on high, their bows drawn, their swords unsheathed, their lances couched, and the other means and appliances of war all ready for battle." The scene, which may remind the reader of incidents in Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, or Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, is stated by the Chronicler to have been followed by an arrangement between the Kentish leaders and William, which secured to him the allegiance of Kent, and to Kent the "*Antiqua Anglorum libertas, patriæque leges et consuetudines*." See THORN. *Chronica*. pp. 1786, 1787.

* W. PICT. pp. 138, 139. See ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 153.

Upon the day following the submission of Canterbury, William proceeded to the Broken Tower.* He there encamped, and in that place he was attacked with a very serious illness, and whilst he was ailing in body, his friends were sick at heart. They saw that he was unwilling to allow himself the slightest repose, lest his army should suffer from want of supplies in whatever was necessary for its subsistence. Every Norman then felt that it was for the common welfare of them all, that the health of so good a leader should be restored, and, therefore, did they pray for it most earnestly.†

Meanwhile, Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who as he surpassed all other persons in the kingdom in rank and riches, so was he able to exercise a predominant influence in the councils of the English, now combined with the sons of Algar, and other great men of the land, and threatened William with war.‡ These individuals then declared the Etheling Edgar, of the royal race of Edward, the late Sovereign, but in years a mere

* "*Ad fractam turrin.* This place, called *the Broken Tower*, seems to have been somewhere near Canterbury. But both Dr. Brady and Mr. Tyrrel (two very copious and exact historians) confess that they do not know the particular situation of it. As the author says, that Duke William came to it a day after the submission of the people of Canterbury, it seems likely that it was situated somewhere near *Sittingbourn*, or between *Sittingbourn* and *Rochester*." MASERES, note on W. PICT. p. 139.

† W. PICT. p. 139.

‡ W. PICT. 139.

boy,* to be the King of England.† And this they did because that which they most desired was to have no man as their lord who was not also their fellow-countryman.‡

* “Annis puerum.” W. Pict. It is said of him by Guy of Amiens—“*puer in statuam regis electus.*” Edgar was the grand-nephew of Edward the Confessor. PRÆVOST. note on Ordericus Vitalis, vol. ii. p. 154. See also vol. i. p. 178, and note 2. vol. ii. p. 154.

† In commenting upon this passage, and comparing it with Malmsbury’s statement, which is to the effect that the sons of Algar—Edwin and Morcar—had solicited that either one or the other of them should be made King (see Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. § 247, vol. ii. p. 421), Mr. Maseres remarks, and we think with great justice, that the authority of William of Poitiers is to be preferred to that of Malmsbury. He says, “William of Poitiers was living at the time, and was chaplain to Duke William, and present with him in England during this whole expedition; his account of this matter seems to meet the preference above Malmsbury’s. We may, therefore, conclude that Edgar Etheling was really elected King of England by the people of London after Harold’s death, and that Edwin and Morcar concurred in the election.” He then refers to the fact stated in the Saxon Chronicle, of Edgar’s confirming the election of Brand as Prior of Peterborough, as a proof that Edgar thereby exercised “an act of royal authority.” Note on W. Pict. pp. 139. 140.

‡ “Erat videlicet eorum voti summa, non habere dominum quem non habuere compatriotam.” W. Pict. pp. 139, 140. “Here we have an express declaration that the English were unwilling to have the Duke of Normandy, or any other foreigner for their King. * * * Upon the whole matter, therefore, the invasion and possession of the Kingdom of England by the Duke of Normandy, must be allowed to be a real conquest of England in the common sense of the word, or a *subjugation* of it by force against the will of almost all the inhabitants. and not simply an *acquisition*, or purchase of it, by virtue of King Edward’s appointment or bequest, as some respectable authors are inclined to consider it; though to facilitate the success of his attempt, he

The moment that Harold's death had been ascertained, the Earls Edwin and Morcar, who had, with their soldiers, refrained from taking any part in the battle (at Hastings),* repaired to London, and from thence they immediately despatched their sister, the Queen Edgitha, to Chester.†

Then Aldred, the Archbishop of York, and those two Earls, and the citizens of London, and the men employed in the navy (*butse-carlis*), wished to have the youthful Edgar, the nephew of Edmund Ironside, placed upon the throne; and they promised that with him and for him they would fight; but whilst many were making preparations for the field, the Earls already alluded to, withheld the aid they had promised, and retired with the army under their command towards their own homes.‡

thought fit to give it that colour or appearance." MASERES. note on W. Pict. pp. 140, 141.

* "Qui se cum suis certamini subtraxere." F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228. "Qui propter loci artitudinem a bello se subtraxerant." BROMTON. p. 961. The explanation of Bromton is but a repetition of the phrase used by Florence of Worcester in describing the battle of Hastings (vol. i. p. 227). It is this conduct of theirs which gives a colour to the suspicion cast by Malmsbury upon their subsequent conduct, and to which allusion is already made in a preceding note.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228.

‡ F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 228. The state of confusion in which the affairs of the English were at this moment, is most accurately pourtrayed by the following extracts:—

"Archbishop Aldred, and the Corporation of London, were then desirous of having Child Edgar to King, as he was quite natural to them; and Edwin and Morcar promised them that they would fight with them. But the more prompt the business should ever be, so was it from day to day the later and worse, as in the end it all fared." *Saxon Chronicle*, Ingram's translation, pp. 263, 264.

"Edwin and Morcar, brothers and both ambitious, upon hear-

Whilst these transactions were in progress, William was laying waste the provinces—Sussex, Kent, Southampton, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertford.* He never ceased in all these places from burning down vills, and putting men to death.† He, who was determined upon being the master of the English, boldly marched on to a place not far distant from London, where he had been informed

ing in London of the death of Harold solicited the citizens that they would elect either one or the other as King. Their attempts proved abortive, and they, therefore, retired to Northumbria; for judging William by themselves, they supposed he would never follow them thither. The other nobles would, if the bishops had assisted them, have elected Edgar; but as the danger to which they were exposed was pressing and urgent, and civil dissensions prevailed amongst them, that proposition was not acted upon; and so it happened, that the English by being unanimous, and acting together, might have repaired the ruinous loss to which their country had been subjected, introduced amongst them a foreigner, because they wished to have no one amongst themselves as a ruler." W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 247, vol. ii. p. 421.

Some of those persons—of noble rank too—who would not submit to a Norman King, fled to Constantinople, and became the body-guards of the Greek Emperor. In doing so, they were subjected to the bitter reproach, that "men who had lost their lands in their own country, could never gain lands from a foreigner."

"—capta est Anglia a Normannis. Angli vero Nobiles qui de prælio navi evaserunt, Bisancium ad Imperatorem fugerunt. De quibus dixisse fertur, quod secure ab eo retineri possent; quia qui terram suam amiserant, nunquam alienam acquirere possent." Chron. Fr. Richard. Mon. Cluniac. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script.* vol. xi. p. 286. Probably these were the commanders of the ships stationed by Harold to intercept the Normans, had the latter been defeated at Hastings—the leaders of the *butsecarlas* at London, who wished to have Edgar as King, and who, when they found it was the determination of their countrymen to submit to William, abandoned England.

* F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228.

† F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228.

there was the most constant and crowded gatherings of his foes.*

At that time London hospitably received the crowds of English warriors that came to it, and who arrived in such numbers, that it was scarcely able to contain them within its ample precincts. Against them five hundred Norman knights were despatched by William, and these compelled the men who had come out to fight with them to take shelter within the walls. The Normans valiantly attacked the English, and then slew them as they fled. They were not content, however, with the frightful slaughter of such foes; for they set fire to all the buildings on the near (the Surrey) side of the river, and thus crushed, beneath a double calamity, the pride and courage of the Londoners.†

From that time forth Duke William traversed the country in whatsoever way it pleased him so to do, and having crossed the Thames by a ford and a bridge, he at length arrived at Wallingford.‡

Stigand, the Archbishop, coming to Wallingford, surrendered himself into the hands of the King, confirmed by oath the allegiance he rendered, and then abrogated the election of Edgar which had been so rashly made.‡

* W. PICT. p. 140, 141, 142. The author here adds a description of London, which shews its importance at the time of the conquest:—"Præterluit eam urbem fluvius Tamesis. peregrinas e portu marino divitias advectans. Cum solos cives habeat copioso ac præstantia militari famoso incolatu abundat."

† W. PICT. p. 142.

‡ W. PICT. p. 142.

§ "Abrogans Adelinum quem leviter eligerat." W. PICT. pp. 142, 143. The words are confirmatory of the fact—that Edgar had really been elected as King of England.

“ At Berkhamstead, Archbishop Aldred came to meet him, with the child Edgar, and the Earls Edwin and Morcar, and all the best men from London, who submitted then for need, when the most harm was done.*

“ It was very ill advised, that they did not so before, seeing that God would not better things for our sins.

“ And they gave him hostages, and took oaths; and he promised them that he would be a faithful lord to them; though in the midst of this, the Normans plundered wherever they went.†

* *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 264. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, accompanied Archbishop Aldred. See F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228. S. DUNELM. p. 195. R. DICET. p. 480. BROMTON. p. 961. KNYGHTON. p. 2343.

† *Sax. Chron.* “ Et nihilominus exercitui suo villas cremare et rapinas agere permisit.” F. WIGORN. vol. i. p. 228. There was no excuse for William's permitting these barbarities; because, from the moment that the Londoners submitted to him, all resistance in that portion of England was at an end. He was, it is admitted by William of Poitiers, permitted unmolested to erect a fortress in the city—the Tower; and he felt so little apprehension of personal danger, that he was able to enjoy the chase and sport of hawking. “ Præmisit ergo Lundoniam, qui munitiorem in ipsa construerent urbe, et pleraque competentia regię magnificentię præpararent: moraturus interim per vicina. Adversitas omnis procul fuit, adeo ut venatui et avium ludo, si forte libuit, secure vacaret.” W. PICT. p. 144.

We have purposely omitted from the text the following strange, and almost incredible account of William's conduct, which is given by his chaplain, between the time that elapsed from the moment the Londoners submitted to him until his coronation. If the account be true, William must have been a consummate hypocrite.

William of Poitiers having mentioned the submission of Archbishop Stigand, then continues in the following words:—

“ William proceeded onward; and the moment he came within sight of London, the principal men of the city came out to meet

“ Then on midwinter’s day,* Archbishop Aldred† hal-

him ; and there they (as the citizens of Canterbury had previously done) submitted themselves and the entire city to his commands, and at the same time, they brought with them hostages such as he had commanded.

“ After these things had occurred, the bishops, and the other great men of the land, prayed of him to accept the crown, saying, ‘ that they were accustomed to serve a king, and that they desired to have a king as their ruler.’

“ William upon this consulted with those persons who had accompanied him from Normandy, and upon whose wisdom he had no less reliance, than on their well-tryed fidelity. To these persons he disclosed what were the principal reasons that dissuaded him from doing that which the English prayed for (*patefecit eis quid sibi dissuadaret quod Angli orabant*). These were his objections; viz. : ‘ That affairs were still in confusion--that there were still a few in open rebellion--that he himself was far more desirous to see the country in a state of tranquillity, than he was ambitious of being made a king. Besides, if God should be pleased to concede to him such an honour, he would like his wife’s coronation to take place at the same time with his own--and lastly, that over-haste should never be made by any one, whilst struggling to ascend the greatest possible height.’

“ No lust for empire assuredly predominated in the heart of William : he well comprehended and piously cherished the holy bonds of matrimony.

“ The friends of William tendered to him an advice which was opposed to his own opinions ; and this they did, because they knew what his entire army wished and longed for. In giving their advice, they, however, recognized, that the reasons he had stated.

* The coronation of William took place on Christmas Day, which that year fell on the Monday : “ *Ipsa Nativitatis die, quæ illo anno, feria secunda evenit.*” F. WIGORN. A. 1066. vol. i. p. 228.

† The coronation of William by Aldred, Archbishop of York, instead of by Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is variously accounted for.

“ When,” it is said, “ William had completed his victory, he felt a great dislike to the name of a tyrant, and he wished to assume the character and put on the appearance of being a legitimate prince ; and therefore, asked of Stigand, at that time Arch-

“lowed him as king at Westminster, and gave him pos-

were in themselves praiseworthy, and that they emanated from the deep recesses of his abundant wisdom.

“Amongst those who were present at the council at which this consultation took place, was Aimeri of Aquitaine, and the governor of Thouars, a man not less illustrious by his eloquence in debate, than by his feats in war. He began by expressing, in complimentary terms, his admiration for the modesty of the duke, who had sought for the opinions of his knights, as to whether they would desire him who was their lord to become a king, and he then added:—

“‘To such a discussion, men who are merely soldiers, have rarely, if indeed ever, before now, been invited. And being invited, it does not become us to impede, by our deliberations, the more speedy arrival of that event, which we are all most anxious to see accomplished. Men who are truly wise and virtuous, could never wish (no matter what advantage and honours his exaltation might bring to themselves) to see William upraised to the lofty dignity of the monarchy of this kingdom, if they did not foresee that he was peculiarly fitted to discharge the duties of such a position.’

“William again maturely reflected upon all these circumstances, and he then signified his acquiescence in the prayers and entreaties that had been addressed to him. The main consideration that influenced him in so doing was, that he hoped, as soon as he had commenced to reign as a king, the rebellious spirit that prevailed in the country would be less daring, or, if it exhibited itself, could be more readily crushed.” W. PICT. pp. 143, 144.

bishop of Canterbury, to consecrate him solemnly as king; but Stigand (as it is said) would not, and could not possibly be induced to place his hands upon a man stained with blood, and the invader of another's right.” *Gul. Neubrigens. Hist.* lib. i. c. i. vol. i. p. 15 (Hearn). “Ille vero cruento viro et alieni juris invasori manus imponere formidans nullatenus adquevit.” W. HERMINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 9.

On the other hand, it is said by William of Poitiers, that “William positively refused to be consecrated by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, because he had been informed, that the just zeal of the pope had stricken him with an anathema.” “Repu-

"session with the books of Christ,* and also swore him,

diavit enim consecrari a Stigando Cantuariensi, quem per Apostolici justum zelum anathemate reprobatum didicerat." W. PICT. p. 145. This statement, with regard to Stigand's being at the moment under the ecclesiastical censure of the Pope Alexander II., is confirmed by other authorities. See ORDERIC. VITAL. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 156. (Soc. Hist. France.) W. MALMSB. *Gest. Reg. Ang.* lib. iii. § 247. vol. ii. p. 421. INGULPHUS. p. 69. R. Hoveden. p. 450. *Chron. Petriburg.* 1066. The words employed by this last cited authority are worthy of being quoted, as shewing the repugnance of William to be consecrated by Stigand: "cavens unctionis sacramentum a Stigando recipere, quia illegitime archiepiscopatum ingressus, potius pollueret quam sacra-ret." The misconduct of Stigand is already fully explained in this volume, in describing the events of the reign of Edward. As to his undergoing the ecclesiastical censure of the pope, about the year 1061, see WILKINS. *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 315. SPELMAN, *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 627. Of the Archbishop of York, it is said by William of Poitiers, that he was a man "æquitatem valde amans, ævo maturus, sapiens, bonus, eloquens." W. PICT. p. 144. Aldred's assistant bishops were St. Wulstan of Worcester, and Walter of Hereford. *SRUBBS. Act. Pont. Ebor.* p. 1702.

* The terrible incident that marked the ceremony of the coronation, is thus related by William of Poitiers and Ordericus Vitalis.

"The Archbishop of York, having put the question, 'whether those present gave their consent that William should be crowned as their lord ('an consentirent eum sibi Dominum'), all unhesitatingly, with one mind, as with one voice, joyfully shouted forth 'yes!'" (W. Pict. p. 144.)

"The clamorous assent thus given, though expressed with one voice, was not given utterance to in the same language; and the Norman soldiers who had been placed outside the abbey as a guard and a protection for their countrymen, no sooner heard the vociferations of those within the church, in which mingled the strange noise made by a language of which they were ignorant, than they supposed that some misadventure had occurred, and therefore rashly set fire to some English habitations. The conflagration quickly spread from house to house, and the population that but a moment before was full of gladness in the church, became terrified; a vast number of persons—women as well as men, of various rank and dignity—horried by the calamity that

“ ere that he would set the crown on his head, that ‘ he
 “ ‘ would so well govern this nation, as any king before
 “ ‘ him best did, if they would be faithful to him.’*
 “ Nevertheless, he laid heavy tribute on men.”†—

had thus befallen their property, rushed in all haste out of the abbey; whilst the only individuals who remained there, were the bishops, a few clergymen, and the monks. These stood in great fear before the high altar, and had scarcely strength to finish the office of the consecration, which in this instance was bestowed upon a king, who trembled greatly. Nearly all the other persons who had come to witness the ceremony had run away—some that they might, through their exertions, quench the fire, and many more, that they might, in a state of such confusion, secure for themselves a large share of plunder.

“ As to the English people, they were desperately enraged at the occurrence of this truly unforeseen and unfortunate circumstance; and they ever afterwards regarded the Normans with suspicion, and condemning them as a treacherous race of men, they longed for the time and opportunity when they might be revenged on them.” (Orderic. Vital. lib. iii. vol. ii. p. 157).

* The oath exacted from William by Aldred, previous to consecration, is thus set forth by Florence of Worcester:—

“ Ab Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo in Westmonasterio consecratus est honorifice, prius, ut idem archipræsul ab eo exigebat, ante altare Sancti Petri Apostoli, coram clero et populo *jurejurando* promittens, se velle *sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores illarum defendere, necnon et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste et regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere et tenere, rapinus injustaque judicia penitus interdicere.*” F. WIGORN. a. 1066. vol. i. p. 229. See S. DUNELM. p. 195. R. DICET. p. 480. BROMTON. p. 960. STUBBS. p. 1702. THORN. p. 1787. KNIGHTON. p. 2343. *Hist. Eliens.* lib. ii. c. 101. vol. i. p. 222. W. HERINGBURGH. *Chron.* vol. i. p. 10.

† *Sax. Chron.* INGRAM's translation, p. 264.

We have conceived, that the most fitting manner of bringing this work to a termination, is in the very words—the simple, solemn, rude words of the old Saxon Chronicle, expressing as

they do, the final lament of a fallen race of kings, and of a conquered nation. Even the last sentence of the work—unfinished as it is—is not inapplicable to the plan on which this History was proposed to be written, and that the author had hoped time and opportunity would have been afforded to him to complete. It was not to be; and he now closes his labours with the monastic historians of England; and in so doing, bids to his readers farewell—seeking, as his only reward, that all who may peruse these pages, and are devoted to a religious life, may, whether he be living or dead, remember him in their prayers.

THE ANGLO SAXON CHURCH—THE POOR AND THE SLAVES.

Having, in the preceding part of this work, directed attention to the most material portions of the Anglo Saxon Secular laws, affecting the servile class in this country, we have now to bring our task to a conclusion, with a few extracts from the works of those ecclesiastical writers, whose opinions and whose judgments influenced and directed the Anglo Saxon Church. These extracts are solely applicable to those in the condition of slaves, and we have to bear in mind that they come directly from Archbishop Theodore, who presided over the see of Canterbury from the year 668 to 690; and from Prince Egbert, Archbishop of York from 735 to 766, and probably also from the celebrated Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of St. Edgar, St. Edward (Martyr). and Ethelred. (See observations of Mr. Thorpe, on the “*Modus Imponendi Pœnitentiam*,” in Preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. vi.)

In making these extracts, we cannot forbear from remarking, that they are taken from works intended for the guidance of the clergy in their conduct towards laymen—that is, as to the manner especially in which they should impose penances for sins that were made known to them under the seal of confession—and as to the *advice* which it was permissible, proper and salutary for *the clergy* to give to *the laity*, who applied to them for instruction, and submitted their own judgment to that of the priests, in order that they might be guided in their future conduct, or repent them, and make compensation for their past misdeeds.

In secular legislation, the bishop, in Anglo Saxon times, took a prominent part—in the administration of the law, he was not an inactive spectator—in both positions, he aided in ameliorating the condition of slaves, or in protecting them from the malevolence

of their oppressors ; but when discharging his ecclesiastical functions, another duty was imposed upon him—it was to save the souls of sinners—to prevent his fellow-men from committing sin ; or, if they had fallen, to shew them how, by the mortification of their passions, through the penances inflicted upon them, they might hope for pardon from the Almighty in this world, and eternal happiness in the next.

Such, we humbly conceive, is the spirit in which the following extracts should be read, and none should, we think, peruse them with the mere view of comparing the rules laid down in them with the state of society that now exists. They should be looked at as having been delivered at the particular epochs in society in which they were promulgated, and for which they were intended to be solely applicable.

With these few observations, we translate the following passages from the “*Monumenta Ecclesiastica*,” as set forth in Mr. Thorpe’s *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. (We quote from the folio edition.)

“If the master of two slaves shall have joined both in marriage, and if the male or the female slave be made free, and if the one that is free is not able to procure the freedom of the other, and that the free person shall (as some suppose it is permissible to do) be married afterwards to a free person, then such person so married a second time, is in the sight of the Lord guilty of adultery. The man, who because of the slavery of his first wife shall have abandoned her, and afterwards married a free woman, he must, because he has acted contrary to God’s commandment, do penance for three years, one entire year living on bread and water. The same penance is to be imposed on a woman who shall act in a like manner.

“If any freeman shall have taken in marriage his own female slave, or the female slave of another person, it is not permissible for him to part with her, if they had been previously married with the consent of both. If he dismiss her and marry another, whether a free woman or a female slave, he is to do penance for three years ; one year on bread and water.” (Theodor. Pœnitent. c. xvi. § 32, 33. p. 282.) The directions here given, are repeated in the Excerptiones Egberti, cxxvi. p. 337, with the additional remark, that the man who shall have so repudiated the slave wife, is not merely to do penance for three years, one of them on bread and water, but as long as he has life, he is to suffer some penance, “*semper aliquid pœniteat*.” See also Confessionale Egberti, § 25, p. 353, where it is stated, that when one of two persons is a slave, it is to be regarded as lawful for the other to procure his or

her freedom, "*eorum quicumque liber sit, licebit ei servili libertatem obtinere.*"

It is in this clause (Confessional. Ecgbert. § 25) we find the rule laid down, that "if a man make free a slave woman, who was about having a child, the child is to be a slave." A clause that is to be read in connexion with that of Theodore, declaring that if a man purchase a free woman in a state of maternity, her child is to be free, even when she herself is reduced to the condition of a slave. (See Theodor. Pœnitent. § 33. note 2. p. 282.)

"A father can, when under the pressure of great need, give his own son to slavery, as long as the boy is under seven years of age. After that time, it is not permissible for him to do so, without the consent of his son." (Confessional. Ecg. § 27, p. 354). This clause is enlarged from the Penitential of Theodore, c. xix. § 28, which says, "*Pater filium suum vii. annorum necessitate compulsus, potestatem habet tradere in servitium; deinde, sine voluntate filii, licentiam tradendi non habet.*" p. 286.

The same Pœnitential of Theodore, c. xix. § 29, declares that "when a male person has attained the age of *thirteen* years, he can make himself a slave," "*Homo xiii. annorum sese potest servum facere.*" p. 286.)

We give this clause as we find it, whilst we are convinced at the same time it is a mistake of the copyist. No one in the Anglo Saxon, or at any other time, considered a person only *thirteen* years of age as deserving of bearing the name of "*homo*"—a full-grown man; and that Theodore did not so deem him to be, we have the proof in this Pœnitential: and he refers to a person under fifteen years of age and calls him "*a boy*." "*Puer usque in xv. annos sit in potestate patris sui, postea seipsum potest facere monachum, si vult.*" (c. xix. § 26. p. 286.)

"No man," says Theodore, "shall be at liberty to take from his slave the money which that slave has acquired by his labour. If he have done so, then he must make restitution to the slave, for that of which he has unjustly deprived him, and at the same time perform such penance as in the judgment of the priest should be imposed upon him." (c. xix. § 30. p. 236.) This is repeated in Pœnitentiale Ecgbert. Addit. § 15; and an adequate notion may be gained of the restitution that should be made to the slave by the clause immediately preceding, which declares, "If any one has deprived another of his property, let him return fourfold the amount." "*Si quis alium bonis spoliaverit, reddat quadruplum, ut Christus ipse dixit.*" (Pœn. Ecg. Addit. § 34. p. 392.)

All these ecclesiastical authorities showed a great desire to save the slaves from the fury of those, whose actions were under no

control from that which is now felt to be so strong, namely—public opinion—and with it the sentiments of the society in which each person moves. Thus, Theodore, and Egbert, and Dunstan, imposed severe canonical penances upon those who deprived their slaves of life :—

“ If any one shall kill his slave, and that slave not being a criminal, then he shall for his passion fast for three years.

“ If any woman, stirred by a wicked feeling of envious jealousy, shall inflict stripes upon her female slave, and the slave die in consequence of those stripes, and the slave was innocent, then her mistress shall fast for seven years ; but if the female slave were guilty, then the mistress shall fast for three years, and for ever do penance for her sins.” (*Modus Imponendi Pœnitent.* § 11, 12. p. 406. See *Theodor. Pœnitent. c. xx. xxi. p. 12, 13.* *Egbert. Confes. § 22.* *Egbert. Pœnitent. lib. ii. § 3, 4. pp. 288, 352, 368.*)

“ The stealing of slaves from the land to which they were accustomed, was regarded as a great crime in former times, because it was considered as an aggravation to the miseries of that unhappy class of men, that they should be subjected to those of whose customs and whose language they were alike ignorant.

“ If any one, by means of theft, or any evil device, shall take or send abroad into captivity a slave, or any other person, he is to fast for seven years,—two of these years on bread and water.” (*Theodor. Pœnit. c. xxiii. § 16. p. 290.*)

“ If any Christian shall find another Christian wandering about, and shall rob him (of his liberty), and sell him (as a slave), such a person should not be permitted peaceably to abide amongst Christians, until he shall have redeemed the person so sold as a slave, and for his theft done penance for seven years. If the person cannot redeem him who has been sold as a slave, then let the price received for the slave be distributed in alms, and let another be bought from slavery by the offender, who shall also do penance for seven years. If the offender be poor, and have not the means wherewith to redeem another from slavery, still must he give something for that purpose, and do penance for ten years.” (*Theodor. Pœnitent. c. xlii. § 5. pp. 300, 301.* See also § 4. p. 300.)

This offence of man-stealing, might, however, be greatly aggravated :—

“ If any Christian shall sell a Christian man, though that man may be his own slave, to Jews or Pagans, and through this means the man become separated from the Catholic Church, and lose his Christianity, then the seller is not worthy to have rest,

nor quiet amongst Christians, until he shall have redeemed the slave. If, however, it be not in his power to redeem that slave from bondage, then let him give away the money received for it, and free another slave with other money from slavery, and for three years let him abstain from flesh, wine, and mead; and let him on the regular abstinence days in each week fast until the nones, and eat dry fish. If, however, he be a poor man, and have not the means of purchasing the freedom of any slave, still he must from his labour contribute something for that object, and do penance for seven years." (Theodor. Pœnit. c. xlii. § 4. p. 300). This selling of Christians to Jews is prohibited under the penalties of excommunication.

"Si quis Christianus Christianum hominem in manum Judæorum vel gentilium vendiderit, anathema sit. . . .

"Nefas igitur est, ut quos Christus Sanguinis sui effusione redemit, Judæorum vel gentilium vinculis sint irretiti." (Exerpt. Ecg. § 150, 151. pp. 340, 341. See also Pœnit. Ecg. lib. iv. § 26. Modus. Impon. Pœnit. § 43. pp. 380, 381, 410.) A reference to the Penitential of Theodore, c. xix. § 7, 8, his *Capitula et Fragmenta*, p. 317, the Confessional of Ecgbert, § 14, the Penitential of Ecgbert, lib. ii. § 14, and the *Modus Imponendi Pœnitentiam*, § 23, will shew that the Anglo Saxon Church laboured zealously for the protection of female slaves against the brutality of their masters.

The feeling of the Anglo Saxon Church for the poor, proved in numberless instances, may be said to find its most fitting expression in the following enactment, which, though it is set forth in the Penitential of Theodore (c. xxiii. § 18, 19. p. 290), is yet most fittingly given to the world as the words of one who was a Prince, the brother of a King, and an Archbishop:—

"If any man shall have stolen food, or clothing, and that he has done so under the pressure of hunger and nakedness, let him fast for three weeks upon bread and water; if, however, he shall be able to return that which he had so stolen, let him not be compelled to keep the fast, but let him, for the love of God, be forgiven." Pœnitent. Ecgbert. lib. iv. § 25. p. 380.

In all the Documents that we have of the Anglo-Saxon times, bearing upon the subject of slavery—so carefully collected by Mr. Kemble, in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, and so diligently analyzed in his *Saxons in England*,—we find the church and the churchmen holding a prominent position:—

"This book beareth witness," (we copy from Mr. Kemble's "*Saxons in England*"). "that Ælfsige bought a woman, called Ongynethel, and her son, Gythicæel, of Thurcil, for half a pound,

at the church door, in Bodmin: and he gave to Ælfsige, the portreeve, and Maccos, the hundred-man, fourpence as toll. Then came Ælfsige, who bought these persons, and took them and freed them, ever sacless, on Petroc's altar, in the witness of these good men; that is, Isaac the masspriest, Bletheuf the masspriest, Wulfiger the masspriest, Grifiuth the masspriest, and Ælfsige the deacon, and Maccos, and Tethion, Modred's son, and Cynehelm, Beorlaf, Dir-ling, Gratcant, and Talant. And *whoso breaketh this freedom, let him settle it with Christ! Amen.*"

Mr. Kemble thus continues:—"Of all forms of emancipation, I imagine this to have been the most frequent, partly because of its convenience, partly because *the motives for emancipation were generally of a religious cast*, and the sanctions of religion were solemn and awful. *Almost all the records which we possess on this subject are taken from the margins of gospels, or other books belonging to religious houses; and the few references in the laws imply emancipation at the altar.*" KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 224, and Appendix C. pp. 501, 502.

The religious motive to the emancipation of the unfree, is set forth over and over again;—"Gatflaed freed for God's sake, and for her soul's need, namely, Ecceard the smith," &c. (*Cod. Dipl. No. 925.*) "And I will that all my serfs be free, both in manor and farm for my sake, and the sake of my parents." (*Cod. Dipl. No. 931.*) "Here witnesseth, in this book of Gospels, that Abbot Ælfsige hath freed Godwin Back of Stanton, for his own sake and that of all the brotherhood at Bath." (*Cod. Dipl. No. 937.*) "And I grant the land at Tit to the brotherhood at St. Paul's Church for the support of their table, with all that is upon it, except the serfs; let them emancipate these for my soul's sake.

* * And I grant the land in Surrey * *

and let the serfs be freed for the bishop's soul. And I grant the estate at Luthingland * * and let half the serfs there be freed, and so also at Mendham for the bishop's soul.

* * And (at Hoxne) let them leave as much

stock as I found there, and let all the serfs be freed for my soul." (*Cod. Dipl. No. 937.*) KEMBLE'S *Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 496, 497, 498, 499. Appendix C.

The expression "*for mine soule*," so often used in these Charters of Enfranchisement, was not peculiar to the Anglo Saxon Church. The same in doctrine, as in practice and in spirit, with the Catholic Church in every part of Europe; the words "*for mine soule*," will be found constantly identical with the expression, "*pro animabus nostris*," "*pro remedio animæ nostræ*," and as in the Anglo Saxon, one slave is freed "*for tho the me bigeten*,"

so have we in the Latin a person made free, "pro anima patris nostri." In Marculfus the form is set forth in which enfranchisement was made.

"Qui debitum sibi nexum relaxat servitum, mercedem in futurum Dominum sibi retribuere confidat. Igitur ego in Dei nomine ille, et conjux mea illa *pro remedio animæ nostræ*, vel retributione æterno, te illum aut illum ex familia nostra a præsentē die ab omni vinculo servitutis absolvimus ita ut deinceps tanquam si ab ingenuis parentibus fuisses procreatus vitam ducas ingenuam," &c.

The same religious motive is found to actuate the donor of liberty, in another Instrument of Enfranchisement:—"Si aliquos ex servientibus nostris à jugo servitutis absolvimus, mercedem in futurum nobis ex hoc (Dominum) retribuere confidimus. Igitur ego ille propter nomen Domini et retributionem æternam te illum ab omni vinculo servitutis absolvimus; ita ut ab hac die vitam ducas ingenuam, &c." In this case the enfranchised slave is told, that he ought to have masses said for the repose of the soul of his benefactor:—"Et oblata mea ubi meum requiescit corpusculum, vel luminaria annis singulis debeas procurare." MARCULFUS, *Formular.* lib. ii. § 32, 34. See also notes by BIGNON. pp. 92, 94. 326, 327. (Paris, Ed. 1656.)

The "Monumenta Ecclesiastica" of the Anglo Saxon Church, independent of the secular laws of the Anglo Saxons, are the best memorials that can be presented to mankind of the anxiety that animated Churchmen in former times to ameliorate the condition of the poor, to guard the helpless, and to protect the forlorn. To do these things, was to discharge that which was their duty as bishops; and never was the right to perform such a duty more clearly recognized than in the following enactment of the Visigoths—that ancient race who began to have written laws about the year 466, and who, though many of them were stained with Arianism, still demonstrated in such an enactment, that in the care of the poor, a catholic spirit predominated over their councils:—

"Sacerdotes Dei, quibus pro remediis oppressorum vel pauperum divinitus cura commissa est, Deo mediante testamur, ut Judices perversis judiciis populos opprimentes paterna pietate commoneant, quò malè judicata meliori debeant emendare sententia. Quod si hi qui judiciaria potestate funguntur, aut injuste judicaverint causam, aut perversam voluerint in quoslibet ferre sententiam: tunc Episcopus in cujus hoc territorio agitur, convocato Judice ipso qui injustus asseritur, atque Sacerdotibus, vel idoneis aliis viris, negotium ipsum unà cum Judice, communi sententia justissimè terminabit. Quòd si perversa contentione Judex ipse permotus iniquum à se datum judicium, exhortante Episcopo, noluerit refor-

mare in melius, tunc Episcopo ipsi licitum erit iudicium de oppressi causa emittere: ita ut quod à Judice ipso perverso iudicatum, quodve à se correctum extiterit, in speciali formuli iudicii sui debeat adnotare. Sicque idem Episcopus, et eum qui opprimitur, et emissum à se de oppressi causa iudicium, nostris procuret dirigere sensibus pertractandum: ut quæ pars veritatis videatur habere statum, glorioso Serenitatis nostræ oraculo confirmetur. Jam verò si Judex eum, qui male opprimitur, Episcopo dare distulerit, quomodo nostræ Gloriæ debeat præsentari, Judex ipse duas auri libras nostræ Gloriæ partibus persolvat." *Leg. Wisigoth. lib. ii. Tit. i. § 30.* See also § 29. in *Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. iv. p. 301.* For an explanation as to how an *Arian* power adopted the *Roman* law for governing the church, see *GOSSELIN. Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age*, vol. i. p. 91. note 2, and pp. 92, 93. Same volume (Louvain, 1845). See also the valuable translation of the same work by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, of Maynooth College, in *DOLMAN'S Library of Translations*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86, 87.

THE END.



